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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER

**A REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS
AT HOME AND ABROAD**

FOR THE YEAR

1925

EDITED BY

M. EPSTEIN, M.A., PH.D.

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IT is once more a pleasure for the Editor of THE ANNUAL REGISTER to acknowledge his indebtedness to *The Times* for permission to make use of matter published in its columns.

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MR. BALDWIN'S SECOND CONSERVATIVE MINISTRY.

(TOOK OFFICE NOVEMBER 7, 1924.)

CABINET MINISTERS.

<i>Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury, and Leader of the House of Commons</i>	} Mr. Stanley Baldwin.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	{ The Marquis Curzon of Kedleston (<i>till March 20</i>). The Earl of Balfour (<i>from April 28</i>).
<i>Lord Privy Seal, and Leader of the House of Lords</i>	} The Marquess of Salisbury.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Viscount Cave.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	Mr. Winston Churchill.
<i>Secretaries of State .—</i>	
<i>Home</i>	Sir William Joynson-Hicks.
<i>Foreign (and Deputy Leader of the House)</i>	} Sir Austen Chamberlain.
<i>Colonies</i>	Mr. L. C. M. S. Amery.
<i>War</i>	Sir L. Worthington-Evans.
<i>India</i>	The Earl of Birkenhead.
<i>Air</i>	Sir Samuel Hoare.
<i>Scotland</i>	Sir J. Gilmour.
<i>Presidents .—</i>	
<i>Board of Trade</i>	Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister.
<i>Board of Education</i>	Lord Eustace Percy.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Mr. W. C. Bridgeman.
<i>Minister of Health</i>	Mr. Neville Chamberlain.
<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	{ Mr. E. F. L. Wood (<i>till October 30</i>). Hon. Walter Guinness (<i>from Nov. 5</i>).
<i>Minister of Labour</i>	Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland.
<i>Attorney-General</i>	Sir D. M. Hogg.
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>	Viscount Peel.
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	} Viscount Cecil of Chelwood.

MINISTERS NOT IN THE CABINET.

<i>Minister of Pensions</i>	Major G. C. Tryon.
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	Sir William Mitchell-Thomson.
<i>Minister of Transport</i>	Lt.-Col. W. Ashley.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Sir Thomas Inskip.
<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Earl Stanhope.
<i>Financial Secretary to the Treasury</i>	{ Hon. W. Guinness (<i>till Nov. 4</i>). Mr. Ronald McNeill (<i>from Nov 6</i>).
<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	} Captain H. D. King.
<i>Secretary for Mines</i>	Lt.-Col. G. R. Lane-Fox.
<i>Under-Secretaries of State —</i>	
<i>Air</i>	Sir Philip Sassoon.
<i>Colonies</i>	Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore.
<i>Dominion Affairs</i>	The Earl of Clarendon (<i>from Sept. 6</i>).
<i>Foreign</i>	{ Mr. R. McNeill (<i>till Nov. 6</i>). Mr. G. Locker-Lampson (<i>from Dec. 8</i>).
<i>Home</i>	{ Mr. G. Locker-Lampson (<i>till Dec. 8</i>). Mr. Douglas Hacking (<i>from Dec. 9</i>).
<i>India</i>	Earl Winterton.
<i>War</i>	The Earl of Onslow.

Parliamentary Secretaries :—

<i>Admiralty</i>	. . . . .	Mr. J. C. C. Davidson.
<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	. . . . .	Lord Bledisloe.
<i>Education</i>	. . . . .	The Duchess of Atholl.
<i>Health</i>	. . . . .	Sir Kingsley Wood.
<i>Labour</i>	. . . . .	Mr. H. B. Betterton.
<i>Transport</i>	. . . . .	Lt.-Col. J. T. C. Moore-Brabazon.
<i>Treasury</i>	. . . . .	Commander B. M. Eyres-Monsell.
<i>Board of Trade</i>	. . . . .	Sir R. Burton Chadwick.
<i>Post Office</i>	. . . . .	Viscount Wolmer.
<i>Overseas Trade</i>	. . . . .	Mr. A. M. Samuel.
<i>Pensions</i>	. . . . .	Hon. G. F. Stanley.

SCOTLAND.

<i>Lord-Advocate</i>	. . . . .	Hon. W. Watson.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	. . . . .	( Mr. D. P. Fleming (<i>till Dec. 19</i>). (Mr. Alexander M. MacRobert (<i>from Dec. 31</i>).)

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1925.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS PROBLEMS.

AT the opening of 1925 the principal problems which faced the Government were those of unemployment and agriculture. In the absence of any trade revival, the number of unemployed still stood at well over a million, a figure which on all hands was regarded as disquietingly high. There was also general agreement that an extension of arable farming on the soil of England was vitally important for the welfare of the nation. The King's Speech had naturally laid stress on these two problems, and the Government had to some extent staked its reputation on finding a solution for them, especially for the latter. In addition to these problems, the Government had inherited from its predecessor two others which, though not so urgent, were also of considerable importance. It was recognised as highly desirable that there should be improved means of consultation between the Dominions and the Mother Country, and that the settlement of inter-Allied debts should be expedited.

The debate on the Address in the closing session of the House of Commons in 1924 had shown that the Government possessed the full confidence of the Conservative Party which formed the great majority of the House. Within the Cabinet also Mr. Baldwin's leadership was loyally accepted, even by those who had at one time shown an inclination to pose as his rivals. The Premier, in consequence, was free in a way in which his predecessor had not been to devote his whole attention to national as opposed to purely Parliamentary problems. This advantage, however, did not enable him to achieve any greater success in their solution.

One of the first steps which the Government had taken after

coming into office had been to issue invitations to unions of land-owners, farmers, and agricultural labourers to join in a conference on agricultural problems under Government auspices. The land-owners had agreed immediately. The farmers, after raising difficulties, had at length before the end of the year accepted the invitation. The labourers delayed their reply even longer, and gave it finally in a sense hostile to the proposed conference. The National Union of Agricultural Labourers sent in their refusal in January, and the agricultural section of the Workers' Union a few weeks later, after first consulting with the Executive of the Labour Party. The Government was gravely disappointed with the action of the workers' unions, which for the moment nonplussed its endeavours to improve the condition of agriculture. It was pressed by many of its supporters to adhere to its purpose of calling a round-table conference even without the participation of the unions, but after weighing all the circumstances reluctantly abandoned the idea. The Minister of Agriculture, however, announced his intention of consulting interested parties and receiving suggestions from all quarters.

In another field also the Government was checked by Labour's refusal to co-operate. Early in the year an Army Order, which had been signed some months before by Mr. Walsh, when Minister of War in the Labour Government, was issued inviting railwaymen to enter the Supplementary Reserve, with liability to be called out "when the Army Reserve or any part of it is called out by Proclamation." It was stated that the purpose of the measure was purely to enable mobilisation to be made more rapidly in time of war, and, in fact, the Order contained an express statement that the liability to be called out in aid of the civil power would not be enforced—in other words, that the reservists would not be used as strike-breakers. Unluckily for the Government, the Army Order was accompanied by a circular from the railway companies, which contained the statement that, once men in the Supplementary Reserve had been called out on permanent service, or were otherwise subject to military law, they were in the same position as men of the Regular Forces in the matter of their being ordered to assist the civil power. The suspicions of the railwaymen were aroused, and the National Union of Railwaymen advised its members, on January 12, not to enlist pending a satisfactory explanation being given by the Government. The intractable spirit displayed by Labour was viewed with grave concern by the Premier, who made the need of a better spirit in industry the burden of several speeches early in the year.

During the London Conference on Reparations in 1924, Mr. MacDonald had emphasised the need of some machinery for securing closer co-operation between Britain and the Dominions in the field of foreign policy, and the Labour Government before it left office had taken some preliminary steps to bring about a confer-

ence to consider this matter. The Conservative Government, which was equally favourable to the idea, had all the more reason for prosecuting this design, as it was faced with the task of framing with the Dominions a joint resolution on the Geneva Protocol presented for its consideration by the League of Nations. Inquiries were accordingly made of the Dominions whether they could send representatives to a conference before the League of Nations met in March to discuss the Protocol. All for one reason or another answered in the negative, and on January 20 the Government found itself compelled to announce that the idea of a conference had been abandoned, and that the only course open was to endeavour to arrive by correspondence at a conclusion on the issues involved—a method which was admittedly cumbrous and unsatisfactory.

The Conference summoned at Paris early in January to consider the Reparations situation afforded Mr. Churchill, who was the British delegate, an opportunity of raising with the French Government the question of the French debt to England. Hopes had indeed been expressed in Parliament during the debate on the Address that he would bring this question nearer to a settlement. Mr. Churchill was in Paris from January 6 to January 14, and found little difficulty in coming to an agreement with his Belgian and French colleagues on the actual questions before the Conference. This was partly because he showed a complaisance with the French view which was hardly in the spirit of the policy of Mr. MacDonald. In spite of Britain's repeated declaration that it considered the Ruhr occupation as illegal, he not only consented to France's charging Germany with the cost, but also to receive a part of the proceeds on behalf of England. He also assented—after "lively and prolonged conversations," as he subsequently explained—to America receiving reparation payments under the Dawes scheme, an idea to which the Government had at first been strongly opposed, justifying himself on the ground that the new arrangement would make things easier for America's debtors for the next few years.

On the question of inter-Allied debts, Mr. Churchill had informal conversations with M. Clémentel, the French Finance Minister, which did not advance matters to any appreciable extent. After some discussion, M. Clémentel sent a letter asking three questions—Did the British Government hold to the spirit of the Balfour Note; could it give the French Government a written assurance to that effect; and, if the British could not accept the Balfour Note without modification, what modification did it consider necessary? The Cabinet referred the questions to the Treasury, and as a result of their consideration of the matter, Mr. Churchill, on February 6, sent a memorandum to the French Government containing certain suggestions for the funding of the French debt. The main point of his proposals was that the

payment should be made partly by means of a fixed annuity, to be paid independently of any sums received from Germany, and partly by a variable annuity consisting of a percentage of receipts from the Dawes annuities. The French Government showed itself willing to consider this proposal, although it conflicted with the principle hitherto adopted by France, that French payments should be wholly dependent on German payments, and on April 1 two permanent officials of the French Treasury came over to London to discuss with officials of the British Treasury certain questions arising out of the Churchill memorandum, in particular the total sum to be funded. On the very next day, however, M. Clémentel, the French Finance Minister, resigned, and in the Cabinet crisis which followed in France the question of funding the debt was put aside for a time.

While Parliament was in vacation, the Liberal Party in the country continued to make strenuous efforts to pull itself together after the knock-down blow which it had received at the General Election in October. The Committee which had been appointed by Mr. Asquith, soon after the election, to investigate the condition of the party, framed a Declaration of principles and policy which was communicated to Liberal Associations throughout the country, and a Convention was summoned to consider it on January 29.

The Convention was preceded by some ominous bickerings within the party. On January 17, at a Liberal meeting held at Bristol, the Chairman, Lord Strachie, stated that a leaflet on the Liberal rural land policy, which had been circulated in large numbers during the election campaign, had not had the sanction of the Shadow Cabinet of the Liberal Party, and had been issued by Mr. Lloyd George practically on his own responsibility. He also gave it as his opinion that the Liberal land policy, as explained by the Liberal Publications Department, had done considerable harm to Liberalism in the West of England. Mr. Lloyd George, in a letter to Lord Strachie, stated that the manuscript of the leaflet in question had been approved by Mr. Asquith, but did not deny that it had not been seen by the Party Whips, or that the whole land policy had been launched on the party without warning.

A further embarrassment was at the last moment sprung on the Convention. A couple of days before it was due to meet, the announcement was made that the King had approved of the dignity of an earldom being conferred on Mr. Asquith. This meant that the Liberal leader had definitely given up the expectation of returning to the House of Commons (to which he had failed to secure election in October). The prospect of a Peer as leader of the party was viewed with apprehension by many Liberals, and rumours immediately became rife that Mr. Asquith would resign the leadership as soon as he entered the House of Lords, if not earlier.

In spite of these somewhat unfavourable preliminaries, the

Convention was, on the whole, a success. The activities of the Committee presided over by Sir Donald Maclean seemed to have served as a tonic to the party, and to have endowed it with new life and vigour. The Convention was attended by about 2,000 delegates, and its proceedings throughout were animated without being discordant. Agreement was obtained on a statement of Liberal principles, which included the rating of land values advocated by Mr. Lloyd George. The Convention also approved of a proposal of the Committee, that a fund of a million pounds should be raised for fighting the next election, and that 600 Liberal candidates should be placed in the field.

Speculations on the question of leadership were finally set at rest by a speech from Mr. Asquith at the end of the Convention on January 30. He was, he said, one of those who thought that under normal conditions the leader of the Liberal, or of any political party, should be in the House of Commons. For that reason, among others, he had hesitated to accept the offer of a peerage made to him by the King on the day after the election. As, however, he had little prospect of entering the House of Commons again, he had to choose between retirement from public life and continuance in active service in the House of Lords. After due reflection he had chosen the latter course, but he intended to retain the leadership of the party so long as he could count on the loyalty of the rank and file.

Mr. Asquith, in the same speech, essayed to define the position of Liberalism in relation to the other two parties. As against the Conservatives, he said, it stood for Free Trade, which, he warned his hearers, was still being plotted against. As against the Labour Party, it stood for the idea of freedom, to which the ascendancy of that party would mean the death-blow. To many Liberals this attitude seemed disappointingly negative in face of the post-war problems with which the country was confronted, and the party, in spite of the unity shown at the Conference, continued to hang together very loosely, without definite leadership or direction.

One of the most significant steps taken by the Government before Parliament met was to initiate its new fiscal policy. On February 3 the Board of Trade issued a White Paper containing particulars of the procedure which was to be thenceforth applied for the safeguarding of industries. It was to be open to any industry to make representations to the Board of Trade on the effects on it of foreign competition. If the Board were satisfied that a *prima facie* case for inquiry had been made out, a committee of not more than five members would be appointed to inquire into the application. No applications would be entertained in respect of articles of food or drink. The Committee would be required to report whether the industry was one of "national importance," whether goods of a kind to which the application related were imported

into the United Kingdom and retained in abnormal quantities ; whether the goods so imported were sold at prices below those at which they could be profitably produced in this country ; whether, as a result, employment was likely to be seriously affected ; whether the competition came largely from countries in which it could be described as “ unfair,” and whether the industry applying was being carried on in the United Kingdom with reasonable economy and efficiency. The Committee would further have to inquire whether the imposition of a duty on the goods in question would cause unemployment in any other industry using those goods. Should the Committee think a case had been made out, it could recommend the imposition of a duty for a limited period. Should the Treasury and the Board of Trade concur in the recommendation of the Committee, it would be brought before Parliament either in the Finance Bill or in a separate Bill to be brought forward at a later stage of the session, so that there would be ample opportunity of discussing it. If, finally, the industry could satisfy the Committee, the Government, and Parliament that its claim to special consideration was justified, then it would be entitled to protective duty against the whole world, and not merely against certain specified foreign countries, as originally laid down by the Safeguarding Act.

Parliament reassembled after the Christmas recess on February 10. Its first business of importance was to pass a number of Supplementary Estimates, chiefly for pensions and education, amounting in all to about four million pounds. A token vote was put down for payments to local authorities for experiments with new types of houses, particularly the steel houses planned by the shipping and steel magnate, Lord Weir. Labour members criticised the vote on the ground that Lord Weir was trying to cut down the wages of the men employed on the houses. The Minister of Health denied the charge, and threw at the Labour members the taunt that, while they complained loudly of the lack of houses, no new method of supplying them ever seemed reasonable to them. He said that the Weir houses were to be regarded as an emergency measure to meet a great national problem, and promised that the Government would give equal facilities for the erection of other types of experimental houses which their Committee should recommend. After some obstruction by the Clyde Labour members, the vote was agreed to.

The sanction of the Weir scheme by Parliament was not followed immediately by the construction of any steel houses. The wages and conditions offered by the contractors did not square in some respects with the requirements of the building industry organisations, and work on the new houses could not commence till the two parties came to an agreement. This proved to be a matter of no small difficulty. A conference was first held at the Ministry of Labour, and led to no result. Then

the Cabinet decided to refer the matter to a Court of Inquiry set up under the Industrial Courts Act. The Court reported at the end of April, supporting, on the whole, the position adopted by Lord Weir. This did not improve matters, as the Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Building Operatives immediately resolved to "resist to the utmost" the introduction of a system of payment by results such as Lord Weir had planned. The consequence was that for some months afterwards any attempts to erect "Weir" houses were at once accompanied by builders' strikes and the cessation of ordinary building in the locality. In spite, however, of all hitches, building activity was very brisk during the year, and kept pace with the current demands of the population—in England, at any rate, if not in Scotland—and finally even began to overtake the arrears.

A vote of 2,000*l.* for the expenses of the Prince of Wales's forthcoming visits to Africa and South America met with strong opposition from a certain section of the Labour Party. Mr. Kirkwood moved a reduction of 100*l.* in the vote as a protest against what he described as "all this humbug that is going on," and several Labour speakers objected to what they considered a misuse of public money. The voting revealed a difference of opinion among the Labour leaders, Mr. Wheatley, Mr. Henderson, and Colonel Wedgwood supporting the amendment, while Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Thomas, and others supported the Government. In the course of the next few days sharp recriminations were exchanged between the two sections, Mr. Clynes asserting that Mr. Kirkwood had raised the matter on his own authority and without reference to the Party Executive, while Mr. Kirkwood maintained that he had been deputed by the Executive to bring up the question. The incident revealed a serious lack of discipline in the ranks of the Labour Party, and a meeting of the Parliamentary Party was held on February 24 to consider the situation. A lengthy discussion took place on the need of party organisation, and it was resolved that, with a view to securing greater efficiency in the party, it should be remitted to the Executive to consider and report on the subjects of party discipline and unity, and the attitude of the Labour Press.

The White Paper on the Safeguarding of Industries, issued by the Government on February 3, was the subject of a lengthy debate in the House of Commons on February 16. Mr. MacDonald moved that "the policy disclosed in the White Paper, and the methods proposed for carrying it into effect, must lead to a system of general tariffs." He asked why the Government had abandoned its declared intention of drafting a new Bill on the safeguarding of industries, and instead embodied its plans in an administrative White Paper. He thought the reason was that this procedure gave the Government an opportunity for beginning

a policy which was pure Protection, and which, once begun, would be exceedingly difficult to change for a new policy. Mr. Baldwin asserted in reply that the new Order would enable Parliament to control the imposition of a tax or duty better than the old Act had done. He also maintained that the new procedure was in no sense Protection, and that it was fully in accord with the Conservative Party's election pledges. Sir J. Simon pointed out that what gave a protectionist character to the new policy was that any duty to be imposed would discriminate not against a particular country in which competition might be unfair, but against the whole world. The Liberal Party, he said, objected to the scheme because it opened the door to an endless series of taxes which, taken together, amounted to a general tariff. Mr. Lloyd George called on the Government to attend to the business which the country really required, and not to waste time and energy on proposals that would satisfy nobody, Protectionist or Free-trader. The President of the Board of Trade, in replying for the Government, repeated that they were acting strictly within the limits of their pledge, and justified the measure on the ground that it would help the British working man to maintain a higher standard of life. The amendment was finally rejected by 335 votes to 146.

After the debate on the safeguarding of industries, the question was raised at a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party whether legislation was desirable to prevent the importation of goods made by sweated labour. For a long time the party could come to no clear decision, being torn between its devotion to Free Trade and its objection to all goods made by sweated labour, whether at home or abroad. Its indecision was revealed in the debate which took place on March 17, on a motion brought forward by a Unionist member, that it was undesirable to continue the unrestricted importation of goods made under sweated conditions as being detrimental to the interests of British workmen, and contributing to increase unemployment. When the motion was first announced many Labour members expressed approval of it, but in the end an official Labour amendment was moved declaring that the resolution, with its suggestion of a tariff, offered no remedy for the problems with which it professed to deal, and failed to recognise that the causes and consequences of sweating at home and abroad were one and indivisible. Supporters of the amendment thought that the best way of dealing with the matter was through international conventions; and Mr. Maxton, on behalf of the Scottish Labour members, confessed that they were still struggling towards enlightenment in the matter. The amendment was defeated by 240 votes to 127.

An attempt which was made a few days later to extend the franchise to all women over the age of twenty-one was nipped in the bud by a somewhat drastic action on the part of the Govern-

ment. A Bill for this purpose was introduced by a Labour member on February 20, and several speakers who supported it declared it to be in accord with pledges given by Mr. Baldwin himself before the election. The Home Secretary, however, moved an official amendment shelving the consideration of franchise reform to a subsequent date. He said that the pledge given by the Prime Minister at the General Election was that the Unionist Party was in favour of equal political rights for men and women, and desired to see the question settled by a conference of all political parties, since all were more or less in agreement on the underlying principle. If this Bill was passed it would necessitate a General Election, and the Government did not feel disposed to bring its work to an end so soon. Mr. MacDonald protested against the unusual course taken by the Government of interfering with a private member's Bill, and dismissed as worthless its vague promise to introduce legislation itself on the subject at some later date. Mr. Baldwin retorted that when private members tried to introduce Government Bills, then such Bills became Government business. He repeated that the Government would honour its pledge in due course, and called on his party to support the amendment, which was accordingly carried by a majority of 67.

Among minor measures dealt with at this time was a request from the Government for permission to increase to 1,100,000*l.* its guarantee to the British Empire Exhibition. This was in addition to a vote of 158,000*l.* which had been granted a few days previously for the exhibit of the Home Government. Mr. A. M. Samuels, the Secretary of the Overseas Trade Department, stated that the original estimate for expenditure on the construction of the Exhibition had been 1,600,000*l.*, but the actual capital expenditure had been 2,950,000*l.* Maintenance during 1924 had cost about one million, and receipts had been over two millions. He explained that an additional Government guarantee was necessary in order to induce private guarantors to continue. Strictures were passed by subsequent speakers on the financial management of the Exhibition, and doubts were expressed as to its commercial utility for Great Britain, but the resolution was finally agreed to. A vote was also passed at the same time increasing by 5,000,000*l.* the aggregate capital amount of loans to be granted under the Trade Facilities Act. A motion to give an Electric Supply Company special facilities in Essex was rejected on a curious ground. It transpired in the course of the debate that the company was not on the King's roll of firms which had pledged themselves to employ a certain percentage of ex-Service men. A number of Conservatives determined on this account to make an example of the company, and they joined with Labour members, who opposed the Bill on other grounds, in securing its rejection by 183 votes to 80, in spite of the support of the Government.

The estimates for the coming financial year which were published during February compared with those of the previous year as follows :—

	1925-26	1924-25.
Army - - - - -	£44,500,000	£15,000,000
Navy - - - - -	60,000,000	55,800,000
Air Force - - - - -	15,513,000	14,511,000
Civil Services - - - - -	222,609,161	227,573,000
Customs and Excise and Inland Revenue Departments - - - - -	11,390,635	11,221,000
Post Office Services - - - - -	52,958,000	51,081,000
Consolidated Fund Services - - - - -	385,000,000	384,840,000
Total - - - - -	£791,970,796	£790,026,000

In the individual departments there was a reduction of about half a million for the Ministry of Labour, of more than a million for the Board of Education, and of three millions on the Ministry of Pensions, owing to the automatic reduction in the number of pensions and gratuities caused by death. The Middle Eastern Services also showed a reduction of nearly a million, and half a million less was put down for the relief of unemployment. On the other hand, there was an increase of half a million on the Ministry of Agriculture, and half a million on old-age pensions.

The first of the Estimates to be considered by Parliament was that for the Air Force, which came up on February 26. The figure of 15,513,000*l.* was an apparent net rise of rather more than half a million over the expenditure of the previous year, but the real increase, as Sir S. Hoare, the Secretary of State for Air explained, was close on two millions, as the Admiralty was giving a grant in aid to the Air Ministry for the Fleet Air arm. The increase, said the Minister, was principally due to two causes—the home expansion scheme and the exhaustion of war stocks. The expansion, he maintained, was in accordance with the declared views of each of the three parties in the House. Every Minister in the last four or five years who had introduced the Air Estimates had emphasised the magnitude of the revolution which had been brought about in the problem of home defence by the introduction of Air Force. The principles of Air Force expansion for home defence had been explained by Lord Thomson and Mr. Leach twelve months before, no less than by himself two years ago, and he did not need to do more than draw attention to any new features that might be connected with the present stage of the expansion.

When he took office two years before, he said, there were on a liberal calculation only three air squadrons available for home defence. To-day there were six times as many, and at the end of the ensuing year there would be twenty-six. They were now equipping the regular squadrons in the expansion scheme with

new post-war types of machines. In the ensuing year the experiment of introducing two non-Regular units into the Air Force would be tried, while in the Regular units themselves the experiment was to be made of introducing a large civilian element, for the purpose of carrying out the less important non-flying duties. Unity of command had been introduced into the field of air defence by the appointment towards the end of the previous year of an Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief. The Minister here took occasion to refer to the part which Air Force could play in the defence of the Empire, pointing especially to the great success which had attended the experiment of garrisoning Iraq principally with an Air Force. The Air Staff, he said, were giving their attention to quality rather than to quantity, and he thought that the quality of the pilots was improving, and that the boys now in training might, in course of time, prove themselves the finest mechanics the world had ever seen. To foster civil aviation, a sum had been introduced for the first time into the Air Estimates for giving assistance to light aeroplane clubs; while in regard to airship development, the Minister undertook to continue the arrangements with a private company made by his predecessor. Touching finally on the possibilities of restricting aeroplane warfare, he pointed out some of the difficulties involved owing to the close connexion of civil with military aviation, and said that for the present they must proceed with air expansion, and would continue to build up a system of defence that would make the risk of air attack less likely and its dangers less immediate than at the present time.

Opposition to the Estimate was offered by Mr. Snowden on behalf of the Labour Party. He said that, granting that a large Air Force was necessary, he had no fault to find with the speech of Sir S. Hoare. Every one would agree that so long as they had an Air Force it ought to be efficient. But he denied that in so rapidly increasing air armaments the Government was merely continuing the policy of its predecessor. That policy had been defined by Mr. Leach when Under-Secretary for Air, in a speech in which he had said: "The scheme is being worked out in stages, and does not debar us from taking advantage of any movement in the direction of disarmament or the reduction of armaments." Twelve months previously, Mr. Snowden pointed out, the ratio between the Air Forces of France and Britain had been ten to one; to-day it was only three to one. During the past two years, while England had been accelerating her programme, France had been decelerating hers. This seemed to him to remove to a great extent, if not altogether, the grounds on which the British policy had been initiated. Further, he said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had a great weapon in his hand in the shape of the French indebtedness for procuring disarmament on the part of that country, and he regretted that the present

Chancellor had thrown away his best bargaining powers in this matter. These arguments did not greatly impress the House, and in the voting only 101 members supported Mr. Snowden against 270 for the Government.

In the discussion on the details of the Estimate, Mr. Thurtle moved to reduce the number of men from 36,000 to 1,000. In the debate which followed, Mr. Clynes said that the Labour Party as a whole had a good deal of sympathy with the views of the mover, and regarded him as a pioneer in a good cause. As yet, however, they had not decided in favour of the complete cancellation of the fighting Services, and preferred to seek a settlement on the lines of an international agreement. A division was called for, and Mr. Thurtle found twenty-five supporters.

In a further discussion of the Air Estimates on March 12, a number of speakers from all parties pleaded for better co-ordination between the three arms of defence, and it was suggested that the development of the Air Force was hampered by the jealousy of the Navy. The Air Minister, in reply, said that the institution of a single Ministry of Defence could not be brought about suddenly by the creation of a new office of supermen. The right course was to take every step to bring the three Services more closely together, and he had done all in his power to carry that policy into effect. There were now a certain number of Army officers and naval officers working together at the Air Ministry, and on more than one occasion the three Chiefs of Staff had taken collective responsibility for the advice on some big strategical questions that they were offering to the Government.

After passing the Air Estimates, the House of Commons, on March 17, began to consider the Army Estimates. These were half a million less than in the previous year, for a thousand men fewer—44,500,000*l.* for 160,000 men. The Secretary for War, Sir L. Worthington-Evans, stated that he was disquieted by the number of would-be recruits who had been rejected on medical grounds. The figure in the last year had been 49,245, a proportion of five out of eight applicants. He regarded unemployment benefit as being a serious obstacle to recruiting, and in order to counteract it he was trying to make arrangements by which parents whose unemployed sons joined the Army would not lose the benefit of their allowance. With regard to the supplementary reserve of skilled mechanics which had been started by his predecessor, he regretted that the National Union of Railwaymen and the Transport Workers' Union were not satisfied with his assurances about strike-breaking, and declared that the Government would go on without their help, if necessary. He announced that in the event of an emergency calling for effort on a national scale, the Territorial Army would be the accepted medium of expansion of the military forces of the country. The strength of the Territorial Army was still 22 per cent. under establishment

in the case of the officers and 24 per cent. in the case of all ranks, and he did not doubt that a special effort would have to be made in the course of the current year to improve and stimulate recruiting for that arm. He announced, also, that it was proposed to revive this year manœuvres for the first time since the war, and that 95,000*l.* had been taken in the Estimates for that purpose.

Mr. Walsh, who, as Minister of War in the Labour Government, had drawn up the obnoxious circular, said that there had never been any intention on the part of responsible persons to use the supplementary reserve for strike-breaking, and thought that the "woful misunderstanding" as to its object and purpose was due to the blundering of recruiting sergeants, who tried to press men into the Service instead of persuading them. Mr. Thomas, speaking on behalf of the railwaymen, considered that the Minister had gone a long way towards meeting their objections, and that with a little tact and reasonableness the parties concerned would even now be able to come to an understanding.

In the Committee discussion on the Army and Air Force Bill on April 1, Mr. Thurtle moved the abolition of the death penalty for military offences on active service, stating that the motion had the official support of the Labour Party. While aware of the report of the Departmental Committee set up to consider the subject by Mr. Walsh in the previous year, he refused to accept its conclusions, as he considered they reflected the point of view of the professional soldier and not of the ordinary citizen. He pointed to the example of the Australian Government in insisting during the war that no Australian citizen should be executed. In spite of this argument, the Labour Party proved in the debate to be alone in thinking that the death penalty could be abolished without detriment to discipline. Defenders of the existing order maintained that the utmost reluctance was shown by the military authorities to inflict the death penalty, and that there was no danger of the courts martial abusing their powers. The Secretary for War stated that the Committee appointed by the Labour Government had advised certain alterations, which would be accepted by the Government. One of the chief of these would be to place officers and men on the same footing in regard to malingering and other offences. In regard to the Australians, he pointed out that the death penalty was not entirely abrogated in the Australian Army, and deprecated comparisons between that army and the British. The motion was in the end defeated by 320 votes to 136.

The Navy Estimates for the year, which were introduced on March 19, amounted to 60,500,000*l.*—a net increase (allowing for the transfer of votes from other services) of 3,300,000*l.* over the estimates of the previous year. Mr. Bridgeman, the First Lord of the Admiralty, justified the increase on the ground that the previous Government had been too drastic in its economies.

Although Mr. Amery, he said, in 1923 cut the Navy Estimates to the bone, last year, when the Labour Party was in power, they were cut considerably below the bone. The Estimates contained no provision for new construction, because the whole question of the programme of the replacement of cruisers and other warships was under the consideration of a Committee, which would report in time to allow of a Supplementary Estimate being introduced before the end of the summer. As was expected, the First Lord announced the decision of the Government to proceed with the provision of a dock at Singapore in which the largest battleship would be capable of being docked and repaired. The total cost was estimated at 11,000,000*l*.

The Estimate was severely criticised by Mr. R. MacDonald and Sir A. Mond. The former charged the Government with having been unduly influenced by the advice of naval experts, and with having subordinated policy to strategy, and not having considered the political reactions that would be caused by the distribution of the Fleet. Whereas twelve months ago, he said, his party still considered the advisability of a naval base at Singapore as an open question, they had since come to the conclusion that the pursuance of the scheme was a calamity, as it brought them nearer to the point at which they would find war inevitable. Sir A. Mond complained that the First Lord had given them no idea of what the Estimates were really going to be. They had already an increase of five millions; were they to see another increase of fifteen millions? He agreed that a strong Navy was necessary; but was the great naval victory they had obtained not to relieve the people of this country by a single penny of the expenditure placed on their shoulders? They could not afford to go on having estimates of that kind, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had failed in his duty in not seeing to it that they were reduced.

In the Committee stage a vigorous attempt was made by the Opposition to reverse the Government's Singapore decision on the vote for works, buildings, and repairs, which came up on March 23. The subject had already been discussed in the House of Lords on March 4, when Lord Curzon stated that the expenditure to which it was proposed to ask the assent of Parliament during the next three years for the fortification of Singapore, did not amount to as much as 800,000*l*., and that Hong-Kong had promised a contribution of 250,000*l*., and the Straits Settlements had offered to provide the necessary land. In the course of the debate, Lord Balfour, speaking as one who had attended the Washington Conference, contended warmly that the arrangement could give Japan no just cause of complaint, and stated that no hint had reached him personally that the Japanese looked with any jealousy on the work. In the House of Commons Mr. MacDonald denounced the Government's action as tending to

“strengthen the military solution and weaken the judicial solution” of the problem of the relations between the white and yellow races. There must, he said, be wide political movements before any war affecting Singapore became a possibility, and those movements would take so long to develop, there would be so much warning preparation, so much preliminary movement, that, if the worst came to the worst, there would be plenty of time for Great Britain to act. By making this move at the present moment the Government would short-circuit all the chances of a peaceful solution, and would weaken, if not defeat, those pacific and judicial forces that were making for a solution of the problem. Sir R. Horne, who followed, said that every one agreed with Mr. MacDonald that it would be better if decisions in international affairs could be obtained by judicial process and not by force, but they lived in a world in which that ideal was very hard to attain. Mr. MacDonald’s attitude was to cripple the Navy and to render it immobile in one of the greatest seas of the world. Speakers from the Liberal Party held that no sufficient case had been made out for such an expenditure of public money as the scheme would involve. All the Opposition speakers insisted that the fortification of Singapore would create ill feeling against Britain in Japan, but this consideration was either rejected or ignored by the supporters of the Government, and the motion to reduce the vote was finally defeated by 280 votes against 151.

On three occasions early in the session a section of the Conservative Party tried to urge the Government into courses of repression against activities which they disliked, but found a less ready response than they expected. The first was on February 11, when a Unionist member moved that the House approved the possession by the Home Secretary of full and sufficient authority to control immigration, and would deprecate any weakening of existing regulations, in view of the shortage of work and of houses in the country. From the Labour side, an amendment was brought forward declaring that the present rules and regulations in regard to the admission of aliens were unnecessarily stringent in times of peace, and that the administration of the law could safely be made more sympathetic and humane, and more in harmony with the traditions of the country. The Home Secretary tried to steer a judicious middle course between the two views. Those were great days, he said, when England was able to proclaim herself the home and refuge of all victims of political persecution, but those days could not come again as long as there were over a million unemployed in the country. There were now 272,000 aliens resident in the country against 278,000 four years before, and these, he thought, were entitled to remain. He held that the restrictions in force were necessary, and denied that they were administered harshly, or that there had been any political deportations. He reaffirmed the principle

which he had stated to a deputation in the previous year, that any country was entitled to decide whether it would have aliens or not, and upon what conditions it would have them. His statement satisfied the Opposition, and the amendment was withdrawn.

A debate on similar lines took place a few weeks later (March 3) on another Unionist motion, condemning the revolutionary propaganda being carried on in Great Britain and the Empire by Communists and others, and calling on the House to support the Government in any action necessary to suppress it. The Labour Party again joined issue, moving an amendment which declared that the ordinary process of law was sufficient to deal with acts of violence, that freedom of speech was the inalienable right of every British subject, and that redress of grievances was the best way of making violence in deed and propaganda useless. The Government view was stated by the Under-Secretary for India, Earl Winterton, who, like the Home Secretary on the previous occasion, adopted a more moderate tone than the extremists of his own party. He was for tolerating the utmost freedom of speech, but where the law was broken, where violence of speech was translated into attempted violence of action, the Government would act as it was its bounden duty to do. He thought there had been a reaction in favour of stability in the country generally during the past two years, which he put down partly to the toleration shown to the Communists.

The third attempt of the Conservative extremists to carry the Government with them raised a more definite issue, and at one time seriously jeopardised the unity of the Conservative Party. It was in effect a challenge to organised Labour which the Government shrank from following up, and consequently ended in failure. Unionists of all shades of opinion had never made any secret of their hostility to the so-called "trade union levy," and of their intention to abolish it at the first opportunity. In view of the large majority of the Conservative Party, the moment seemed now to be opportune, and a Scottish Conservative, Mr. Macquisten, having drawn March 6 in the ballot for private members' Bills, gave notice some weeks before of a motion to amend the law of 1913, which permitted trade unions to impose on their members a levy for political purposes, which the individual trade unionist could avoid only by formally "contracting out." The wisdom of this step was doubted by a number of Unionists, who felt strong misgivings as to whether the proposed Bill would make their party more popular with the working classes. Some of these accordingly put down amendments calling for a preliminary inquiry into the political activities of the trade unions, and deputations of Unionist members waited on the Government to urge upon it the necessity of proceeding with caution in the matter.

The Government, on its side, even before receiving these representations, had appointed a Cabinet Committee to inquire into the working of the political levy, and to advise as to the best course to adopt. The Committee found the task one of no mean difficulty, and did not report till a few days before the debate on the Bill was due. On the strength of its report, the Cabinet, on February 27, announced that it would not actually support the Bill. Meanwhile Conservative opinion continued to be sharply divided on the merits of the Bill, and those who favoured it were still confident that it would be carried, even without the Government's support. The Labour Party, voicing the general sentiment of the trade unions, declared itself in uncompromising opposition to the Bill, and were assured of the support of at least the Radical group of the Liberal Party.

During the week it became known that the opinion of the Government had hardened against the Bill, and that it would move an amendment of its own. Nevertheless, the supporters of the Bill refused to budge from their position, and on March 6 Mr. Macquisten duly moved the second reading. He said that the subject was not a new one, and his Bill would have been introduced long ago, shortly after the 1913 Act was passed, had not the war intervened. His object was to relieve the working man of the risk of being taxed by his trade union for objects of which he disapproved. Contracting out was humiliating, and did not provide a real safeguard. He was confident that the abolition of the political levy would only strengthen the position of the trade unions. The Bill was seconded by a Conservative trade unionist, Mr. Greaves Lord, who gave instances of the difficulties of contracting out.

On behalf of the Government, the Premier himself moved an amendment "that this House, while approving the principle of political liberty embodied in the Bill, is of opinion that a measure of such far-reaching importance should not be introduced as a private member's Bill." Mr. Baldwin had, on the previous evening, given a characteristic address at Birmingham in which he pleaded for a "better spirit" in industry, and he did not shrink now from giving an example of what he preached. His speech took the form of an earnest, at times almost sentimental, appeal to the more extreme members of his own party to beware above all things of making relations more strained between organised employers and organised employed. The two bodies should be encouraged to work together as far as possible, not set at loggerheads. The Conservative Party had not got into power by promising such a Bill as this, but because, rightly or wrongly, they had succeeded in creating the impression that they stood for stable government and for peace between all classes of the community. He wanted his party to make a "gesture" to the country, and to say to them that though they had a majority,

and though they believed in the justice of the Bill brought in that day, they were going to withdraw their hand and not push their political advantage. They stood for peace and the removal of suspicion, and they wanted to create a new atmosphere in a new Parliament for a new age in which the people would come together. They therefore deliberately abandoned what they had laid their hands to. They knew they might be called cowards for doing it, and told that they had gone back on their principles ; but they believed it was for them in their strength to do what no other party could do at that moment, and say that they, at any rate, stood for peace.

Mr. Baldwin's fear of being called hard names for judging discretion to be the better part of valour proved to be groundless. The subsequent debate resolved itself into a chorus of approval of what Mr. Thomas called " the very difficult and very bold step " which the Government had taken, and after a time the mover and seconder intimated their willingness to withdraw the Bill. Mr. Henderson, after referring to the " intense satisfaction " with which members of all parties must have heard the Prime Minister's speech, stated that, nevertheless, the Labour Party felt bound to oppose the amendment which had been introduced, because it contained an expression of approval of the principle of the Bill. A division accordingly took place on the amendment, which was carried by 325 votes to 153.

About the same time that the Conservative Party announced its attack on the trade union levy, the Ministry of Labour had issued a circular to the Labour Exchanges directing them not to entertain applications for unemployment benefit unless the applicant had to his credit thirty contributions to the unemployment fund. Labour members saw in this step an attack on the status of the workers and a forerunner of something worse, and accordingly, on March 9, a Labour member moved to reduce the Minister of Labour's salary. On behalf of the Government, it was pleaded that they were merely putting into force the provisions of the Unemployment Act of 1924 which had been framed by the Labour Government. Mr. Shaw, the ex-Minister of Labour, pointed out that at that time there was an expectation that the number of unemployed would decline, but instead they had to-day even more unemployed than twelve months ago. He was sure that had the Labour Government been in office, it would, in these circumstances, have suspended the operation of the Act in this particular. He pleaded with the Minister of Labour, instead of tightening up the administration of the Unemployment Act, to make it more humane, by instructing his officers and committees to treat all unemployed persons with courtesy and sympathy, and give them the benefit of the doubt. It was better to increase the deficiency in the fund by one, two, or three millions and give the people something to eat than to starve the people in order to

pay off the money owing to the Treasury. The Minister of Labour, in reply, denied entirely that, apart from the new Order, he had varied in any way the administration of his predecessor, either in deed or in spirit. He went on to say that, in his opinion, both insurance benefits and unemployment grants were mere palliatives of the unemployment evil, but that, if a good understanding could be arrived at between the parties to industry, then, indeed, the Government might take up the problem and settle it. He was convinced that the only way to get a real cure was for masters and men to meet together and put their cards on the table, facing the facts of the situation and dealing with it with mutual goodwill on both sides.

Taking the Minister at his word, Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck, on March 11, asked the Prime Minister whether, in view of the admitted need of conference in industry to remove suspicion and other causes of industrial strife, he would take steps to invite representatives of the industries to meet in national conference. This proved to be further than the Government were prepared to go, their view being that the separate industries should first discuss their own problems in the requisite spirit. Mr. Baldwin made another moving appeal for the cultivation of this spirit in a speech delivered the next day at Leeds, pointing out the great harm that class selfishness and mutual hatred could at this juncture cause to industry.

The advisability of "meeting together" had already been realised by masters and men, independently of the exhortations of Ministers. Before the end of the previous year the coal-owners had suggested to the miners the appointment of a small joint committee to consider the "extremely serious position of the industry." The miners had at first refused, but had gradually come round to the idea. The delegate conference of the Miners' Federation, which met at Blackpool on February 27 and 28, decided among other things to press for further investigations into the state of the industry, and in pursuance of this resolution a joint inquiry with the owners was soon afterwards arranged. In the shipbuilding trade also a similar step was taken about the same time, and for similar reasons.

The exports for 1924 had shown an increase of over 28,000,000*l.* on those of the previous year; but this was counter-balanced by an increase in imports of over 183,000,000*l.*, so that the adverse trade balance was much larger, and the increase in exports was not maintained in the first quarter of the current year. It was, in fact, obvious that if the Conservative Government had saved the country from Socialistic experiments, it had failed to bring about any improvement in the state of trade. The economic depression which had set in four years previously continued to weigh heavily on the country, and whatever signs had appeared of its lifting proved to have been delusive. Britain's

share in the world's trade, it is true, was still as great as before the war, but the volume of that trade had shrunk considerably, while the British working class population had increased. More disquieting still, Britain was losing ground in the world's markets. The country heard with a shock at the end of February that an order for 50,000*l.* worth of British shipping had gone to Hamburg. Many people echoed the remark of the Minister of Labour, that this was the "handwriting on the wall" for the British export trade.

In order to meet foreign competition employers were faced with the necessity of reducing their costs of production, and for this end the first course which recommended itself was to reduce the rate of wages, a step which seemed all the more natural as workmen in competing countries received on the whole lower wages and gave longer hours than in England. The working men on their side were as a class determined not to accept any conditions which would lower their standard of living. It was obvious, therefore, that sooner or later, unless some unforeseen and unexpected change occurred in the economic situation, the employers would make proposals for wage reductions which the men would stubbornly resist. The Prime Minister's repeated appeals for "goodwill" and a "better atmosphere" may have staved off the clash for a time, but they could not prevent it from coming eventually.

In one of the chief export trades of the country—engineering—wages had long before this been forced down to a point which the men considered unjustifiably low, and they had towards the end of 1924 presented a demand for an all-round advance of 20*s.* a week. After long deferring their reply, the employers at length, on February 5, met representatives of the men's unions, and declared that, owing to foreign competition, they could not afford to increase costs of production without sacrificing the export trade, and that any advance in wages would have to be conditional on the men accepting somewhat more stringent conditions of labour. The men refused to consider such an idea, and negotiations were adjourned.

At the same time employers and men came into sharper conflict in another of the country's great industries—the railways. At the end of January the National Union of Railwaymen and the Railway Clerks' Association formulated demands for increased wages for all grades, in spite of the fact that the railway workers, being sheltered from foreign competition, enjoyed, on the whole, better wages and conditions than the miners and engineers. The general managers of the railway companies met representatives of the trade unions on February 3, and to the surprise of the latter, so far from acceding to their demands, formulated counter-proposals for all-round reductions of pay. In a public statement issued immediately afterwards, they justified this step on the

ground that labour costs on the railways were abnormally high, being approximately two and a half times the pre-war total, and that traffic receipts had fallen considerably in 1924, largely owing to the decline in coal exports. Mr. C. T. Cramp, the Secretary of the N.U.R., stated after the interview with the railway managers that he was quite sure the proposals would not be tolerated by the railwaymen, and would lead to serious trouble. Thus in three of the great industries of the country the possibility of a stoppage was early in the year already apparent.

The industrial situation offered a favourable field of operations to the advocates of the "class war," and efforts were not wanting on their part to exploit it. Early in the year they organised a "minority movement" within the trade unions with Communist sympathies, and they succeeded in persuading the Miners' Delegate Conference at Blackpool in February to decide in favour of holding a conference with representatives of the unions of railwaymen, transport workers, and engineers to discuss possibilities of joint action. Mr. Cook, the Secretary of the Miners' Federation, and a declared "activist," explained his motives a few days later in words which formed a somewhat sardonic reply to the Prime Minister's repeated appeals for a "better spirit" in industry. Speaking on behalf of the Executive of the Federation, he said: "Our intention is to meet representatives of all the unions in the country, either separately or jointly, and then to go finally to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. It is the definite policy of the Miners' Federation to make arrangements for mutual aid in disputes, and to set up some machinery immediately, so that we can act together when attacked, or in defence. The combined membership of the unions which it is anticipated will join the movement is over five millions. It will be an alliance for action to secure united support before any struggle is decided upon . . . a counterblast to the Federation of British Industries."

These words showed Mr. Cook to be aiming practically at the revival on a larger and more ambitious scale of the Labour "Triple Alliance," which had come to grief at the time of the coal strike in 1921. The difficulties in face of his scheme were recognised, but it was given a fair chance. On March 1, and the succeeding days, a number of meetings were held between representatives of the miners and of other important industries, in which the plans of the former were explained. It became evident in the course of these discussions that such plans had little chance of succeeding, owing to the jealousies and dissensions between various unions, even in the same industry. However, a conference was eventually arranged for June 4, with a promise of participation from various industries.

Concurrently with Mr. Cook's effort to create a new Labour Alliance, an attempt was made from another side to lead the

Trade Union organisation into more venturesome courses. The General Council of the Trade Unions, acting on the mandate of the Hull Congress (*v.* A.R., 1924, p. 94), had urged the Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions at its meeting in February to meet the Russian Unions in open conference, but without success. In spite of this rebuff the General Council continued its efforts for a rapprochement, and organised a joint conference with representatives of the Russian Trade Unions in London on April 6, 7, and 8. As a result of its discussions, the Conference affirmed that "national and international unity must be recognised as the first essential condition to enable the Trade Union movement to defend effectively the present position of the workers against attack, and to achieve the social and political aims of organised labour," and in pursuance of this end announced that "joint efforts would be made to induce the Amsterdam International in all goodwill to agree to a free, unconditional, and immediate conference with representatives of the Russian Trade Union movement." A fortnight afterwards the General Council of the Trade Union Congress met and endorsed all the resolutions of the Anglo-Russian Conference for promoting closer co-operation between British and Russian trade unionists. No practical steps could, of course, be taken till the Congress itself met in September; but it was already obvious that the General Council would, as in the previous year, try to secure more consideration from the Trade Unions for Russian propaganda.

In the sphere of foreign affairs, Britain's relations with France and Germany continued during all this time to demand the earnest attention of the Government and Parliament. On the day before Mr. Churchill left for Paris, the Allied Governments had presented a Note to Germany stating, among other things, that Cologne would not be evacuated by the British on January 10, the date fixed for that step by the Treaty of Versailles. The reason given was that Germany had not yet fulfilled the conditions laid down in Article 429 of the Treaty. The announcement provoked an acrimonious reply from the German Government, and the Chancellor asked indignantly why the report of the Inter-Allied Commission on German disarmament was not forthcoming, and why Germany was not told exactly what was required of her. Mr. Chamberlain on January 30, at Birmingham, made a conciliatory speech which foreshadowed the course he was to adopt during the coming months in dealing with continental affairs. His object, he said, as the object of any Foreign Secretary was bound to be, was to establish firmly the peace of the world. Europe was still suffering profoundly from the unrest of the war, and the first act of statesmanship must be to give security to the new order of things, and to allay the forces that prevented progress. Provided its friends did not expect too much of it in

its infancy, the League of Nations would become strong in the councils of the world, but before the League could prove its usefulness a difficult road had to be travelled. It had been suggested that his visits to Paris and Rome had been made for the purpose of constructing a front against this or that party. Nothing was further from his thoughts. His task was to allay all differences. But old differences could not be allayed by forgetting old friendships, and the first thing he had set himself to do was to renew and reaffirm the close understanding and cordial relations which had existed between themselves and their Allies. Alluding to the controversy with regard to Cologne, he said that he regretted the tone and temper of the German replies and of the German Chancellor's speech, but he would content himself with taking note of a sentence of that speech which said that the German Government was determined to make good any failures to disarm which might be proved by the Allies, and with repeating the sentence in the Allied Note, which said that the Allies on their side were determined scrupulously to fulfil their Treaty obligations.

A few days later (February 12) Mr. Chamberlain stated in Parliament that no negotiations for a separate pact had been begun with any other country, and that the Geneva Protocol, which raised the whole question of disarmament and, therefore, of alliances, was being earnestly considered. At the same time, he definitely bound the Government not to commit the country to the Protocol or any fresh obligation of a comparable character without the assent of Parliament. Shortly afterwards the Cabinet received the report of the Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence which had been appointed to examine the Protocol. On the strength of this document and other material, the Government was able to decide finally its attitude to the Protocol in time for the League meeting at Geneva, but not in consultation with representatives of the Dominions, as had originally been hoped.

Mr. Chamberlain's assurances with regard to Cologne and the Protocol did not entirely allay the suspicions widely held in Opposition circles that the Government was drifting in the direction of a unilateral agreement with France. Powerful, if veiled, expression was given to this suspicion in the House of Lords on March 3 by the leader of the Liberal Party, who had entered that body a few weeks before under the title of Lord Oxford and Asquith, and whose maiden speech there drew an unusually large attendance. Lord Oxford asked the Government whether they could fix a date for the publication in whole or in summary of the Report of the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control on German default. The Allies, he said, were under a *prima facie* obligation, according to the Treaty of Versailles, to evacuate the Cologne area on January 10, and the question arose whether there had been such unfaithfulness on the part of Germany in fulfilling

the Treaty as to justify them in the non-performance of this obligation. To settle this question it was of the utmost importance that the evidence of the Commission should be produced, and that, if need were, the German Government should be given the opportunity of stating their counter-case, if they had one. He asked that, not in the interests of Germany, but in order that their desire for fair dealing should be free from all question and suspicion. He disclaimed any want of respect for the Commission or for Marshal Foch or for the Ambassadors' Conference, and still more any intention to wound the susceptibilities of France. Still, he would like to know where at the moment they were, and whither they were going.

Lord Curzon's reply aimed at removing any mistrust that might have been felt as to the Government's intentions. The Report of the Commission, he said, had only just passed into the hands of the Ambassadors' Conference, which in a few days would probably pass it on to the respective Governments. It would then be the duty of the Powers to consider the demands to be made of the German Government, which he himself hoped would be given an opportunity of being heard. In regard to the publication of the Report, he denied strenuously that there was any desire on the part of the British Government or the Allies to hush up or hide the real reasons for the non-evacuation of Cologne. The Report, while it contained the grounds on which the Government would eventually make its decision, was not, in their opinion, a document which should be made public, either in whole or in part. At the same time, he assured the House that no decision would be taken on a matter of such importance without making public the whole of the grounds and facts on which it was reached.

The suspicions with which the Liberal Party continued to regard the foreign policy of the Government found expression a couple of days later in the House of Commons, on the eve of the Foreign Secretary's departure for Geneva. Mr. Fisher, in opening a debate on the international situation, repeated Lord Oxford's plea that the evacuation of Cologne should not be postponed unless there was a really substantial default on Germany's part, and not merely some minor and casual omissions. Dealing with the question of French security, he stated that the Liberal Party was unalterably opposed to a suggestion that had been made that Great Britain should form a triple alliance with Belgium and France to guarantee the Eastern frontier of those countries. He referred to a report which had appeared in the newspapers, that Germany herself had made a suggestion to join in a pact to guarantee the eastern frontier of France, while keeping herself free to refer to the League of Nations or to arbitration questions relating to her own frontier on the East. This suggestion to his mind was far more promising, and he asked the Government if Germany had in fact made such proposals, and if so what was

their attitude towards them. The Geneva Protocol was also a line of progress towards the goal of security, and he hoped the Government, if it could not come to any decided conclusion with regard to the Protocol, would, at any rate, not meet Genève with a "blank and sterile negative." In conclusion, Mr. Fisher animadverted upon the conduct of France in the Saar and of Poland in Danzig, and expressed his doubts on the wisdom of transferring the control of German armaments to a Commission appointed by the League of Nations, especially as its president was to be a Frenchman.

Mr. Chamberlain replied at considerable length, dealing first with the points raised last by Mr. Fisher. He maintained that there had been a great improvement in the Saar administration during the past two years, and that the French president of the governing body, whatever might be his faults, was still the best man for the post, and could be trusted to use his power in the right spirit. With regard to Danzig, Mr. Chamberlain did not commit himself further than to say that he thought Poland was likely now to take a calmer view of the situation than in the hour of her national re-birth. As to the transfer of the control of German armaments to the League, that, said Mr. Chamberlain, arose out of the original constitution of the League, and might remove a source of friction between Britain and her enemies in the war. On the question of the Cologne evacuation, Mr. Chamberlain followed the same line as Lord Curzon in his reply to Lord Oxford.

Coming to the question of security, Mr. Chamberlain took as his text some words used by Earl Grey in an address on the international situation which he had delivered the previous evening: "Security is the master-key to the difficult problems of Western Europe." No one, he said, could occupy the position which he had done for the last few months and not feel that a dominant enemy in Europe was the sense of insecurity that reigned everywhere, and that there could be no progress in human affairs, no recovery of national life, no commercial and economic prosperity, until the question of security was dealt with. It was, he said, quite true that, as reported in the papers, proposals on this matter had been made to the Allied Governments by Germany. At first they had been offered to him under pledge of secrecy, and he had refused to receive them, but he was then assured that the same communications would be made to Brussels, Paris, and Rome, as had actually been done. At the very first sight he had welcomed this new move on the part of the German Government; now that they had repeated their proposals to the other Allies, he attached great importance to it. The exchange of views between the Allied Governments had so far been of the slightest, and it was too soon to gauge the possibilities of the proposals. But it was not too soon for him to say that the Government

attached the highest importance to them, and meant to give them the most serious consideration in the hope that in this voluntary movement of the German Government there might be found a passage which would lead them away from the unhappy past to a better and more friendly future. Lord Grey in his speech had emphasised the part that Britain might play in pacifying Europe, by making some offer to promote European security in which the British Empire might join. It was too early for him to have formed in his own mind an idea of the shape which their co-operation should take, but it was in the spirit of Lord Grey's remark that the Government approached the whole consideration of the subject.

Liberal speakers who followed pointed out that Mr. Chamberlain had said nothing about the Protocol. In replying to the debate, Mr. Chamberlain said that he expected to make an announcement on the Protocol at the League meeting. He went so far as to add, however, that all the indications he had been able to obtain as to the state of feeling in other countries led him to the conclusion that if Britain signed the Protocol to-morrow they would not settle the question of security as it presented itself to those who were most anxious about the dangers surrounding them. With or without the Protocol, however, the Government would continue to work for the principles of arbitration and disarmament, which that document was supposed to represent.

While Mr. Chamberlain was delivering his speech an incident occurred which for some time seriously disturbed the harmony of the House of Commons. While the Foreign Secretary was dealing with the subject of security, he was interrupted so persistently by Mr. Kirkwood that at length the Chairman of Committees, Mr. Hope, who was in the Chair, called that member somewhat sharply to order. Mr. Kirkwood thereupon rose as if to speak, but the Chairman, without waiting for a word of explanation, called on him to leave the House. Mr. Kirkwood refused, and Mr. Hope thereupon sent for the Speaker, and informed him that Mr. Kirkwood had disregarded the authority of the Chair. The Speaker named him, and Mr. A. Chamberlain, who was leading the House in the absence of the Prime Minister, moved "that Mr. Kirkwood, the member for Dumbarton Burghs, be suspended from the service of the House." Mr. MacDonald sought to make an explanation, but the Speaker ruled that it would be out of order for him to do so. The House then divided on the motion, which was carried by 245 votes to 119. As soon as the figures were announced, Mr. MacDonald, accompanied by all the Labour members present, rose and walked out of the House—an unprecedented manner of showing disapproval with the Chairman's ruling. Mr. Chamberlain then resumed his speech, after a break of twenty minutes. The Labour Party were in high dudgeon for

some days over what they termed the "peremptory and arbitrary action" of the Chairman of Committees, and Mr. MacDonald tabled a vote of censure. Before it could be discussed, however, Mr. Hope wrote a letter to Mr. Baldwin explaining that his apparent harshness had been due to his anxiety to protect the Foreign Secretary from any interruption which might have disconcerted him, and so led him to make a slip in the midst of a speech of exceptional gravity and importance. Mr. Baldwin, on March 9, read this letter to the House of Commons, and Mr. MacDonald thereupon undertook to withdraw his motion of censure, and a few days afterwards the House, on the Premier's recommendation, rescinded the motion suspending Mr. Kirkwood.

In spite of Mr. Chamberlain's reserve, it was already known on good authority that the Protocol had been severely criticised by the military and naval advisers of the Government, and that it had on the whole found little approval in the eyes of that body. The French Government, on the other hand, had declared itself warmly in favour of the Protocol, and desirous of seeing it ratified. It fell to Mr. Chamberlain, therefore, as the British delegate to Geneva, to convey a message which he knew could be little to the taste of his French colleagues. His well-known friendship for France did not lead him to shirk the task; on the contrary, the rejection of the Protocol contained in his speech was almost brusque in its outspokenness.

He began by pointing out that in regard to the three main themes of the Protocol, arbitration, disarmament, and security, the British Empire had shown by deeds as well as by words that it was in the fullest accord with the ideals of the League of Nations. Nevertheless, the British Government, after discussing the subject with the self-governing Dominions and with India, saw insuperable objections to signing and ratifying the Protocol in its present shape. Amendment or interpretation might in themselves be desirable; but the Government could not believe that the Protocol as it stood provided the most suitable method of attempting this task.

Mr. Chamberlain then proceeded to state in detail the objections to the scheme. The non-adhesion of the United States to the League had upset the calculation of the framers of the Covenant, and made it unwise to add to the liabilities already incurred under that document, as the Protocol undoubtedly proposed to do. The value of the "economic sanctions" was entirely changed by the existence of powerful economic communities outside the limits of the League. In regard to the military measures contemplated, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that a State threatened with attack might be put at a disadvantage by having to maintain the peace distribution of its forces; this was especially the case at sea, where mobility and concentration were of the essence of defensive power. The provisions requiring the aggressor State

to pay all the costs of the war for which it was responsible, and protecting it from any alteration of frontiers or interference in its domestic affairs, also seemed to the British Government too rigid and inflexible, and calculated to deprive the League of a discretion which other tribunals were free to exercise.

From these specific objections, Mr. Chamberlain went on to a criticism of a more general nature. The additions made by the Protocol to the Covenant did something quite different from clarifying obscurities and filling in omissions. They destroyed its balance and altered its spirit. The fresh emphasis laid upon sanctions, the new occasions discovered for their employment, the elaboration of military procedure, insensibly suggested that the vital business of the League was not so much to promote friendly co-operation and reasoned harmony in the management of international affairs, as to preserve peace by organising war, and, it might be, war on the largest scale. In the opinion of the British Government, anything which fostered the idea that the main business of the League was with war rather than with peace was likely to weaken it in its fundamental task of diminishing the cause of war, without making it in every respect a suitable instrument for organising great military operations, should the necessity for them be forced upon the world. The Government failed to see how the Protocol would promote disarmament any more than the Covenant; and as between the Covenant unamended and the Covenant amended by the Protocol, they preferred the former.

In order not to end on a purely critical note, Mr. Chamberlain added some positive suggestions which had commended themselves to the British Government. While they did not agree that without sanctions the League was powerless and treaties no better than waste paper, they recognised that there were extreme cases about which it was not possible to speak with the same assurance, and the possibility of which fostered international suspicion and kept the world on edge. Since, in the opinion of the Government, the general provisions of the Covenant could not be stiffened with advantage, and since the "extreme cases" were likely to affect certain nations or groups of nations more nearly than others, His Majesty's Government concluded that the best way of dealing with the situation was, with the co-operation of the League, to supplement the Covenant by making special arrangements in order to meet special needs. That these arrangements should be purely defensive in character and framed in the spirit of the Covenant was manifest. And in the opinion of the Government, these objects could best be attained by knitting together the nations most immediately concerned, and whose differences might lead to a renewal of strife, by means of treaties framed with the sole object of maintaining an unbroken peace.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech made a painful impression on the delegates, who were hardly prepared for so complete a rejection

of the Protocol on the part of Britain. It was immediately recognised by France that the Protocol had been killed, and that some new means would have to be devised of finding security. Accordingly, when Mr. Chamberlain passed through Paris on his way back from Geneva, M. Herriot discussed with him the new situation that had been created. The conversations were most amicable, but they did not lead to any result beyond bringing into clearer relief the problems that had to be solved. The German proposals were discussed, but Mr. Chamberlain was of opinion that nothing could be done unless Germany was prepared to come into the League, and on an equality with the other members. In the House of Commons, on March 18, Mr. Chamberlain stated that the objections of the Government to the Protocol were so fundamental that it did not seem to them to afford the best basis for future negotiation, although they were fully aware of the unanimous decision of the French Government, taken before they defined their own attitude, to support the Protocol.

The Labour Party at this juncture took occasion to manifest the deep mistrust with which it regarded the Foreign Office in the Conservative Government. On March 11, Mr. Trevelyan moved that no treaty should be ratified, and no arrangements involving national obligations made, without the consent of Parliament, and that no preparations for co-operation in war with a foreign State should be lawful unless consequent upon such arrangements. The Labour Party, he said, believed that peace could only be secured by the deliberate and overt determination of the mass of the people to resist all policies which led to war. The first requisite of this new security was that the House of Commons should no longer have nominally the last voice in deciding about foreign policy, but that actually, ordinarily, and by established practice, its control should be as much in the hands of the House as the control of domestic policy had been for over a century. One of the first declarations of the Foreign Secretary had been that the Government did not consider themselves bound to adopt the procedure laid down by Mr. Ponsonby when in office of informing the House "of all agreements, commitments, and understandings which may in any way bind the nation to specific action in certain circumstances." Until they knew better, they were forced to assume from that announcement that they had reverted to the old traditions, and that secret diplomacy had again become possible. That was why the Labour Party had taken immediate steps to raise the question.

Mr. R. MacNeill, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replied that it was absurd to say that, as things existed, the country could be committed to far-reaching foreign conclusions without Parliament or the people knowing anything about it. Legislation by Parliament was required before a treaty could come into operation. But the real safeguard was that under the

Constitution no Government in its senses would ever dare to embark on a treaty unless it was confident of the support of the House. The one exception, he slyly added, was the treaty with Russia signed by the late Labour Government. There were no secret treaties in existence. All treaties were published in the treaty series, and all clauses of all treaties were registered by the League of Nations in Geneva. Why, he asked, should the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs be stripped of all authority any more than his colleagues at the Colonial Office or the India Office? The only way to safeguard Parliamentary control over these offices was to leave responsibility for taking action to an executive officer, who must give place to others as soon as he ceased to have the confidence of the House.

An amendment was moved from the Unionist benches "that the existing procedure of this House already adequately secures the control of Parliament over foreign affairs." Mr. Ponsonby, who had been Mr. MacNeill's predecessor, charged the Secretary for Foreign Affairs with having entirely altered the tone and temper of the controversy on reparations, and gone back to methods of dictation where Mr. MacDonald had used conciliation; the change which had come over Europe since Mr. MacDonald left the Foreign Office was very noticeable. The amendment did not come to a division, but the motion was lost by 255 votes to 133.

A few days later (March 16) Mr. Baldwin, in reply to a Parliamentary question, made a written statement that it was not the intention of the Government to revert to the practice of what was called "secret diplomacy." There must always be communications of a confidential character between the Government and foreign ambassadors and ministers; but it was the intention of the Government, as heretofore, to continue to take Parliament and the nation into their confidence to the fullest possible extent, and at the earliest possible moment, in the conduct of the foreign policy of the country.

The Government's rejection of the Protocol was the subject of protest both in the House of Lords and the House of Commons on March 25. In the former, Lord Parmoor roundly charged the Government with having rejected the Protocol root and branch on the wide ground that a policy based on trust and not on fear represented under present conditions an impracticable ideal. Mr. Henderson, in the House of Commons, admitted that he was seriously disappointed and perturbed at the course which events had taken in regard to the Protocol. A situation had been created which rendered impossible a discussion of the Protocol in Parliament in an untroubled and unprejudiced atmosphere. As one who had taken part in the framing of that document, he warmly defended it against the strictures passed on it by Mr. Chamberlain in his speech at Geneva, and expressed the hope that even now the

British Government would be prepared to reconsider its position, and at the next assembly of the League try to carry forward the work which was commenced at Geneva in the previous September.

Mr. Chamberlain, in his reply, took occasion to develop the position which he had adopted at Geneva, and to set forth clearly the orientation of British foreign policy. He maintained that to some extent the same objections applied to the Protocol as to the proposed Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which the Labour Government had so emphatically rejected the year before. Not without humour, he traced its genesis to the desperate desire of M. Herriot and Mr. MacDonald, when they met at Geneva, to find a formula on which they could agree in spite of fundamental differences of policy between their respective nations, and which could mean one thing in Paris and another in London. The Protocol, he maintained, might be good for a Power with land frontiers like France, but could not be good for a purely naval Power like England, and for that reason the Government could not recommend it to Parliament.

From the Protocol, Mr. Chamberlain turned to the German proposals of February 9 as a more promising instrument for securing peace and disarmament. To a closely attentive House he gave the first authentic account of these proposals, which confirmed what was already known from the Press, and then proceeded to add his own interpretation. What they amounted to in his understanding was that Germany was prepared to guarantee voluntarily what hitherto she had accepted only under the compulsion of the Treaty—the *status quo* in the West; that she was prepared to eliminate war not only from the West, but also from the East, as an engine by which any alteration in the Treaty position was to be obtained. She was prepared to disavow and abandon any idea of recourse to war for the purpose of changing the Treaty boundaries of Europe. But she might be unwilling or unable to make the same renunciation of all hopes and aspirations that some day, by friendly arrangement and mutual agreement, a modification might be introduced in the East, which she was prepared to make in regard to any modifications in the West. Mr. Chamberlain held that Great Britain, in supporting these proposals, would be “underpinning the Covenant” and stabilising peace in the West without licensing or legitimising war elsewhere. Britain’s foreign policy, concluded Mr. Chamberlain, had been of recent years wavering and inconsistent, and British influence in Europe had declined in consequence. These proposals gave her a new chance, for it was with Britain’s help alone that Europe could be saved from a new war.

Mr. Lloyd George criticised Mr. Chamberlain for having, by his manner of rejecting the Protocol, created the impression in Europe that the British Government was against the principle of compulsory arbitration, but on the Protocol itself he was more

severe than even Mr. Chamberlain had been. He denounced it as "a booby-trap for Britain, baited with arbitration." He complained that the Protocol did not refer to arbitration a single question which was likely to provoke war in Europe, at the same time detailing these questions so circumstantially as to draw from Mr. MacDonald the dry comment that he had never heard so complete a denunciation of the Treaty of Versailles. The Leader of the Opposition, on his side, evinced no enthusiasm for the German proposals, which at the best could give France a sense of security for the time being only. This was good as far as it went, but would bring them no nearer to disarmament, which could be effected only on the lines of the Protocol. The Prime Minister, in concluding the debate, endorsed the remarks of his colleague on the Protocol and the German proposals. The establishment of the Dawes plan, he said, had been the first great step taken in the last three years to bring back real peace to Europe, and the bringing of the German overtures to a successful issue might be the second. A great responsibility was thrown on England in this matter, but he believed the country would rise to the height of that responsibility.

On March 11 the Minister of Health introduced a Bill to prolong the control of rents, as ordained by the Bill of 1923, for another two and a half years. He said it was desirable that restrictions on rent should be removed at the earliest moment possible without exposing tenants to exploitation by unscrupulous landlords. It was, however, impossible to prophesy with certainty when the moment would come at which the operation could be safely carried out. Therefore it was advisable to go by short steps so as to avoid the danger of carrying on the restrictions after the necessity for them had passed away. He admitted that there were hardships to tenants under the 1923 Act, but thought they had been exaggerated. Mr. Wheatley moved an amendment condemning the Bill on the ground that it re-enacted the provisions of the 1923 Act, and continued legal sanction for increases in rent which were no longer justifiable. He maintained that control, under the operation of the Act of 1923, was, as he expressed it, "bleeding to death," and was more and more failing to give the tenant adequate protection. He thought the shortage of houses would be greater in 1927 than in 1925, and that there would be more need of control then than there was at present. When the debate was resumed a fortnight later, an appeal was made by the ex-Attorney-General, Sir H. Slessor, for consolidating and simplifying the existing Rent Acts, which placed the law on the subject in a state of great confusion. His successor, Sir D. Hogge, however, turned a deaf ear to the proposal. In defence of the Bill, he said that it was not intended to cure the existing evil in the housing situation, but was only continuing an admittedly unsatisfactory course of legislation until the housing

shortage should have been overcome. The amendment was thereupon rejected by 281 votes to 131, and the Bill was read a second time. After some further opposition in Committee, the Bill passed its third reading on May 5.

On March 13 a private member introduced a Bill to make Summer Time permanent as from the Sunday following the first Saturday in April to the Sunday following the first Saturday in October. An amendment was moved declaring that the Bill must inflict grave injury to the industry of agriculture, unless it were limited to the months of May, June, July, and August. The Home Secretary stated that the Government would leave the question of the second reading to the free vote of the House, and after an animated debate the amendment was negatived by 289 votes to 63. The Government thereupon promised to give facilities for the Committee stage of the Bill, and meanwhile Summer Time was instituted for 1925 as from April.

On March 19 the King, acting on the advice of his doctors, left London for a cruise in the Mediterranean, in order to recuperate from an attack of influenza which had confined him to his room for some weeks. He nominated to act on his behalf in his absence, Prince Henry, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Prime Minister. Prince Henry took the place of the Prince of Wales, who was about to start on his South African tour, and the Prime Minister of Lord Curzon, the President of the Council, who was ill. The King was away with the Queen for some weeks, and returned completely restored to health.

The death of Marquis Curzon, which took place on the next day (March 20), deprived the Government of its chief spokesman in the House of Lords [see Obituaries in Part II.]. His place as leader of that body and President of the Council was taken by the veteran Lord Balfour, on his return a few weeks later from his visit to Palestine and Syria. Eloquent tributes were paid to the deceased statesman's memory in Parliament on March 23, opponents as well as colleagues recognising his great abilities, high principles, and devotion to duty. His demise was followed after a few weeks' interval by that of Lord Milner, who, in the public mind, was always associated with him as the type of the imperialist "proconsul," but who in reality was a man of a somewhat different stamp, an administrator rather than a politician, and one who took a keen interest in social reform, a matter with which Lord Curzon did not greatly concern himself [see under Obituaries in Part II.].

In the House of Lords on March 25 the Duke of Sutherland asked the Government whether they were prepared to introduce legislation for the reform of that body in the near future, in view of the importance of passing such legislation in the lifetime of the present Government. He recalled the cry of "End 'em or mend 'em," which had been in vogue at the time of the passing of the

Parliament Act, and appealed to Lord Oxford, who had brought the House to its present position, to apply his abilities to the task of mending it after fourteen years' delay. It was not, he said, for him or for any other member to put forward any scheme ; they looked to the Government to find the best way of bringing forward an agreed scheme in which all three parties could have their say, particularly as the Government had given definite pledges on the subject. Mr. Baldwin, for instance, had said on October 25 that if a Unionist Government would have time and power, the question would receive their attention. The mover's hopes of seeing an agreed scheme supported by all three parties were immediately dashed by Lord Haldane, who thought the House was best as it was. He admitted that he had been a member of Lord Oxford's Government which had put the preamble into the Parliament Act stating that the question of the reform of the House of Lords brooked no delay. But the position had altered since then. The House of Lords had of recent years shown more readiness to acknowledge the force of public opinion. It had treated the late Government very handsomely, and generally had shown a spirit which went a long way to get over difficulties. His advice, therefore, was to " let well alone ; " to remain as they were, carefully watching and accommodating themselves to public opinion rather than trying any violent change.

Lord Oxford showed himself somewhat more sympathetic to the mover's appeal. He said there was nothing he had said in the controversy of 1910-11, which he was not prepared to reiterate to-day. It was impossible to defend either on logical or practical grounds the constitution of the House of Lords in its present form as a Second Chamber. In regard to the actual changes that should be made, there was great difference of opinion, and he was afraid that in spite of the researches of the Bryce Committee, they were not much more advanced than they had been fifteen years before. It might be too sanguine a view to hope that there was substantial agreement as to the end to be achieved, but if there was, it ought to be possible to devise some instrument appropriate to the purpose ; and the responsibility of suggesting the form and character of that instrument must rest with the Government of the day.

Thus challenged, the Lord Chancellor admitted that the question was regarded by the Government not only as one of real importance, but as one which called for consideration, and in due time for action. There was, he thought, a real danger in leaving matters as they stood. The Government had not had time as yet to formulate any proposals, but the Prime Minister proposed to appoint a Committee of the Cabinet which would fully examine the problem in all its aspects, in the hope that in the near future, possibly next year, they might be able to put their proposals before Parliament. The resumed debate on the

subject on April 2 produced an elaborate scheme for 'House of Lords Reform from Lord Birkenhead, who was careful to state that he was not yet in a position to speak for the Cabinet as a whole. Other speakers were content to leave the task of drawing up details to the Cabinet Committee which had been promised, and in regard to which the Government was not pressed for further details.

The unemployment situation was on March 26 the subject of a debate in Parliament, which served only to show how slender were the prospects of improvement. Sir J. Simon raised the question out of fear that, by becoming habituated to the continuance of the situation, they might lose interest, and even hope in searching for a remedy; but he had no remedy to suggest. Mr. Snowden was somewhat more practical, and referred the Government to the reports drawn up by the Reconstruction Committee after the Armistice, and the schemes which had been left in a more or less advanced stage by the Labour Government. Much too, he thought, might be accomplished by the elimination of waste in national and public administration. The Minister of Labour devoted himself chiefly to showing that the causes of unemployment were beyond Government control—such as, for instance, the installation of labour-saving appliances during the war—and could not do more than hold out a vague hope that in time the Government would bring forward an electricity scheme which would provide employment and raise the country to the requisite standard of efficiency. Sir A. Mond asserted that the trade position was such as ought to make the Government feel that risks ought to be taken, and he propounded an ingenious scheme of subsidising firms out of unemployment insurance funds in order that they might be able to reduce costs, and so secure orders. He was informed that the Government had given serious consideration to this proposal, but had found its drawbacks to outweigh its advantages.

Sir Alfred Mond's scheme for using a part of the unemployment benefit for the help of struggling industries found little favour with the official representatives of Labour. On May 5 a statement was issued in the name of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party, characterising it as "a confession of the failure of the system of private enterprise," and criticising it as superficial and inadequate. Sir A. Mond, in reply, expressed his disappointment that the Labour Party should reject his scheme without even making an attempt to discuss his proposals with him, or giving him an opportunity of answering objections, and contrasted their purely negative attitude with that of the Federation of British Industries, the Grand Council of which had invited him to explain his scheme at a meeting, and cordially received it.

In pursuance of the resolution taken at the Miners' Delegate Conference on February 28, Mr. Walsh moved in Parliament, on March 27, the second reading of the Miners' Minimum Wage Bill. He pointed out that miners all over the country were receiving barely a subsistence wage, which could not be termed a living wage, and called on Parliament to help them, as owing to the prevalence of combinations among the employers they could not attain their object by direct negotiation. From the Unionist benches the rejection of the Bill was moved on the ground that it would interfere with the power of those most directly concerned to settle their own affairs in consultation. The case against the Bill was put most forcibly by Sir R. Horne, who took objection to it for two reasons: because he thought it was wrong in principle that Parliament should fix a particular schedule of wages in any industry, and because the present was a particularly unfortunate time for making such a proposal. He admitted that the wages paid to the miners were distressingly low, but that was due to the depressed state of the coal trade, which was barely meeting its costs. The Secretary of the Mines Department, Lieut.-Colonel Lane Fox, reinforced Sir R. Horne's arguments with figures showing the great increase in coal production in Holland, Belgium, France, and Germany during the past year, and on a division the motion was lost by 208 votes to 143, while the amendment was carried by 197 to 121.

On April 1 Lord Birkenhead introduced in the House of Lords the Government's Bill for carrying out the recommendation of the Lee Commission on the Civil Services in India (*vide* A.R., 1924, p. 128). He pointed out that the Indianisation of the services was accepted as a principle with a view to producing in the case of Indian Civil Service recruits a cadre one-half European and one-half Indian. He expressed great disquietude at the fact that since 1914 the Indian Civil Service had shown many signs of lack of popularity in England. In his day at Oxford the very flower of the young men there had presented themselves for the examination, but since 1914 there had been a distinct and grave decline in the number of candidates, and the number of those now offering themselves for examination was not sufficient. Lord Olivier and Lord Chelmsford pointed out that what was keeping the undergraduates back was an idea that had spread among them that there was not sufficient security of tenure in the Service, and that it was little comfort to them to know that the insecurity they feared was common to other Services.

On April 2 the Government was urged by a number of speakers in the House of Commons, mostly from the Unionist benches, to foster emigration to the Dominions, and to promote the development of the Crown Colonies. In reply, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was able to point to some definite steps which the Government had taken in these connexions.

They were arranging with the Government of Australia a scheme of immigration into that country on far bigger lines than had ever been attempted before, and which would involve a joint expenditure of 20,000,000*l.*, spread over a period of years. Further, they had just completed a new agreement in regard to passage rates to Australia and New Zealand which would effect very considerable reductions, enabling, for instance, a family with three children to be brought to Australia for 55*l.*—which might be lowered—and to New Zealand for 22*l.* Figures published in the summer showed that emigration to the Dominions was taking place at a far slower rate than before the war. Thus, in 1924, the number of emigrants to British North America was 47,194 against 164,566 in 1913; to Australia, 30,304 against 64,428; and to New Zealand, 8740 against 11,809. This was in spite of the fact that in 1913 the Government had given no financial assistance towards migration, whereas in 1924-25 439,051*l.* was laid out under the Empire Settlement Act for this purpose.

At the beginning of April Great Britain made an agreement with Germany for modifying the existing procedure under the German Reparation (Recovery) Act of 1921. By the new arrangement the 26 per cent. levy on German imports, instead of being collected by the Customs from the British importers as originally laid down, was to be paid by German exporters to the German Government, which was to hand over the sum thus collected to the British Government. In moving a resolution for confirming this arrangement in the House of Commons on April 2, Mr. Churchill said that the Reparation Act was the only effective means yet devised for securing to Great Britain her share in the German reparation payments, over 25,000,000*l.* having been produced by its agency for the British Treasury. They had promised the German Government to give the new system a fair trial, but if it should prove unsatisfactory they retained the ultimate power of resuming all their rights under the Reparation Act. Mr. W. Graham said that the Labour Party supported the new arrangement, as it wiped out all the individualistic mechanism which the Act contained, and which had finally rendered it so unworkable as to force the Labour Government to reduce the duty to a nominal 5 per cent.

On April 7 the Labour Party in Parliament made profession of its Socialistic faith by bringing forward a motion declaring that the destitute and impoverished condition of the working classes was inherent in the present economic and industrial system, and that the only solution of the problem was to be found in progressive advances towards the social ownership and democratic control of staple industries and the banking system. The Unionists retorted with an amendment declaring that any attempt to undermine the present economic system constituted a grave menace to society, and that no real solution of the problem of

unemployment and wages was possible unless recovery from the trade depression was assisted by the encouragement of enterprise and by the co-operation of all sections in an endeavour to secure a more satisfactory competitive footing in world markets. The debate revealed a certain desire on both sides for a better understanding. The mover of the amendment, Lieut.-Colonel Spender-Clay, thought that the Conservative Party would welcome a meeting with Labour on questions where difficulties arose, while Mr. Wheatley said he would like to see more international conferences for considering how to bring the purchasing power of Europe into relation with the productive capacity of Europe. The resolution was eventually negatived by 281 votes against 124.

Parliament rose for the Easter recess on April 10, without having placed any measures of first-class importance on the Statute book. Disappointment was expressed in many quarters that the Government had not yet brought forward the Factories Bill which its predecessor had prepared, and which codified and brought up to date the whole of existing factory legislation ; and Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Minister of Health, judged it advisable to publish a letter in the Press soon after the rising of Parliament explaining that the delay was due to the great complexity of the measure, and promising that it would be introduced during the summer.

The Thirty-third Conference of the Independent Labour Party, which opened at Gloucester on April 12, discussed, among other things, a resolution of congratulation to the late Labour Government. While 398 delegates voted for the resolution, 139 voted against, and the debate showed that there was a considerable volume of dissatisfaction in the Party with much that the late Government had both done and left undone. Later in the day, Mr. MacDonald appealed to his critics to make proper allowances for the difficulties against which a Socialist Government had to contend, whether in Parliament or at international conferences. They often, he said, had to take the best they could get, not the best possible. Nevertheless, he declined to lay it down as a principle that he would never take office again with a minority backing in the House of Commons ; if the situation arose again, the decision would have to be taken in relation to the whole circumstances existing at the moment.

The action of the National Council in leaving to the Parliamentary Committee of the Labour Party the question of the Zinovieff letter was strongly criticised on the ground that the inquiry was being shelved, and by 286 votes to 261 the report of the Council was "referred back." Subsequently Mr. J. Maxton, M.P., explained that the inquiry had been referred by the Parliamentary Party to Mr. Wallhead, Mr. Thomas, and himself, and that they had no intention of letting the matter drop till the truth was found out. Until, however, the matter had been

probed to the bottom there was no point in making any statement about it.

During the vacation the Secretary for Air and the Secretary for the Colonies, Sir S. Hoare and Mr. L. S. Amery, paid a visit to Iraq and Palestine. During his stay in the latter country, the Colonial Secretary received deputations from Arabs and Jews, and reaffirmed the decision of the British Government to adhere to the principles of the Balfour Declaration, and to encourage Jewish settlement in Palestine, while safeguarding the rights of the Arabs.

CHAPTER II.

MR. CHURCHILL'S BUDGET.

THE Easter recess closed on April 28, and the House of Commons met on that day to hear Mr. Churchill introduce his first Budget. Interest in the statement itself was not unmingled with a more personal curiosity to see how the versatile Chancellor of the Exchequer would acquit himself in his latest rôle. Mr. Churchill's speech on the occasion did not belie his reputation for rhetorical and argumentative skill, and showed at least that the technicalities of finance had no terrors for him. He did not fail to display some originality in the framing of his Budget, but his proposals were on the whole less venturesome than his opponents had feared, and less striking perhaps than his admirers had hoped. They embodied the pledges which Mr. Baldwin had at various times given to the country or to his party, and were based on Conservative rather than Liberal ideas of fiscal policy.

Mr. Churchill began by pointing out that the realised surplus on the year of 3,659,000*l.* corresponded with remarkable accuracy to Mr. Snowden's Budget forecast of 4,025,000*l.*, a result which, he considered, testified to the "careful and scrupulous finance" of his predecessor. He also acknowledged the services rendered by the previous Government to the maintenance of the principles of sound finance in respect of debt repayment, and announced that he would provide 5,000,000*l.* to raise the Sinking Fund to its statutory limit of 50,000,000*l.*, as laid down by Mr. Baldwin when Chancellor of the Exchequer two years previously. Dwelling a moment on the efforts which Britain had made to wipe out her war liabilities, Mr. Churchill drew attention to the fact that during the year the normal deadweight charge on the National Debt had been reduced from 7,680,000,000*l.* to 7,646,000,000*l.*, so that the total reduction in debt interest since 1920 amounted to 70,000,000*l.* a year. Further, they had been paying off war pensions liability on a gigantic scale, the capital value of that liability having been reduced from over 1,000,000,000*l.* sterling

to 760,000,000*l.*, and the annual charge having fallen from over 110,000,000*l.* to 67,000,000*l.* a year.

At this point Mr. Churchill digressed from his financial statement to announce that the Government had decided to allow the Act of 1920 prohibiting the export of gold to lapse. The question of returning to the gold standard, he said, had been under discussion for some time, and the Government had to make up their mind what policy to adopt. The expert Committee appointed by his predecessor had unanimously recommended a return to the gold standard as soon as possible. The Government judged the present a most suitable moment to take such action, as the exchange with the United States had for some time been stable, and was at the moment buoyant, and political and economic stability seemed to be more assured on both sides of the Atlantic than it had been for some years. They had therefore decided that, although the prohibition on the export of gold would continue on the Statute Book till December 31, a general licence (as permitted by the Act) should be given at once to the Bank of England to export gold. England, added Mr. Churchill, would resume her international position as a gold standard country from the moment of that declaration. This did not mean, however, that they would revert to a gold coinage, which in their present financial stringency would be an unwarrantable extravagance. To protect the Bank, therefore, a Bill would be introduced providing that Bank of England and Treasury Notes should be convertible into coin only at the option of the Bank of England, and that the right of tendering bullion to the Mint to be coined should be confined by law, as it had long been by practice, to the Bank of England. As a further precaution, Mr. Churchill added, although they believed they were strong enough to make this change from their own resources, he had made arrangements to obtain, if required, credits in the United States of not less than 300 million dollars.

Turning from these preliminaries to the finance of the current year, Mr. Churchill estimated the total expenditure at 799,400,000*l.*, made up of 407,471,000*l.* for the Supply Services, and 391,929,000*l.* Consolidated Fund charges, of which 305,000,000*l.* was for debt interest, and 50,000,000*l.* for Sinking Fund. This total was 9,400,000*l.* more than the Budget estimate of the previous year, and 3,700,000*l.* more than the actual expenditure. Mr. Churchill admitted that this result was disappointing. He excused his failure to effect economies on the ground that for the last three years, owing to the elections which had taken place in the autumn, the Treasury and the Cabinet had been robbed of the opportunity of beginning their survey of proposed expenditure in November or December, and so giving departmental demands a thorough re-examination. He hoped, however, to do better in the future, and he expressed his belief that, with the annual

saving on the debt settlement, they ought to aim at a progressive reduction of expenditure of 10,000,000*l.* a year. Revenue for the coming year he estimated at 826,000,000*l.*, made up as follows : Customs and Excise Revenue, 235,000,000*l.* ; Inland Revenue, 459,000,000*l.* (made up of Death Duties, 62,000,000*l.* ; Stamps, 24,000,000*l.* ; land taxes, etc., 1,000,000*l.* ; income tax, 289,000,000*l.* ; super tax, 70,000,000*l.* ; excess profits duty, 4,000,000*l.* ; corporations profits tax, 9,000,000*l.*) ; and non-tax revenue, 114,500,000*l.* (made up of Post Office, 57,000,000*l.* ; Crown Lands, 900,000*l.* ; interest on loans, 12,600,000*l.* ; miscellaneous, 14,000,000*l.* ; and special receipts, 30,000,000*l.*). Mr. Churchill claimed that his estimate of income was a very cautious one, as he had made no allowance for "windfalls" in the shape of improved trade, or increased debt repayments by Germany or other countries.

Having thus provided himself with a surplus—which in consideration of all the factors he ventured to call "satisfactory"—of 26,000,000*l.*, Mr. Churchill went on to announce his proposals for raising additional revenue which would be required for financing the schemes he had in mind. Death duties would be increased on all estates save the very largest and those under 12,500*l.* ; a sumptuary duty would be placed on silk of all kinds, both natural and artificial, raw and manufactured ; a small protective duty would be placed on hops ; and the McKenna duties on motor cars, pianos, and other articles, which were removed in the previous year, would be reimposed. From the estate duties Mr. Churchill reckoned on obtaining 4,500,000*l.* in the first year and 10,000,000*l.* in a full year ; from the silk duty 4,000,000*l.* in 1925 and 6,000,000*l.* in 1926 ; from the hop duty 130,000*l.* in the first year and 300,000*l.* in a subsequent year ; and from the McKenna duties, 1,600,000*l.* in the first year and nearly 3,000,000*l.* in a full year. Altogether, therefore, the new taxes were estimated to produce in the coming year 10,230,000*l.*, which, with the surplus, gave Mr. Churchill over 36,000,000*l.* to dispose of.

The main objects of public policy to the furtherance of which this money should be devoted were, according to Mr. Churchill, the providing of security for the home of the wage-earner, and encouragement of enterprise in industry and commerce. He did not blame Mr. Snowden for his remissions on tea and sugar, but he did not think this was the best use that could have been made of the enormous power represented by 30,000,000*l.* of revenue in the hands of the State. Of far more importance was it to the wage-earner that he and his family should be secured against unavoidable emergencies with which they could not cope from their own resources. With this object in view the Government proposed soon to introduce legislation for providing widows with pensions, and for extending old-age pensions. Mr. Churchill discoursed at great length on the financial aspects of the new

scheme, and explained that it would involve the country in an expenditure of some 700 millions during the next sixty years or so, but he ended by announcing that nothing would be spent on it during the current year, so that he retained his surplus intact for the second of his great objectives.

The "agreeable and comparatively easy task," as he termed it, of distributing this surplus was carried out as follows. First, Imperial preferences on dried fruits, tobacco, wine, and sugar were to be granted or restored at an estimated loss to the revenue of 1,470,000*l.* in the first year, and 1,720,000*l.* in a full year. The increased yield of estate duties was to be counterbalanced by a reduction in the super-tax. The rest of the surplus would be utilised for making reductions in the tax on the lower ranges of earned incomes, at a cost of 3,000,000*l.* in 1925, and 7,500,000*l.* in a full year, and for lowering the standard rate of income tax by 6*d.*, at a cost of 24,000,000*l.* in the first year and 32,000,000*l.* in the full year. With all these adjustments the Budget finally balanced on a figure of 801,060,000*l.* revenue against 799,400,000*l.* expenditure, leaving a prospective surplus of 1,660,000*l.* for contingencies.

The debate on Mr. Churchill's statement was opened by Mr. Snowden, who at once declared that the Labour Party would strenuously resist the proposals to reduce super-tax and general income tax, to reimpose the McKenna duties, and to extend Imperial preference. On the next day, in submitting the Budget to a more searching and extended criticism, Mr. Snowden characterised it as "the worst rich man's Budget of recent times," on the ground chiefly that it relieved super-tax and income tax payers without giving a penny of relief to the wage-earning classes, nay, while imposing additional burdens on them. Seeing that Mr. Churchill would not have to finance the new pensions schemes, he did not know why he had spent so much time in dealing with the subject, except in order to conceal from the public the true nature of his Budget. Sir A. Mond also criticised the Budget at length, pointing out that the decision to return to the gold standard was opposed by a considerable amount of informed opinion. He himself could not see that the advantages to be gained by this step outweighed the risks which it seemed to involve. They were by it tying to a much greater extent their monetary system to that of America, and making the Bank rate much more subservient to Wall Street than it had been in the past, and this in order to create what he thought was a purely sentimental result. He complained further that nothing had been said in the Budget speech of any provision for dealing with unemployment or stimulating industry and trade. On the contrary, the new pensions scheme, owing to its contributory nature, would place an additional burden on industry. In this criticism he had the support of Sir R. Horne, who otherwise found the Budget satisfactory.

The return to the gold standard as undertaken by the Government was strongly disapproved by the Labour Party, and when the Bill on the subject mentioned by Mr. Churchill was introduced on May 4, Mr. Snowden moved its rejection on the ground that the return was made with "undue precipitancy," and might aggravate the existing grave condition of unemployment and trade depression. His speech showed that, whatever his party might think, he himself saw both the pros and the cons of the measure, and was in doubt whether to approve or condemn it; and most of the speeches made in the debate, from whatever party, revealed a similar attitude. Mr. Churchill made a skilful defence of the step he had taken. He complained that while, in returning to the gold standard at the earliest opportunity, the Government were only taking the advice of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet now that he was in Opposition he found fault with them. The gold standard, he maintained, would shackle them not to America, as they were so often told, but to reality, for good or ill. A decisive argument in favour of returning to the gold standard was that all the Dominions had taken this step or were about to do so. He quoted a remark of the distinguished economist, Mr. John Maynard Keynes, one of the chief opponents of a return to the gold standard: "If we are to return to gold, and in the face of general opinion that is inevitable, the Chancellor, the Treasury, and the Bank have contrived to do so along the most prudent and far-sighted lines which were open to them." After listening to Mr. Churchill's defence, Sir A. Mond stated that he was entirely unconverted to the wisdom of the step the Government were taking. However, the Government had taken their decision, and all that he and those who thought with him could say was that they took no responsibility for it, and could only hope that their apprehensions would not be realised. Sir A. Mond's views on this matter were not shared by the bulk of the Liberal Party, on behalf of whom Mr. Runciman gave the Bill a cordial welcome, and the third reading was passed on May 5.

The reimposition of the McKenna duties brought down upon Mr. Churchill the charge that he had broken the Prime Minister's pledge not to proceed with the imposition of protective duties save under the machinery of the Safeguarding of Industries Act. In a debate on May 7, Mr. Churchill maintained that these were purely revenue duties which were not excluded by the Prime Minister's pledge. In reimposing them he had wished merely to undo Mr. Snowden's partisan action in repealing the duties, and to stamp it as such. On the question of the effect which the repeal of the duties had exercised on employment, the Chancellor and the ex-Chancellor took different sides, the former pointing to the increased imports of watches and clocks, the latter to the increased export of motor cars in the past twelve months. The House voted for the inclusion of the duties in the Finance Bill by large majorities.

The most novel, as well as the most controversial feature in the Budget was the proposal to tax silk, which took Parliament and the country completely by surprise. When it was brought forward on May 11 as one of the Budget resolutions preliminary to the introduction of the Finance Bill, vigorous efforts were made to get it withdrawn or shelved. Members connected with the manufacture of artificial silk expressed fears that the new duties would seriously injure a young and growing British industry, one of the very few that in recent years had really thriven. Free Traders saw in them the cloven hoof of Protection. Mr. Churchill pointed out that the resolution committed the House only to the principle of the measure and not to the details. At the same time, he took occasion to remark that the scale of duties proposed in the resolution was not final, and was subject to modification—the necessity of which was in fact soon made apparent to him by expert criticism. The efforts to exclude the duties from the Finance Bill were defeated by majorities of 160 or more.

When the Finance Bill came up for its second reading on May 25, its rejection was moved by Mr. Snowden on the ground that it was “admittedly based on the policy of relieving taxation on the rich by adding to the taxation of the poorer classes; imposed a total burden on the taxpayer higher than was estimated for a year ago; placed new and onerous charges on industry in the form of tariffs; and made no provision for the relief of local authorities and national taxpayers by the taxation of land values.” The Budget, Mr. Snowden pointed out, entailed an expenditure of 10,400,000*l.* more than the estimated expenditure of last year, and 3,700,000*l.* more than the actual expenditure, apart from the prospect of supplementary estimates. Mr. Churchill had talked about broadening the basis of taxation, but he was not trying to place the heaviest burden on the broadest back. It was known that during the last few years the income-tax payers had been growing richer and the wage-earners poorer, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer by his proposals was aiming at making the taxpayers get richer at a more rapid rate, and piling additional taxes on the declining wages of the working classes. Having said that there was nothing so much needed as the diminution of taxation falling on production, he had proceeded to put an import duty on one of their great, growing, and most promising industries. Mr. Churchill had formerly been an advocate of the taxation of land values, but now that the opportunity had offered of putting his theories into practice, he had neglected it.

Mr. Lloyd George attacked the Budget with equal vigour from a somewhat different angle. He complained that in framing his scheme of taxation the Chancellor had taken no account of the desperate state of their industries. He had allowed expenditure on armaments to be increased considerably at a time when

there was no menace, naval or military, to their security. He had made a real effort at first to frame the silk duty as a revenue duty, but, during the last few days he had, by his promises to manufacturers, turned it into a protective duty against his will, owing to the pressure of the vested interests. In his revision of the estate duties and of the income tax, he had shown a peculiar tenderness for the very richest. He had done nothing to relieve the burden of local taxation, which was interfering seriously with the possibilities of trade recovery.

Mr. Churchill, in his defence, said that the object of the Budget was to make a real and effective reduction in the proportion of direct taxes to income, which he believed was the best way of giving an impetus to the producing energies of the country. He estimated the relief he had given at 1s. in the pound, taking into account the reduction in the standard rate, the differentiation in favour of earned income, and the transfer of 10,000,000*l.* of taxation from super-tax to death duties. Mr. Snowden, in a full year, had taken off 32½ millions of indirect taxation and 14½ millions of direct taxation. He, in a full year, was proposing to put on 8½ millions of indirect taxation while relieving the direct taxpayer to the extent of 39½ millions. He thought that that was a fair balance on the two years, and that his proposals would be found to have been a sound, necessary, and complementary adjustment of Mr. Snowden's Budget. The new taxation which would fall on real silk, motor cars, and musical instruments he defended as sumptuary, quite different in character from the old indirect taxation of tea and sugar, which were the basic needs of the poorest of the poor. The proportion of indirect taxation drawn by Mr. Snowden when Chancellor of the Exchequer from the necessary and basic commodities as opposed to sumptuary commodities was 5·08. The proportion this year was 4·86. Mr. Snowden had proposed to take 432 millions from the direct taxpayer, and he was taking 430 millions from the direct taxpayer. Mr. Churchill summed up his case by saying that he believed the silk tax would form a valuable part of the revenue without inflicting hardship, that the relief from income tax would ease the wheels of industry, that the Imperial preferences would foster the growth of inter-Imperial trade, that the return to the gold standard would tend to stabilise prices and wages, and that the pensions scheme would give an increased measure of security to millions who were harassed by the fear of poverty and woe.

The Prime Minister, in closing the debate, paid a tribute to the work of his colleague, who had, he said, disappointed those who expected fireworks of him, and proved himself what his friends knew he would be—a staunch Conservative economist and a sound financier. He thereupon moved the closure, and the Speaker accepted the motion amid loud cries of protest from

Liberal members who wished to take part in the debate. Mr. Snowden's amendment was lost by 139 votes to 331, and the Bill was read a second time.

A sequel to the closure incident took place a few days later, when Captain Benn, on May 28, just before the Whitsuntide adjournment, formally moved a vote of censure on the Speaker for closing the debate on the Financial Bill, which he held to be an unwarrantable interference with the rights of minorities to express their views on the taxation of the people. Both the Prime Minister and Mr. Clynes, however, declared their belief in the Speaker's impartiality, and Captain Benn only carried twenty-six Liberals into the Lobby with him. This was the first occasion on which the conduct of the Speaker was discussed in the House since 1902.

In the Committee stage of the Finance Bill a new tax was introduced under the provisions of the White Paper on the Safeguarding of Industries issued on February 3 [*vide* p. 5]. The lace industry having made application to the competent Committee, and duly satisfied that body that it required and deserved special protection against foreign competition, the President of the Board of Trade, Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister, moved, on June 11, that a duty of 33½ per cent. should be imposed for five years on imported lace. Among those who spoke for the motion was Mr. Hayday, a Labour member from Nottingham. Sir A. Mond pointed out that only 27 per cent. of the British production of lace was for the home market, and that the duty imperilled the 73 per cent. produced for export, but this did not prevent the motion from being carried by a majority of 110.

The Imperial Preference proposals of the Budget were the subject of an animated debate in the House of Commons on June 10 and 12. Amendments moved by Labour members to make the period of increased preference for Empire sugar one year instead of ten, and to postpone for six months the date for the coming into operation of the preferences on tobacco, currants, dried fruits, and wine were defeated by large majorities. A number of Labour speakers maintained that the true way to foster Imperial unity, while protecting the home consumer, was to arrange for State purchase of food from the Dominions and State marketing in bulk. Mr. Churchill, at the end of the debate, dwelt at length on the reasons which had induced the advocates of Imperial Preference, some ten years previously, to alter the basis of the policy as laid down by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and to give up the idea of granting preferences on meat and corn. Those who held the view that this was the real way to help inter-Imperial trade did not recede from it, but they recognised that it was fraught with dangers to the political stability of this country, which placed it outside the sphere of practical politics. The new policy, he admitted, was more restricted and less effec-

tive, but for the purposes of Imperial unity it had the advantage of commanding the assent of a majority in the country, and of important elements in every part of the country, and he thought that the discussion that afternoon showed that the principle of fostering the development of trade within the Empire, apart from the taxation of the food of the masses of the people, was passing increasingly out of the realm of ordinary party controversy.

The division on June 12 did, in truth, seem to be an indication that a number of Labour members had changed their mind since the last division on the subject had been taken, a twelvemonth previously. Ten Labour members who had then voted against Mr. Baldwin's motions to introduce Imperial Preference now voted in favour of Mr. Churchill's proposals, and five more stated that they would have done so had they been present. Altogether twenty Labour members supported the Government, including most of the "Clyde" group. One of the most prominent members of this group, Mr. Kirkwood, surprised the House by his vigorous championship of the duties as a means of promoting Imperial unity, but most of the Labour members concerned explained afterwards that what chiefly weighed with them was the fact that the articles in question were produced in most countries outside the British Empire under unsatisfactory conditions of labour.

The Finance Bill was subjected to vigorous criticism in Committee, but emerged without substantial modification, save in the matter of the silk duties, which were altered out of recognition. In the third reading debate, which took place on June 25, Mr. Churchill took occasion to make a final reply to the principal charges which had been brought against it. The effect of the silk duties, he said, could be seen already in the declared intention of foreign importers to make substantial reductions in the price at which they would place goods on the British market, in order to reduce the duty charges. He maintained that he was still a Free Trader, and that the Budget did nothing to violate the pledge of the Prime Minister, "not to commit the country during the present Parliament to a decisive change in our fiscal system." He refused to see any difference in principle between the tax on silk and the tax on tea, and announced that he would certainly search for articles of luxury which, by bearing an additional weight of tax, would lead to a diminution of the weight of taxation on the industry and the necessities of the people. The attack on the increase in expenditure he characterised as the most damaging part of the criticism on the Budget, but he asked the House not to underrate the difficulties which stood in the way of the economist, and he held out no sure hope of being able to effect reductions in the future. In regard to the lace duty, he remarked that a general duty was not a general tariff, but the Government would

have seriously to consider how many such duties could be imposed without being guilty of breaking their pledges.

The third reading of the Finance Bill was carried by 298 votes to 192. A few days later, in the House of Lords, Lord Oxford poked fun at the "fluidity" of Mr. Churchill's convictions on Free Trade, but the Bill went through without difficulty.

Soon after the Finance Bill became law, Mr. Churchill had to announce a drop in the expected yield of his new duties. On July 7 he informed the House of Commons that early in June a large expansion of imports of articles subject to duty under the McKenna resolutions became evident, and this continued throughout the month, so that on the average nearly four months' importations had been forestalled, entailing a loss to the revenue of possibly a million. The Government, he proceeded, had considered the advisability of introducing retrospective legislation to obtain the evaded duties, but had come to the conclusion that it could not spare the Parliamentary time required for the passing of such resolutions; but the question of amending their general legislation would be considered before another Budget was introduced.

On May 1 the Government was urged from the Labour benches, through a private member's Bill, to implement the Washington Convention by making a forty-eight hour working week statutory, with certain necessary exceptions. The mover, Mr. Buchanan, who described his measure as "mild, meagre, and overdue," said it was necessary to protect the one gain which remained to the workers from the war. In the engineering trade, for example, employers were seeking to drive men back to the fifty-hour week, which was preliminary to driving them back to the old fifty-four hour week. The reply of the Minister of Labour was that the method proposed in the Bill was not the right one to carry out the Washington Convention. It was not enough for them to ratify the Convention; there had to be a similarity of interpretation and enforcement in the different countries, and this he did not see how to attain. In the present state of British industry, they could not afford to take risks of adding to the costs. A number of Unionist members expressed sympathy with the object of the Bill, and some even supported it, but it was eventually rejected by a large majority.

In the course of a debate on May 2, an incident occurred which showed the sensitiveness of the Labour members on matters affecting the honour of the working class. In the course of his speech Mr. Churchill was understood to say that it was in the interest of trade unions as well as of employers of industry to make quite sure that there was not growing up a general habit of learning how to qualify for unemployment insurance. He was immediately shouted down by the Labour members, and was not allowed to proceed. Nor did the matter end there. A fortnight later, on May 14, Mr. Clynes moved a reduction in the vote for

the Ministry of Labour as a protest against the Cabinet's lack of an unemployment policy. Having occasion to speak of the cultivation of a better spirit in dealing with industrial problems, he said that whatever good had been accomplished by the appeals of the Prime Minister had been nearly undone by the provocative words of Mr. Churchill, and he indignantly defended the recipients of unemployment relief against the charge of malingering. Mr. Churchill expressed his disappointment that Mr. Clynes had uttered no word of regret or excuse for the conduct of the members who had shouted him down, and explained that he had meant no offence to the mass of working people, stating, at the same time, that the word he had used was "certain habit" and not "general," as reported. His remarks were received with frequent interruptions from the Labour ranks, but Mr. MacDonald, at a later stage of the debate, accepted his explanation, and while maintaining that his colleagues had received great provocation, and that they were only following an example set by Mr. Churchill himself, admitted that such incidents were neither pleasant nor becoming. The Minister of Labour was able to put up only a very lame defence of the Government's treatment of the unemployment problem. The Government, he said, had never pretended that they had a remedy for unemployment. All the schemes which had been started were only palliatives, and did no more than touch the fringe of the question. Therefore, when anyone asked what new schemes could be set up, his answer was that there were none. His own remedy was that in industries masters and men should get together. On a Labour member pointing out that in all the great trades they had been doing so for eighteen months, the Minister could only reply that they were only just getting to grips with the real hard facts of the situation, and would have to go still further before an industrial conference could be summoned.

At the time when this speech was made the joint inquiry of masters and men in the coal industry had already been proceeding for some months. At an early stage its findings had proved the owner's attitude to be justified. A miners' leader declared that as far as the arithmetic of the mining industry went, the coal-owners had made out their case, and the *Labour Magazine* of May 11 admitted that the industry, as conducted to-day, could not find the means of paying standard wages and standard profits in the agreed proportions embodied in the national settlement adopted in the May of the previous year. This unlooked-for result of the investigations caused great mortification to the more violent section of the miners, and some of them showed a desire to wreck the inquiry. The majority, however, courageously faced the facts, and decided in favour of continuing to explore all possibilities of remedying the existing state of things in conjunction with the owners.

In the engineering industry also agreement had been brought no nearer. On April 22 the employers made a definite offer to the men of a slight advance in wages for somewhat longer hours of work, at the same time pointing out that the position and prospects of the industry were worse than they had been at the beginning of the year. This proposal was, on May 20, summarily rejected by the unions, which unanimously and emphatically declared against any extension of the working week of forty-seven hours. Meanwhile, on May 12, representatives of the Amalgamated Engineering Union had interviewed the Prime Minister, in order to bring to his notice the amount of unemployment prevailing in the industry, and to urge the Government to put in hand immediately engineering projects in order to find employment for skilled mechanics. The Prime Minister, in his reply, indicated that the Government were, through the Cabinet Committee on Unemployment, exploring the whole subject, but was unable to promise anything definite.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the plan formulated a couple of months earlier, a conference of nine unions, representing the miners, the railwaymen, and the metal and transport workers, met on June 4 to consider the proposals for the workers' alliance advocated by Mr. Cook. The new idea was received, on the whole, somewhat coolly. The chief critic of the proposals was Mr. J. H. Thomas, who, speaking on behalf of the National Union of Railwaymen, condemned the whole scheme as a "minority" movement. He said that the railwaymen were satisfied with the present machinery, and he held out no hopes of his union joining the proposed alliance. Other speakers opposed the alliance on the ground that it would be prejudicial to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. The net result of the deliberations was the passing of a resolution to appoint a committee to consider the suggestions submitted to the conference. Mr. Cook professed himself satisfied with the progress made, and clung tenaciously to his idea of a "united front" for Labour.

As a positive contribution to solving the unemployment problem, a Labour member, Mr. Oliver, on May 22, brought forward a Bill for setting up a National Employment and Development Board, with the Minister of Labour for the time being as chairman, to be responsible for investigating and probing the unemployment situation year by year, and preparing schemes for dealing with it whenever the necessity arose. It was further proposed that a sum of 10,000,000*l.* should be allocated yearly to this board from the Consolidated Fund. Outside the Labour benches the proposal was coldly received. Mr. Lloyd George said that while he agreed that there ought to be a body sitting permanently to survey the whole situation, he did not think it should be a committee of the Cabinet from which some of the most important members of that body were excluded. The Minister of Labour pointed out

that if the Bill was passed, the fund at the disposal of the Board would be put so far outside the control of Parliament that it was doubtful whether Parliament would even be able to criticise the way in which it was used. The Bill was eventually rejected by 216 votes to 118.

On May 9 the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley was formally re-opened for its second year by the King, who was accompanied by the Queen, in the presence of a hundred thousand visitors. The Duke of York, who acted as President in the absence of the Prince of Wales, remarked that that date had been chosen as being the fifteenth anniversary of His Majesty's proclamation as king-emperor. He described the Exhibition as a "University of Empire." The King, in declaring the Exhibition open, congratulated the Board of Management and all concerned on the splendid work before them. He trusted that the achievements of 1925 would equal, if not surpass, those of 1924, and prayed that the Exhibition might serve to draw closer the bonds which united all parts of the Empire, to further the growth of commerce both within and without the Empire, and to promote the general prosperity and happiness of the world.

The report of the Commission on Food Prices, which had been appointed by the Government owing to allegations of profiteering in the sale of food-stuffs, was issued on May 8. The proceedings of the Commission had been the subject of hostile comment from Labour members in the House of Commons on March 4, owing to its supposed tenderness for the profiteers. Its report, in fact, failed to disclose any grave abuses in the food trades, and its chief recommendation was merely that a Food Council should be set up as a supervising body to watch price movements and operations in the wheat, flour, bread, and meat trades for the present, and possibly to deal with other food-stuffs like milk, fish, fruit, and vegetables, if subsequent investigations of the Commission showed this to be necessary. One member presented a minority report in which he described the proposal to set up a Food Council as a definite advance in the direction of State Socialism, and maintained that the objects of supervision and publicity could be sufficiently secured by a co-ordination of the statistical staffs in various Government departments.

The Minister of Health on May 13 brought in his Rating and Valuation Bill, the chief object of which was to simplify the method of making and collecting rates, and to promote uniformity in the valuation of property for the levying of rates and taxes. The existing method, which had its origin 300 years ago, Mr. Chamberlain characterised as "obsolete, cumbersome, illogical, wasteful, and unjust." The Bill provided for the disappearance of the rating overseers, and the transference of their duties to the local authorities, while the different rates would be consolidated into a Single General District Rate. One effect of the

Bill would be to reduce the number of rating authorities in England from 12,882 to 648. For valuation purposes the country would be divided into new areas, each with its own assessment committee, which would make a single valuation for all rating purposes, such valuation to serve also for income tax purposes. The Bill contained a highly contentious clause exempting certain classes of machinery from rates. The Labour Party refused to accept a measure which they held would impose the burdens removed from machinery on dwelling-houses and improvements instead of placing them on land and minerals. They were supported by some Liberals, but the second reading was in the end carried by 285 votes to 129. The Bill was subjected to minute criticism in the Standing Committee, and it failed to pass through the House of Commons before the end of the summer session.

On May 15 a Labour member tried to revive the Bill drafted, but not moved, by Mr. Wheatley a year before in connexion with his Housing Bill, to prevent profiteering in building materials by means of State control. Mr. Neville Chamberlain pointed out that the Bill was now quite unnecessary, as since January, 1924, there had been practically stability in building prices. If the Government saw any section of the building trade attempting to exploit its monopoly, he promised that they would at once ask for powers to stop it, but meanwhile the measure proposed would only disturb trade without any compensating advantage. The Bill was rejected by 232 votes to 113.

The new insurance scheme which Mr. Churchill had already heralded with much circumstance in his Budget speech was formally introduced to the House of Commons by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Minister of Health, on May 18, under the title of "The Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Bill." It provided that widows of working men should receive pensions of ten shillings a week until they remarried, with additional allowances for children under fourteen, and that the age limit qualifying for pensions should be lowered from 70 to 65; further, that the means disqualification should be abolished, and that certain inquisitorial methods at present in use should be discontinued. Mr. Chamberlain explained the details of the Bill at length, remarking that it was the most important which so far it had fallen to his lot to introduce. He pointed out that it was the logical complement of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897, the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908, and the Insurance Act of 1911, and that it completed the circle of security for the worker begun by those measures. The Government, he informed the House, had given serious and prolonged attention to various suggestions that had been made for "all-in" insurance, but had come to the conclusion that it was not practicable to combine all forms of workmen's insurance in a single scheme. The present scheme, however, they had decided for reasons of economy to

link with the health insurance administration, while the pensions would be paid through the Post Office. He admitted that ten shillings a week was insufficient to keep a grown person in the necessities of life, but gave a number of reasons why this figure had been fixed. The first and most important was that the State and industry could not be expected to endure a greater burden. The total capital liability of the State as it was would, with the new requirements, be upwards of 746,000,000*l.*, involving an annual charge of something like 20,000,000*l.* for an indefinite period. Another reason was that they did not wish to supersede every other kind of thrift, but rather to help those who helped themselves. The part of the Bill dealing with widows' pensions was to come into operation in the coming January, that dealing with old age pensions in two years' time. The new scheme, as Mr. Churchill had already announced, was to be contributory, employers being required to pay fourpence a week and men twopence. Mr. Chamberlain admitted that the new contributions would impose a heavy strain on industry, but pointed out as a mitigating fact that, once the deficiency period came to an end and the Unemployment Fund became solvent, the total contributions would again drop to their present level. He was convinced that security would be more welcome to the worker for the knowledge that, though due in part to outside help, in the main it had been won by his own efforts and his own self-sacrifice.

The rejection of the Bill was immediately moved by Mr. Wheatley on the ground that it "exacted contributions from wage-earners, imposed an additional burden on industry, made no provision for a large number of widows and orphans, and provided allowances which were wholly inadequate." Mr. Wheatley affirmed that the contents of the Bill did not in any way give effect to what the public understood by widows' pensions, which was that out of the surplus wealth of the country a sufficient sum should be taken to provide for the widow and orphans of the industrial worker. He inveighed strongly against the proposal to make the workers contribute, stating that the originators of old age pensions had never thought of making it a contributory scheme. Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech, had made capital out of the fact that in a pamphlet issued at the time of the election, Mr. Snowden had outlined a scheme of old age pensions without stating whether it was to be contributory or not. Mr. Wheatley and other Labour speakers after him asserted categorically that no contributory scheme would be accepted by the workers, however eloquently or influentially presented. Mr. Lloyd George, who was the chief Liberal speaker in the debate, agreed with Mr. Wheatley that it would be quite possible to finance the scheme on a non-contributory basis, and that this would be the right thing to do, were it not that there were a number of other social objects for which Treasury support was urgently needed,

but which would have to be neglected if the whole available surplus should be hypothecated to one scheme.

On the next day the Bill was vigorously criticised by Sir A. Mond on account of the burden which it imposed on industry. He said that this was a fundamental question which was moving the industrial world from one end of the country to the other. The cost to industry as a whole of these proposals would be in the next financial year 22,500,000*l*. From what fund was it imagined by the Government that this money was to come? In the present state of trade it was impossible to pass the burden on to the consumer. He complained, amid Labour cheers, that it was always the industrial investor who was singled out to provide the money for social services, and that the ground landlords and the investors in foreign securities and Government War Loan got off with a very small fraction. He was of opinion that the Government itself ought to carry the scheme as long as the present trade depression lasted. Sir A. Mond was strongly supported by his fellow industrialist, Sir R. Horne, who spoke for a considerable body of Conservative opinion, more vocal in the Press than in Parliament. While declaring that he had no desire to indicate any appearance of divided opinion on the Unionist benches, he said he would be showing a lack of courage and neglect of duty if he did not express his forebodings. He pointed out that the measure would penalise employers who, to prevent unemployment, were keeping on hands which it would be more convenient to discharge. To tell the industrialist to-day that he could put the burden on to the price of the article was mere cynicism in face of the fierce foreign competition which they had to meet. He was convinced that a great many people would be compelled by the Bill to go out of business altogether, and he appealed to the Government to devise some means before the Bill came into operation by which these new burdens might be modified.

In replying on behalf of the Government, Sir D. Hogg, the Attorney-General, admitted the seriousness of Sir R. Horne's criticism of the Bill, and agreed that, when the best was hoped for, the position of industry was still a very serious matter. But the Government was faced with the alternative of burdening industry or postponing a reform which was long overdue, and while they were trying to devise means which would save industry from being more heavily burdened than at present, they felt that the widow and orphan ought not to wait. Sir Douglas Hogg charged Labour critics with opposing the Bill not out of a spirit of real sympathy with the widow and orphan, but out of mere chagrin at a measure which was calculated to advance the cause of social reform without upsetting the existing order of society. The motion for rejection was ultimately defeated by 401 votes to 125.

On account of the intrinsic importance of the Bill and the

large number of amendments which were handed in by the Labour and Liberal Parties after the second reading, the Government decided to take the Committee stage after Whitsuntide on the floor of the House. So tenacious at first were both sides of their own points of view that on two occasions—on June 30 and July 2—the House was kept in session the whole night debating the Bill. After this matters were not carried to such extremes, and by means of judicious compromises it was found possible to pass the Bill into law with no substantial alteration before Parliament rose in August.

The Government was not unmindful of its promises to lighten the burden imposed on industry by its new proposals for widows' and old age pensions, and soon found an opportunity of doing so in the new Unemployment Bill which it drafted early in July to replace the existing Act, which was due to expire in October. By this Bill contributions of employers and employed to the unemployment fund were to be reduced from 4*d.* and 2*d.* to 2*d.* and 1*d.* respectively. To preserve the solvency of the unemployment fund in the face of the loss which this reduction would necessarily involve, the new Bill proposed to extend the "waiting period" from three days to six, and to confine extended benefit strictly to those who had paid thirty contributions in the last two insurance years. On account of these two provisions the Bill was bitterly opposed by Labour members when it came up for its second reading on July 7. Mr. Shaw moved its rejection on the ground that it reinvested the Minister of Labour with wide power to withhold payment of the benefit as being not a right but a form of charity, and that by compelling unemployed persons and their dependents to seek assistance from the Poor Law it would throw an added burden on local authorities already heavily in debt. Mr. MacDonald characterised the measure as an attempt to reduce the unemployment statistics by knocking men off the register and placing them on the pauper roll. No answer was made to these charges from the Conservative side, but the second reading was nevertheless carried by 278 votes to 141.

Three days later, when the Financial Resolution on which this Unemployment Insurance Bill was founded was introduced, Mr. Betterton, the Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Labour, explained that the effect of the Government's insurance provisions was, in the first place, to impose a charge of 10,000,000*l.* on the fund, by keeping on the register 200,000 to 250,000 persons who would otherwise be struck off in October. Against this was to be set 6,500,000*l.* which they estimated would be saved by the extension of the waiting period at the discretion of the Minister. On the other hand, the reduction of the contributions of employers and employed by 2*d.* and 1*d.* respectively would cost 6,800,000*l.* The Financial Resolution proposed that there should be a total increase in the Treasury's contribution of

the fund would continue to run into debt to the extent of not less than 4,000,000*l.* a year. The finance of this arrangement was severely criticised by Mr. Graham, one of the Labour Party's financial experts, and Mr. Betterton did not deny that the criticism was justified ; but the resolution was passed without a division.

On May 20, in the House of Lords, Lord Olivier raised the question of the treatment of the natives in Kenya, who, in the opinion of many people in England, were being subjected to injustice by the Government and exploitation by the white settlers. The Earl of Balfour, as President of the Council, made a spirited defence both of the Government and the settlers. Referring to the Report which had recently been presented by Mr. Ormsby-Gore's East Africa Commission, he said that, in the opinion of the Government, it showed that some machinery was required for facilitating the consideration of certain problems that arose in East Africa and in other parts of the Empire in their entirety. The Government, therefore, believed that some institution, bearing some resemblance to the Committee of Imperial Defence, might be set up for dealing with purely civilian problems, which were becoming more and more insistent in connexion with Imperial development.

It was not long before this idea was given practical shape. On June 24 a Treasury Minute was issued stating that the Government had decided to establish a Committee of Civil Research, which would be a Standing Committee reporting to the Cabinet, and analogous in principle to the Committee of Imperial Defence. The President of the Committee would be the Prime Minister, and the regular chairman a Minister nominated by him for the purpose. The membership of the Committee would, as in the case of the Committee of Imperial Defence, consist of persons summoned by the Prime Minister or by the chairman on his behalf. The Committee would, like that on Imperial Defences, be an advisory body, and have no administrative or executive functions. The Committee would be charged with the duty of giving connected forethought from a central standpoint to the development of economic, scientific, and statistical research in relation to civil policy and administration, and would define new areas in which inquiry would be valuable.

The vote for pensions in the Budget amounted to 60,500,000*l.*, a reduction of 1,184,000*l.* on the previous year. In the discussion on May 26, a number of speakers criticised the administration of the Department, on the ground that it was not sufficiently sympathetic with the ex-service men, and a motion was brought forward to reduce the salary of the Minister by £100. This, however, was lost by 279 votes to 149.

On May 28, by 267 votes to 88, the House of Commons refused to grant increased pensions to ex-ranker officers. This was in accordance with the recommendations of a committee which had

been set up by Mr. MacDonald when Prime Minister. Mr. Baldwin admitted that the treatment of the millions of men who had served in the war was "honeycombed with anomalies," but maintained that on the whole the various regulations showed a genuine effort to treat them with justice and generosity. To make this grant would, he said, open up an unending vista of similar claims, which no Government could concede.

The outlook of the Government, after seven months of office, was set forth by the Prime Minister in a long speech delivered to a great Conservative and Unionist gathering at Welbeck Park on June 1. He dealt with four main topics—the Pensions Bill, the Food Commission's Report, Agriculture, and the position of British industry. In regard to the Pensions Bill, he said that the Government were as well aware as their critics of the resulting burdens on industry, but the Bill was an "act of faith," and he had every confidence that before the new subscriptions for the new benefits became due the problem of easing the burden would be solved. Referring to the Food Commission, he said that the Government intended to set up the suggested Food Commission not as a statutory body, but by appointment by the Prime Minister. Its work would be to take up the study of food prices where the Commission left off, and to carry out under the President of the Board of Trade the general plan outlined in the report. If experience showed compulsory powers to be necessary, the Government would ask Parliament for them. In regard to agriculture, he regretted that it had been found impossible to hold the proposed conference of those interested, but the Minister was receiving from various organisations suggestions of a far-reaching nature, and on the basis of these he hoped soon to announce the Government's definite policy on agriculture. Meanwhile the Government had passed the Agricultural Rates Act and the Agricultural Returns Act, and under the British Sugar Subsidy Act had stabilised for a period of years the financial help towards sugar, which he believed was before long going to be one of the country's great industries. In the matter of industry, the coal trade, the iron and steel trades, the shipbuilding trade, and the engineering trades were going through the cruellest times that any industries had ever experienced. In the face of these difficulties, he had appealed for a new spirit in industry and for a truce. He might not get a truce, but he had got masters and men sitting down together and facing realities as never before. Men of all classes were becoming more reluctant to bring others into their own fights, and so damage the whole nation; a new sense of responsibility was growing up.

The Premier's omission of all reference to foreign affairs showed how strongly internal problems had pressed themselves into the foreground during his tenure of office. But questions of the highest moment were still pending in the field of foreign

policy also. For some time previously Mr. Austen Chamberlain had been engaged in delicate negotiations with France for determining the exact commitments of Britain to that country. His surmise, expressed earlier in the year, that the German proposals for a pact of security contained the germ of a new concord between the nations, was not lost on the French Government, and, after Britain's uncompromising rejection of the Geneva Protocol, it submitted the German offer to a painstaking scrutiny. On May 13 it transmitted to the British Government a copy of its proposed reply. On May 19 the British Government made a request to the French Ambassador for elucidation in regard to the terms "arbitration," "coercive measures," and "joint and several guarantee" used in the French draft. M. Briand gave his explanations, and on May 28 Mr. Chamberlain wrote him a letter fully setting forth the British point of view. He said that the basic principle by which the British Government would be guided in considering the pact was that any new obligation which they undertook should be specific and limited to the maintenance of the existing territorial arrangement on the Western frontier of Germany. They were therefore prepared in principle to give a guarantee, following logically from the territorial guarantee of the Rhineland, of arbitration treaties which might be concluded between Germany and her Western neighbours. The guarantee would be, so to speak, defensive, and would not entail upon Britain any obligation to resort to force elsewhere than in the areas covered by the proposed Rhineland Pact, and would not operate in any event in favour of the party which had refused arbitration, or had refused to give effect to an arbitral award. At the same time, Mr. Chamberlain suggested a re-drafting of one of the clauses in the French document in language which would safeguard the British right of action in the sense indicated.

M. Briand, in his reply on June 4, accepted the British limitation, but at the same time added a proviso that coercive action might be taken in the case of failure to observe a treaty guaranteed by the parties, or by any one of them. He explained that France intended in this way to reserve her freedom of action in the face of a violation of an eventual arbitration treaty between Germany and Poland, for example, or between Germany and Czechoslovakia. Mr. Chamberlain, on June 8, replied that the British Government "highly appreciated the effort made by the French Government to attain the greatest measure of agreement between themselves," and declared himself prepared to accept the French amendments, with one exception, which concerned the form rather than the substance. The French Note was despatched to Berlin soon after.

The German proposals, with the correspondence to which they had given rise up to the despatch of the French Note to Berlin, were published on June 18 in a White Paper, which was the sub-

ject of a full-dress debate in the House of Commons on June 24. Mr. A. Chamberlain opened with a lengthy speech on the theme that the one object of the Government's foreign policy was to make peace secure and war impossible, or as remote a danger as human goodwill could make it. He maintained that the offer of the British Government to guarantee the proposed pact between France and Germany for the observance of the frontier between those two countries was calculated to promote the sense of security in Europe and to encourage disarmament. It would also conduce to the safety of Britain itself, since, under present conditions, such safety was to be sought not in isolation, but in a wise and prudent use of their influence and power to preserve peace. The proposals of the German Government, of the good faith of which he had no doubt, and which he congratulated on its courage and statesmanship in taking this step, seemed to him already to have created the prospect of a more peaceful world ; but they would come to nothing unless this country lent its co-operation.

Mr. Chamberlain's belief in the efficacy of the proposed pact as an instrument for promoting peace and security was not shared by most of the speakers who followed. Mr. MacDonald complained that there was no mention in it of disarmament. Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that Mr. Chamberlain himself did not seem very sure as to the intention of the French Government, and there were many obscurities in the document which left the door open to serious disagreement. Many speakers could not see the point of Britain adding to her obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations, and some of the Labour members went so far as to assert that the proposed pact added to the risks of war instead of diminishing them. In replying, Mr. Chamberlain said the debate had shown common agreement on the standpoint that whatever policy was possible for this country, a policy of isolation was not, as it would entail, as their first act, a repudiation of the Covenant and secession from the League of Nations. In regard to disarmament, he had not meant for a moment to set aside the idea of an international conference, but he thought the initiative should come, in respect of naval forces, from America, and of land forces from some Power with great land armaments.

The position of England in respect of the proposed Security Pact had been made tolerably clear by Mr. Chamberlain, and was further defined by Lord Balfour in a brief statement in the House of Lords on July 6, in reply to some questions from the Earl of Oxford. As he understood the proposed arrangement, he said, it meant that there was no question which could arise between Germany, France, Belgium, and England which would not be submitted to arbitration, and, if any of the parties to a dispute refused arbitration, or having gone to arbitration refused to carry it out, then the other parties would be immediately bound to throw

their whole strength into defending the nation which was attacked. He said that he entirely agreed with the emphasis laid on the importance of the advance made by Germany in the matter, and thought that, if agreement was reached, one of the greatest contributions ever made to civilisation and peace would have been accomplished.

While the French answer to the German proposals was under consideration, the Allied Governments made the international situation clearer by presenting to Germany, on June 5, their long-promised Note on disarmament and the evacuation of Cologne. On the ground of the Report of the Military Commission, the note called upon the German Government to carry out a number of steps in the direction of disarmament, on the fulfilment of which it was promised that Cologne would be evacuated without delay. The presentation of this Note gave relief not only in Germany, but also in those quarters in England which still suspected the Government of retaining some relics of the "war spirit," or of desiring to play into the hands of France.

While Britain was drawing closer to her near neighbours on the Continent of Europe, her relations with some countries farther afield became more strained. Early in June the British public was startled to learn that disturbances had occurred at Shanghai, in the course of which some British factories were looted and some British lives lost. For several days the news from that city continued to be grave, and the matter was eventually raised in Parliament. In a written reply on June 11, Mr. McNeill, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated that the origin of the troubles was obscure, and was to be sought mainly in the disturbed conditions that had prevailed in the country for some time, owing to the lack of a strong central government, but, in the opinion of the Government, not at all in industrial conditions, though these were far below the level which would be tolerated in Western countries. A few days later, under pressing cross-examination from Labour members in Parliament, Mr. A. M. Samuel admitted that the proximate cause of the trouble was general industrial unrest of some months' standing in the Japanese mills at Shanghai, but insisted that the British community in Shanghai was doing its best to improve labour conditions there.

On June 19 Mr. A. Chamberlain made a prolix and not very clear statement on the Government's policy. The British interest in China, he said, was a trade interest. In common with the other Powers interested, they would protect the life and property of British subjects in China, and hold the Chinese Government responsible for all the injury and damage wantonly inflicted on British subjects or on British property. That, however, was no remedy for the present situation. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the whole trouble arose from a strike in a Japanese

factory. The seat of the trouble lay in the discontent of the Chinese people with their present conditions, which led to a strong anti-foreign movement. He gave credit to the representations of the Powers at Shanghai for having acted with moderation and peaceful intentions. The Government were anxious that the Tariff Conference which was to meet in China should do so with the least possible delay, and thought that this would provide an opportunity for investigating what had happened.

The trouble in China threatened for a time to complicate seriously Britain's relations with Russia. The national aspirations of the Chinese, which were the ulterior if not the immediate cause of the disturbances in Shanghai, had for some years been actively encouraged by the Soviet Government in Russia. It was natural, therefore, that in quarters in England hostile to the Soviet the view should have become prevalent that Russia was deliberately plotting against Britain in the Far East. This suspicion was voiced somewhat indiscreetly by Lord Birkenhead in a speech which called forth a sharp rejoinder from M. Chicherin at Moscow. Meanwhile members on both sides of the House of Commons had become anxious to know what was the attitude of the Government towards Russia, and on July 6 two Conservative members asked Mr. Baldwin to set aside a day for the discussion of Soviet propaganda and British relations with Russia. The Premier refused, on the ground of the congestion of public business. Further questions, however, elicited some significant statements from the Foreign Secretary. Asked whether a Note was to be sent to the Russian Government on the subject of recent events in China, Mr. Chamberlain replied that no such Note had yet been sent, but he must reserve to the Government full liberty to take whatever action they might think to be required. Nor could he promise to inform the House beforehand, in order not to paralyse the action of the Government in an emergency. The situation was of a character that needed to be carefully watched from day to day, and the Government must have liberty to act for the protection of British interests. There was, however, as yet no proposal to alter their policy towards Russia. Two days later Mr. Chamberlain was again closely questioned by Labour and Liberal speakers as to whether the breaking-off of diplomatic relations with Russia was under consideration, and again he refused to commit himself.

M. Rakovsky, the Russian chargé d'affaires in England, had during this time been away at Moscow, but immediately after Mr. Chamberlain's speech the Russian Government sent him back with all speed to London. He arrived on July 10, and a few days later had interviews with Mr. Chamberlain, as a result of which the tension was relaxed and matters remained in *statu quo*.

On June 11 the Prime Minister announced in Parliament that the Government contemplated the creation of a new Secretaryship

of State for Dominion Affairs, with its own Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, who would also act as Chairman of the Overseas Settlement Committee. This constitutional change was in reality somewhat overdue, as, since the time when the colonies had grown into self-governing dominions, their relation to the home Government had become completely different from that of the Crown colonies and protectorates, and they required to be dealt with separately. Having made his announcement, Mr. Baldwin at once proceeded to nullify the first half of it, for the time being at any rate, by stating that "for reasons of practical convenience" the new Secretaryship of State would continue to be vested in the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the new department to be housed at the Colonial Office. But a new Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs was actually appointed soon after in the person of Lord Clarendon, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the existing Under-Secretary for the Colonies, thenceforth confining his attention to the Crown Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandated Territories.

A question which aroused considerable public interest at this time, though not of great intrinsic importance, was how far Cabinet Ministers might indulge in the practice of contributing to the Press. The question was brought up in Parliament by a Labour member, Mr. Johnston, at the end of May, chiefly in view of the journalistic activities of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, which were regarded with some disfavour by members on both sides of the House. The Cabinet did not find it easy to come to a decision, and at first Mr. Baldwin gave somewhat equivocal answers, but at length, on June 18, he announced that Ministers would thereafter refrain from writing articles of any kind in the Press during their term of office.

Towards the end of June the General Council of the Trade Union Congress made a somewhat unusual incursion into a field of action which more properly belonged to the Parliamentary Labour Party. On June 23 a deputation from the Council met the Prime Minister, who was accompanied by the Foreign Minister, the President of the Board of Trade, and the Secretary of Mines, at 10 Downing Street, and laid before him three resolutions of the Trade Union Congress at Hull in the previous year, calling for nationalisation of the mines, the resumption of diplomatic and trading relations with Russia, and the representation of workers on royal commissions and committees of inquiry. The Prime Minister said that nationalisation was with him not a question of principle, but an economic one. He did not believe that nationalisation would cheapen the production of coal, but thought it would increase costs. In relation to Russia, he said the Government would welcome the inclusion of Russia in the comity of nations and its entry into the League of Nations. This statement was endorsed by Mr. Chamberlain, who also said

that the assumption that Britain's recognition of Russia was incomplete was incorrect, and that he was quite sure that trade with Russia was not at all fettered by diplomatic considerations. To the resolution on commissions the Prime Minister promised to give sympathetic consideration.

In the midst of its discussions on the Finance Bill and the Pensions Bill, Parliament was constrained once more to take cognisance of the unemployment problem. The summer brought no trade revival, and instead of the usual seasonal decrease the unemployment totals witnessed an increase. The discontent of the working classes was voiced in a great "unemployed" demonstration in Trafalgar Square on June 21, organised by the General Council of the Trade Unions Congress, the London Trades Council, and the Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement. Not to be behindhand, the Parliamentary Labour Party on June 29 brought forward a vote of censure on the Government for "failing to take measures to deal with a situation of unprecedented gravity." Mr. MacDonald, who led the attack, had no difficulty in making out a strong case. He said that after eight months of Conservative government the national position showed only signs of deterioration—whether tested by gilt-edged securities, by railway returns, by the psychology of general confidence, by the export trade, or the position of the coal trade. With a Parliamentary power unchallenged and unchallengeable, the Government at the end of eight months had a barren record—schemes that were begun neglected, and proposals very nearly finished disappeared, while all the time the figures of unemployment were going up, increasing misery and uncertainty and friction and despair on both sides. Mr. Baldwin half admitted that Mr. MacDonald's speech might be considered a "powerful and convincing attack on the Government," but defended himself on two main grounds, one, that the situation was not as black as painted—after all there were still 90 per cent. of the workers in employment—the other that he was not allowed to introduce the remedy he would like.

In the course of his speech Mr. Baldwin mentioned casually that the Government proposed to examine whether by any form of subsidy it would be possible to give a stimulus to certain industries which seemed at the moment to be beaten down to a position of helplessness. He was immediately questioned eagerly as to his precise intentions, but refused to commit himself further. Other speakers from the Unionist side propounded remedies for the unemployment evil which did not receive official endorsement. The Minister of Labour justified the Government for not having brought forward an electrification scheme by stating, amid great interruption from the Labour members, that the scheme as left by the late Government was in a very rudimentary state, and that much work had to be done on it to bring it

to fruition. The motion was eventually lost by 373 votes to 143.

By this time the danger of an industrial crisis had become more imminent, particularly in the coal fields. For while the joint inquiry of coal-owners and miners was being prosecuted, matters went from bad to worse in the industry. During May and June numbers of pits were closed down, and many thousands of miners were thrown out of work. The inquiry itself, as had been feared, failed entirely to produce any agreement between masters and men on the measures that should be taken to meet the situation. At the final sitting, on June 23, the owners stated their view that the main cause of the difficulties was the increased cost of production, due mainly to the shorter working day and the terms of the existing agreement. They therefore announced their intention of giving a month's notice on June 30 of the termination of the agreement, and suggested that it was in the interests of the workmen, as well as of the owners, that there should be a reversion to the eight-hour day. The workmen's representatives replied that they would not consider the question of longer hours, as they held that that was no solution for the problems facing the industry.

On the same day a deputation from the General Council of the Trade Union Congress discussed the mining situation with the Prime Minister, and found him, as they said, "fully alive to the gravity of the position," but not prepared as yet to take any action. In the House of Commons on the same day Mr. Ramsay MacDonald asked the Premier whether the Government had under consideration the increasingly serious position of the coal-mining industry. Mr. Baldwin replied that in his opinion every opportunity should be given to those engaged in an industry to settle matters for themselves, if they could, and that the Government should only interfere in the last resort, a point which had not been reached yet, and might not be reached.

This "legitimate hope" of the Government, as Mr. Baldwin termed it, was soon found to rest on very slender foundations. On June 30 the Mining Association duly issued notice to terminate the 1924 agreement on July 31, and with it a covering letter in which regret was expressed that the miners "had not seen their way to agree that the state of the industry calls for an adjustment both of wage rates and of working conditions." On the next day they forwarded to the secretary of the Miners' Federation their proposals for a new national wages agreement for the industry on and after August 1. These made no mention of the eight-hour day, but in regard to wages laid down that 87 per cent. of the proceeds, after deducting costs other than wages, should be applied to this purpose.

The owners' terms were considered on July 2 by a delegate conference of miners which had been summoned to meet a short

time before at the Kingsway Hall, London, in anticipation of the crisis. Mr. Cook, the secretary, showed that the effect of the proposals would be to cause large reductions in the miners' wages, while the owners would in every case receive 13 per cent. of the proceeds left after the "other costs" had been deducted. The conference, as was expected, rejected the terms unconditionally. On receipt of the miners' reply, Mr. Lee, the secretary of the Mining Association, made a lengthy statement justifying the action of the coal-owners. He said that the industry in the aggregate had been working without profit ever since the commencement of the present wages agreement; they had lost a third of their export trade and were still losing orders, and to continue on the present basis would mean that the industry would be heading for bankruptcy. The owners, he said, were prepared to forgo the repayment of the losses and deficiencies due to them under the current agreement, but it was impossible for the industry to continue working longer at a loss. He complained that the only concrete proposal contained in the letter from the Miners' Federation was one that would increase the cost of production still further. He affirmed that the idea that the owners' proposals would secure them guaranteed profits irrespective of the rate of wages was due to a complete misunderstanding of their meaning. There was no guaranteed rate of profits, as profits were related in a definite ratio to wages. Finally, he pointed out once more that the situation would be materially altered and more favourable terms could be offered if the miners were prepared to reconsider the question of the hours of work.

On the next day the President of the Mining Association, Mr. Evan Williams, wrote to the President of the Miners' Federation, Mr. Herbert Smith, stating that the owners' sub-committee would be in London the next day, and inviting his sub-committee to meet them. Mr. Smith replied that he could not see what good purpose would be served by such a meeting, as the miners' conference had already indicated that there would be no room for negotiation on the owners' proposals. The uncompromising attitude of the miners at length impressed on the Government, which had been watching the situation closely, the necessity of intervening in order, if possible, to bring the parties together. Mr. Bridgeman, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who had been Minister of Labour at the time of the great coal strike in 1921, was deputed to act as mediator, and he interviewed the Central Committee of the Mining Association on July 9, and the Executive of the Miners' Federation the next day. The latter told him that they would not meet the owners unless the latter withdrew their notice terminating the present agreement and the proposals they had put forward for a new agreement. The coal-owners thereupon informed Mr. Bridgeman that they would not withdraw the notice, but were prepared to meet the miners "in

conference on an open situation." The reply of the miners was to regret that the coal-owners had refused "their reasonable request." The Government thereupon, on July 13, somewhat precipitately in the opinion of many, set up a Court of Inquiry under the Industrial Courts Act "to inquire into the causes and circumstances of the dispute in the coal-mining industry."

On the same day that Parliament assented to the setting up of the Commission of Inquiry, the Mining Association issued a statement belittling its work in advance. It stigmatised the Government's policy as one of "Danegeld," asserted that no inquiry could put into the industry money which was not there or enable the industry to pay wages out of losses, and warned the public that the crisis would recur in the same form in the ensuing May unless the situation were resolutely faced in the interim.

A weighty statement of the miners' view of the situation was given by Mr. Herbert Smith in his presidential address to the annual Conference of the Miners' Federation which met at Scarborough on July 14. He said that up till then he had resisted the pressure of the more extreme elements in the Federation. But now, seeing that the owners had taken the initiative and practically issued an ultimatum which sought to interfere with hours, forced upon them district settlements, gave no minimum percentage safeguard but a guaranteed profit to the owners, and included other retrograde steps, he had no qualms—realising fully the gravity and seriousness of the situation—in advising the Miners' Federation to resist to its fullest capacity. He hoped that this attempt on the owners' part to depress miners' wages, lengthen hours and so forth, would have the full opposition of the whole of the trade union movement in Great Britain. He was also convinced that the industry had fallen into its present state because the owners had not attempted to take the mine-workers into their confidence as provided in Part II. of the Mining Industry Act of 1920. Referring to the movement for creating a new Labour alliance, he said that as one who took part in the conference of June 4, he was hoping they would evolve a working arrangement. He was looking to the formation of an alliance which would not easily be broken, and which would defend the livelihood of the men, women, and children of the country by a resolute and determined action.

On the next day the Conference agreed to a recommendation of the Executive to inform the Government that it could accept no Court of Inquiry that had for its object the ascertainment of whether mine-workers' wages could be reduced or their hours extended, as these questions had been fully discussed at the last inquiry, and also repeated its willingness to meet the coal-owners in open conference as soon as they had withdrawn their proposals. A rejoinder immediately came from the coal-owners that the proposals still represented their views as to the basis of a national

agreement. In pursuance of the first part of the resolution, a telegram conveying its terms was sent to the Minister of Labour, followed by a letter, stating that the Miners' Federation "could take no part in proceedings which, from the terms of reference and the constitution of the Court, are obviously designed to justify the present attack upon the miners' standard of living." The Minister of Labour immediately telegraphed back that the decision of the Conference appeared to be based on a misapprehension as to the objects of the Court of Inquiry, which were merely to make known the facts and circumstances surrounding the dispute, and begged the miners' representatives to attend the meeting of the Court on the next morning, July 17.

As in the mining industry, so on the railways and in the engineering industry, employers and employed continued to face one another with opposing demands. The claims and counter-claims put forward in February by the railway managers and unions had not been pressed by either side, and matters had remained in *statu quo* for some months. Meanwhile, railway revenues had continued to decline, chiefly owing to the falling-off in the transport of coal, and in June the companies dismissed several men and put others on short time. To prevent matters from drifting further, the companies arranged to meet representatives of the unions in "unofficial and informal conference" on June 25. As a result of this discussion the companies, on July 1, proposed an all-round reduction of 5 per cent., not only on all wages, but also on salaries of officers and fees of directors, for twelve months, demanding at the same time that the wages claims of the unions should remain in abeyance during the currency of the proposed agreement. A week later the Associated Society of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen emphatically rejected this proposal, and refused also to send any representative to a further conference on the subject. The other railway unions were not so peremptory. The National Union of Railwaymen at its annual Conference at Southport on July 8 accepted a suggestion of Mr. Thomas to allow the Executive to meet the companies again and to report to another conference. But it was recognised that the refusal of the locomotive men greatly lessened the prospect of an agreement. The engineers also, on June 19, accepted the proposal made by the employers on June 2 of a joint meeting to discuss their terms, but at the same time announced that they still adhered to their previous policy.

While the shadows were deepening over the industrial field, members of Parliament found an opportunity of expressing their views on the economic difficulties of the country in a couple of the Supply debates on the Finance Bill. At the instance of the Liberal Party, the House of Commons devoted July 6 to a discussion of British trade and its prospects. The President of the Board of Trade showed by an array of figures that the depression

was chiefly in the heavy trades, especially coal and heavy metals, and that general merchandise was not much affected, while in motor cycles, electrical supplies, and silk business was brisk. He refused to believe that the depression was chronic, and in this view was supported by Sir A. Mond, who came to the conclusion that the state of trade was "depressed but not desperate," and also by Mr. Sidney Webb, who refused to believe that the country was "played out." Asked if his Department was taking any measures to assist trade, the President of the Board of Trade said that he thought the most effective step the Department could take would be to assist traders in their own development by information, credit, and so on. Sir A. Mond thought that many causes of the decline in the export trade were temporary. For instance, one of the difficulties with which British trade had to contend was the wide divergence between wages and hours in this country and those on the Continent, but he did not believe it would be possible in the long run to maintain working efficiency in those Continental countries on low wages and a low standard of living, and he thought that it would prove a costly experiment—a statement which drew Labour cheers. He thought the diminution in trade was partly due to the policy of deflation, heavy taxation, and debt redemption. He complained that there was a growing tendency to regard things too much from the banker's and bill-broker's point of view, and too little from that of the manufacturer and workman. Mr. Runciman characterised as an "anomaly of statistics" the fact that income-tax returns were higher than was anticipated while unemployment was increasing. He pointed out that the whole world was poorer as a result of the war, and thought that the only thing likely to bring recovery to the world as a whole was that Nature should give more freely of her bounty; great harvests would do more than all sorts of Government contrivances.

With the prospect of a complete stoppage in the coal industry before its eyes, the House of Commons, at the instance of the Labour Party, devoted the next Supply day (July 8) to a somewhat academic discussion of the question why there was so much unemployment in the mining industry. Mr. Hartshorn pointed out that the number of unemployed miners had risen from 38,000 in May, 1924, to 199,000 in May of this year, and further, to 301,000 in June. In common with most of the Labour speakers who followed, he urged some form of "unification" as the best remedy. The Minister of Labour explained that the chief factor responsible for the unemployment was the decline in the export trade. This, which was between 60 and 70 millions as a rule, had gone up during the Ruhr occupation to 79 or 80 millions, but was now only some 52 millions a year. At the same time, the bunkering trade had fallen from 21 to 16 millions. He referred to the investigations which the Government were having

conducted into low-temperature carbonisation and other processes, but warned the House not to expect results within a limited time.

While the debate in Parliament on July 6 had been non-partisan in character, Mr. Lloyd George, who, contrary to expectation, had taken no part in it, a few days later adroitly made the state of trade the basis of a vigorous attack on the Government. Addressing a Liberal gathering at Wisbech on July 10, and taking as his text an alarmist statement issued by the Federation of British Industries on the previous day, he said that while the present depression in industry could not be attributed altogether to any Government, yet the present Government had shown no indication that they were really grappling with the crisis, and in some respects had helped to make it materially worse. Their Budget, to begin with, was a trade prosperity Budget, increasing their taxes and putting on fresh burdens. He held that the set-back in trade recovery was mainly political in origin. The first Conservative Government had acquiesced in the occupation of the Ruhr by the French, and the consequent disturbance in Europe set back the trade of the world by at least two years—and they were still feeling the effect of it. A second reason was that in 1923 the present Prime Minister, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, committed this country to a payment of over 30,000,000*l.* a year in gold to America. They were, it was true, in honour bound to pay this, but they should not have concluded a one-sided bargain which rendered them liable to pay while they were receiving nothing of the huge sums owed to themselves by their Allies. A third reason was the attitude of the Government towards national expenditure. But the action of the Government which had had the most disastrous effect upon British trade was the restoration of the gold standard before their credit was ripe for that departure. This, in the words of the Federation of British Industries, “had made it harder to sell their goods abroad, and easier to buy foreign goods;” and it was responsible to some extent for the position in the coal trade, since it had forced up the price of British coal abroad. Recent debates in the House of Commons, concluded Mr. Lloyd George, had left all members with the impression that the Government was without aim, resource, or will to deal with the emergency. He saw no prospect of removing it for another four years, but meanwhile the House of Commons ought to rouse it to a sense of its duty.

In a speech delivered at the Mansion House on July 16, at a dinner given in his honour by the Lord Mayor of London, the Chancellor of the Exchequer endeavoured to present the economic situation in a more reassuring light and to combat the alarmist views which were so generally held, and which Mr. Lloyd George, in particular, took every opportunity of proclaiming. There was, he said, nothing in their political and economic situation which

should prevent a search for remedies in a cool, calm, and deliberate manner. The unemployment evil, to begin with, when seen in its true perspective, lost some of its terrors. Of the increase of more than 300,000 in the number of unemployed over the previous year, the depression in the coal trade could account for 250,000, while 75,000 might be put down to the relaxations in unemployment benefit granted by the Labour Government. If there were more people unemployed, there were also—owing to the increase in population and shortening of the hours of labour—more people employed than ever before, and employed on the whole—with certain grave exceptions—at better wages and under better conditions than ever before. It was impossible to deny that the general condition of the country had improved. But two serious questions arose—were they treating their special unemployment problem in the right way, and was the increased consuming power of the masses being procured at the expense of their reserve? To these questions Mr. Churchill could give no clear reply, but in answer to Mr. Lloyd George's attack on the returning to the gold standard, he pointed out that since that step had been taken the country had exported just over 5,000,000*l.* of gold and received nearly 11,000,000*l.*, so that at least there had been no severe tightening of money rates. Mr. Churchill's conclusion was that as long as the country was in contact with reality, they might suffer, but they would live. As long as they kept on sound lines they would have warning of every economic danger, and would be able to alter their conduct if necessary before it was too late.

Mr. Churchill's capacity for coping with "economic dangers" was put to the test almost immediately, and proved sadly deficient. While the debate on the Finance Bill was proceeding, Liberal members had pressed the Government to announce its programme for the construction of new cruisers, as promised in the debate on the Estimates earlier in the year. The Government repeatedly put them off, being unable to come to a decision on the subject. When the vote for the Navy Estimates came up on July 16, the Liberal Party refused to keep silence any longer, and Sir J. Simon moved a reduction of 100*l.* in the vote to call the attention of the House and of the country to the scale of naval expenditure, and to invite the Government to state its policy. The debate, he admitted, might be called premature, inasmuch as the Government had not yet announced its proposals, but he thought it better that the Government decisions should be made after Parliamentary consultation rather than before. He pointed out that the country was pledged to a principle contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations, that naval armaments should be reduced to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and he asked the Government whether it was addressing itself to the application of that principle in practice.

Apart too from the restrictions placed on them by the Covenant and other pacific considerations, they were bound to consider the state of their resources ; the plain fact was that if they had to contemplate expenditure on armaments on the present scale, they were placing on the country a burden greater, perhaps, than it could stand.

The Admiralty point of view was put by two naval members, Admiral Sir A. Henniker-Hargan and Commander Bellairs, who laid stress on the necessity of new cruisers to protect British trade routes. On the other hand, Captain Hilton Young, also an ex-naval officer, pointed out the rapidity with which naval designs became obsolescent, and cautioned against the building of ships in squadrons and numbers. Mr. MacDonald affirmed that if a policy of international disarmament was to be pursued, then the mentality shown in some of the speeches was not the mentality that should control the naval policy of the country. The plea for economy was most eloquently voiced by Mr. Lloyd George, who said that of the two risks against which they had to insure—the risk to their safety and the risk to their solvency—the latter was the more pressing. He appealed to the Government, unless they knew of some peril which was not obvious to the country, not to commit them to a huge expenditure on cruisers. Against whom were they building ? Japan and America might be building against each other, but England was not involved in their conflict. And it was time that the whole of the British Empire should take its share in the support of the Navy, and not leave the whole burden to Great Britain. Mr. Bridgeman, in replying to the debate, did not commit the Government to any course, but made it apparent that his own sympathies were with the Admiralty.

In the course of the succeeding week it became known that the Admiralty were demanding the construction of some fifty-two new cruisers of 10,000 tons, at the rate of five a year, during the next ten years, and that the Sea Lords were threatening to resign if they did not have their way. They had the support of Mr. Bridgeman and some other members of the Cabinet, but Mr. Churchill and the bulk of the Cabinet with him were anxious, above all things, to avoid swelling the Naval Estimates. Rumours of Cabinet crisis and impending resignations were rife during the week, but at length, at a prolonged Cabinet meeting on July 21, a compromise was reached between the conflicting views, and its terms were announced to the House of Commons by the Prime Minister two days later. Two new cruisers were to be laid down in October and two in February, and three cruisers thereafter every year during the lifetime of the present Parliament. Some of these were to be of 10,000 tons, others smaller. There was also to be an annual construction, commencing from the year 1926-27 of nine destroyers and six submarines. So far as the

present year was concerned, the Admiralty would meet the additional expense—*viz.*, 527,170*l.*—from savings on other heads and underspendings. In order to secure every possible reduction in naval expenditure, and generally throughout the Service Departments, a Committee of three persons not connected with the Government would be appointed as soon as possible to examine maintenance costs and interior economy of the Navy, Army, and Air Service.

The decision of the Government was vigorously challenged in the House of Commons on July 30, when a token vote was asked for in sanction of the new expenditure contemplated. Mr. MacDonald moved a reduction in the vote. He said that the first and most appropriate reason for such an expansion of ship-building must be to provide against a national danger. Where was that danger? He could see no reason why a single keel should be laid down in addition to the five for which the Labour Government was responsible in the previous year. If the Government claimed this number of cruisers as a one-power standard, then other nations would accept the same standard, and they were in for a competition in armaments which would finally end in war. Mr. Lloyd George, who followed, laid stress on the constitutional aspect of the Government's decision. The Admiralty, he said, held up the House of Commons and the Government on every possible occasion; it arrogated to itself the right to say: "We want so much money, and if we do not get it we will resign." This was an impossible position, and meant the substitution of autocracy for Parliamentary government. The Government had had an opportunity of putting an end to it, but had made things worse instead of better. Captain Benn complained bitterly that the Government was not "harnessing the spirit of the time to the cause of peace," and was rendering vain the sacrifices made in the war; while Mr. Snowden ridiculed the idea that the Admiralty could be expected to effect economies of its own account, as it was "the most extravagant, the most dictatorial, and the most arrogant of all the public Departments."

The defenders of the Government's action spoke with strangely different voices. Mr. Churchill, who took on himself the whole responsibility for the proposed expenditure, maintained that the programme finally put forward by the Admiralty constituted an immense diminution on what the Government had inherited from preceding Governments—a statement which was warmly controverted by Mr. Snowden in so far as it referred to the Labour Government. He admitted that the only "menace" was that the Fleet was wearing out, and that the present solution was not, perhaps, a solution which a Chancellor of the Exchequer invested with dictatorial powers would have adopted. Commander Burney, after hearing Mr. Churchill, declared himself still unconvinced that from an economic point of view a case had been

made out for the new cruisers, but he justified the action of the Government on the ground that it reassured public opinion in the Dominions, especially Australia, and so helped the cause of Imperial unity. Finally Mr. Bridgeman, who closed the debate, used the stock arguments of the Conservative rank and file who, as Mr. Snowden put it, "had learnt nothing from the war," and were "back in 1913." Britain's need for new cruisers was far greater than that of any other country because of her widely spread Empire. If they laid down nothing this year the cruiser strength of the British Empire would be 7 of post-war design, against 18 of the United States, 21 of Japan, and 9 of France. These figures showed the absolute necessity of their building new cruisers. With regard to the argument that there was no risk of war, he agreed that things at the moment were perfectly calm, but no one could prophesy that it would remain so for the next ten or twelve years. He denied that they were starting any new competition in armaments. Each country had always been the judge of what its own insurance policy should be, and they wished to be the judges of theirs. Finally, they had to consider the relief which the new building would bring to unemployment. The motion for reduction of the vote was, in the end, rejected by 267 votes to 140.

After having been in office eight months, the Government was at length, for the first time, on July 7, asked in the House of Lords for information as to the policy it intended to pursue in regard to Indian constitutional questions. The principal reason for the restraint exercised by Parliament was that since early in the spring Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, had been in England, and during the intervening period had been in frequent consultation with the India Office, a fact which seemed to indicate that important proposals were being considered. When Lord Birkenhead at last broke his silence, it was to say that no changes in the system of Indian government were contemplated for the present. He confessed that he himself had always been mistrustful of the diarchical principle, even though he had been a member of the Government which established it by the Act of 1919. Still, he could not say that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform had failed. It had been exposed to cruel mishaps, and had never been given a chance. Nevertheless, all the resources of a very adroit and sophisticated party in Opposition had not availed to destroy this experimental Constitution. On the other hand, it had not wholly succeeded, and even where it had succeeded the price of success had been, at some stages and in some districts, a considerable inroad upon diarchical principle. He had not thought it proper to discourage such tendencies, holding the view that the whole matter was experimental, and afforded an opportunity to each province to work out its constitutional salvation in its own way. In regard to the future, the

Montagu-Chelmsford Reform would come up for revision by a Royal Commission in 1929, but even before then the door was open to changes, provided the responsible leaders of Indian thought gave evidence of a desire to co-operate in making the best of the existing constitution. If the Swarajists believed that no Constitution framed in the West could be suitable for, or acceptable to India, he challenged them to produce one themselves which would have behind it a fair measure of general agreement among the peoples of India.

Referring to the status of Indians in some of the Dominions, Lord Birkenhead said that the matter was one of great consequence, and had caused him grave anxiety. He asked other parts of the Empire to remember how profoundly this problem affected relations between the Empire and India, and he begged them to exhaust every effort to avoid such discrimination as must deeply wound the ancient and dignified peoples of India. In conclusion, Lord Birkenhead, while asking the Indian people for goodwill and co-operation, said that he could not in any foreseeable future discern a moment when Britain might safely abandon her trust. In the one flamboyant sentence of an otherwise sober speech, he declared that there was no "lost dominion," and there would be no lost dominion until the whole British Empire was splintered in doom. They no longer talked of "holding the gorgeous East in fee," but invited the peoples of India to march side by side with them in a fruitful and harmonious partnership.

Lord Birkenhead's statement was the subject of a discussion in the House of Commons a couple of days later (July 9). Colonel Wedgwood joined issue with the Secretary on a fundamental matter of principle by asserting that the main object of Britain in regard to India was to secure for that country democratic self-government, irrespective of whether it was good government or not. The statement was received with Opposition cheers and Ministerial laughter. Sir A. Mond, without going quite so far, pointed out that it was difficult for those who had long been concerned with the problem of administering Indian affairs to realise that others might handle it as well, and he urged the necessity of giving the people of India more responsibility. Lord Birkenhead's offer to consider any constitutional scheme that might be submitted to him by representative bodies in India was generally welcomed, though Lord Winterton, the Under-Secretary for India, somewhat damped expectations by stating that such proposals would only be considered "when the time came, by the appropriate authority, namely, the Government of India, the Cabinet, and the Statutory Royal Commission."

On July 17 the question of summer time legislation, after being in suspense for several months, was finally settled. As a concession to the miners, the advocates of the Bill for making

summer time permanent had offered to sacrifice the first fortnight in April, but they would not make a similar concession of the last fortnight in September to please the agriculturists. In the Report stage of the Bill, Mr. Baldwin said that, as was natural for one representing an agricultural constituency, his sympathies were with the agriculturists and six-o'clock-in-the-morning people, but as a practical politician he knew that these people could not get their way, so he advised his friends to accept the compromise offered in the amendment that would be moved, to exclude from summer time the first fortnight in April. This was accordingly passed without a division, after an amendment to continue the *status quo* regarding summer time had been defeated by 204 votes to 68. Members from the North of Scotland made a strenuous appeal to fix the end of summer time on the last Saturday in September instead of the first in October, on the ground that the intervening days were invaluable for harvesting purposes in Scotland, but this also was rejected by 228 votes to 56.

On July 28 it was announced in the House of Commons that a Food Council had been set up, with Lord Bradbury as Chairman. Lord Bradbury informed a gathering of journalists that the work of the Council would consist of a general and periodical review of the principal food trades, the results of which would be stated in quarterly reports to the President of the Board of Trade. The purpose of these reports would be to inform public opinion, since part of the uneasiness about food prices was due to lack of information. The Council, he pointed out, might have to come into sharp conflict with interests concerned in the production and distribution of food. It was starting its work without compulsory powers, but might have to ask for them if the food interests did not co-operate. Lord Bradbury appealed to the Press to assist the Council, quoting from the Royal Commission's Report the statement that "publicity and the force of a mobilised public opinion are likely to prove potent influences in persuading traders engaged in unfair practices to comply with the requirements of the Food Council." The Council before long signalised itself by inducing the bakers, early in October, to reduce the price of the four-pound loaf from 9½d. to 9d., the maximum charge which the cost of flour could then be held to warrant.

The Labour situation in June and July proved favourable to the development of Mr. Cook's scheme for a general alliance of trade unions. The decision of the Conference of June 4 to appoint a committee had been regarded by the more ardent spirits in the trade union movement as a means of shelving the scheme, but if this was the original intention it was not carried into effect. The first meeting of the committee, it is true, held on June 16, had little practical result, and served chiefly to show the necessity of removing jealousies and quarrels between competing unions in the same industry. The feud between the Union of Locomotive

Drivers and the other railway unions was notorious, and continually led to bitter recriminations. Commenting on the sectional spirit which was so rampant throughout the trade union world, a delegate at the Congress which was held a little later cynically remarked that the capitalist system was safe as long as there were twelve hundred trade unions. But owing to the common danger threatening the workers in the great industries, a spirit of co-operation began to manifest itself. At the N.U.R. Conference at Southport on July 10, it was decided, on the suggestion of Mr. Thomas, to make overtures to the Union of Locomotive Drivers with a view to eventual amalgamation. The committee also on the Industrial Alliance had in the meanwhile framed a draft constitution which on July 17 was considered by representatives of twelve of the largest unions in the country, including those of the miners, the transport workers, the railwaymen, the iron and steel trades, the engineers and shipbuilders, the electricians and the boilermakers. These, after examining the document in detail, referred it to their Executives to consider and report upon to a further conference within a reasonable time.

The Executive of the Miners' Federation took a more practical step for securing support in case of a struggle by interviewing, on July 10, the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, which was then holding its annual Conference at Blackpool, and laying their case before that body. The Council, as a result of the interview, passed a resolution recording their complete support of the miners, and undertook to co-operate wholeheartedly with them in their resistance to the degradation of the standard of life of their members, further stating that they were confident they would have the backing of the whole organised trade union movement in placing themselves unreservedly at the disposal of the Miners' Federation to assist it in any way possible. The Parliamentary Labour Party also pledged itself to support the miners. Although it was not yet clear what effective action either body could take, yet their promises were of great moral value to the miners, and confirmed them in the attitude which they had taken up.

While the Court of Inquiry was sitting, the South Wales coal-owners brought a stoppage appreciably nearer by posting up notices of the terms on which the men could continue at work on and after August 1, such terms involving considerable reductions of pay. Owners in other districts at the same time announced their intention of taking a similar step. The Executive of the Miners' Federation on July 23 replied with an instruction to all mine-workers to treat these notices as terminating their contracts of service, and to cease work on July 31. Warned, however, by the example of the 1921 stoppage, the Executive stated that in case of a stoppage arrangements would be made to leave at work the minimum of men necessary to secure the safety of the mines and the feeding of the ponies.

On July 24, in accordance with a decision taken some weeks before, a special Trade Union Congress was held to discuss the problem of unemployment. Owing, however, to the turn which events had taken in the meantime, the Congress dealt principally with the mining situation. On the day before it opened the Miners' Executive met the Special Committee of the General Council of the Congress, and placed their case unreservedly in their hands—a responsibility which the General Council did not disclaim. At the meeting of the Congress, Mr. Cook stated the miners' case, and Mr. Herbert Smith made an uncompromising speech in which he again declared that the men could not discuss reduction of wages or lengthening of hours. The Chairman, Mr. Swales, informed the delegates that the Prime Minister would probably see their committee on the following Monday, and warned them to be ready to meet again if required.

On the same day, the Court of Inquiry held its last public sitting, and before it could issue a report, Mr. Bridgeman again made an effort to bring the parties together, this time with success, a joint meeting being arranged for July 29. Meanwhile, the prospect of a stoppage was rendered more serious by the decision of the railwaymen, on July 25, not to handle coal for transport on the railways after August 1, if the miners should be locked out. This left the Government a week in which to concert measures, not merely for saving the mining industry, but for averting a coal famine. Mr. Baldwin, on that very day, addressing a great gathering of Conservatives at Knowsley Park, the seat of Lord Derby, dealt at some length with the coal crisis, and bewailed the situation in words once used by Mr. MacDonald when Premier in reference to industrial disputes: "How childish it all is, how foolish it all is! Why is there no mutual confidence? Surely these things can be arbitrated!" No Government, he said, could end disputes between parties until those parties had at least the will to negotiate and compromise. When, however, a deputation from the Trade Union Congress waited on him on July 27, he had no more to tell them than that he would speak to the coal-owners on the next day.

The Report of the Court of Inquiry was issued on July 28, and though based wholly on the evidence of the coal-owners, was, on the whole, adverse to their contentions. The Court found that the high cost of the production of coal, to which the Mining Association largely attributed the decline in the industry, was undoubtedly an important factor. The owners had maintained in their evidence that the cost could be reduced by increasing the output, and that this could be brought about by repealing the Act of 1919 which instituted the seven hours' day. This thesis was subjected by the Court to a critical examination, from which it did not emerge altogether unscathed. The analysis of the mine-owners' new wage proposals showed that these made no

allowance for a minimum wage, and that, if applied, they would entail an immediate, and in many cases, material diminution in the actual wages paid. The Court recognised that, if the present condition of the industry continued, an increasing number of collieries would find it impossible financially to carry on under the existing wages agreement. On the other hand, the workers could not be expected to keep themselves and their families unless they received what they called a "living wage." It was here that the deadlock arose which, in the case of an ordinary undertaking, would involve its closing down. It might be, therefore, that a restriction of the industry to those undertakings which could afford to pay a "living wage" to the workers and the elimination of those which could not was theoretically the correct solution. But the reactions of this step would extend far beyond the industry itself; and the question arose whether the coal industry was one whose fate from the national point of view could be left to be determined by the unmitigated operation of purely economic forces, owing to its basic character, the number of interests that depended on its continuance on its present scale, and the number of persons it employed.

Although the Court refrained from giving any answer to this question, as not falling within its terms of reference, yet its closing remarks contained a plain hint to the Government to intervene. Mr. Baldwin showed himself in no haste to act on the hint. As he had promised the miners, he saw the coal-owners on July 28, but did not put any practical proposal before them. The next day, as had been arranged, the Prime Minister, along with the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Mines, had separate meetings with a committee of the Mining Association and the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation. The owners made a new offer of a minimum wage which, in view of the serious condition of the industry as a whole, would have to be "very low," and again hinted that more favourable terms might be offered if hours of work were lengthened. The miners, as before, refused absolutely to consider either suggestion, and the Conference proved abortive. Mr. Baldwin the next morning saw the Miners' Executive, and told them that the Government would on no account give a subsidy to the industry, and that there was no remedy for the situation save for the miners, and in fact the rest of the workers, to accept a reduction of wages; but again the miners refused to budge.

Meantime an extraordinary effort was made by organised Labour to mobilise its forces on the side of the miners in case of a stoppage. On the afternoon of July 31 a Conference was held at the Central Hall, Westminster, of a thousand delegates representing the unions affiliated to the Trade Union Congress to hear a report from the special committee which had been appointed to act in the mining dispute and from the Miners' Federation

representatives. The Conference unanimously and with very little discussion pledged itself to place the whole weight of the trade union movement at the disposal of the special committee in defence of the miners' standards, empowered the committee to provide financial support for those immediately engaged in the dispute, and pledged itself to give effect to any recommendation the special committee might deem necessary. The committee invested with these autocratic powers consisted of nine members, with Mr. Swales, the Chairman of the Trade Union Congress, at their head. It was credited with the intention of placing a complete embargo on the movement of coal if the mine-owners' notices were not withdrawn, and on the same evening instructions were issued to railway and transport workers not to handle coal after midnight of July 31, in accordance with the arrangements already made with these unions.

Thus the threat uttered by Mr. Cook some months previously, which had seemed mere bravado at the time, that the Government would one day find itself confronted by a "Big Five" of Labour which would astonish it, received almost literal fulfilment, though not precisely in the manner Mr. Cook had foreshadowed. The Government was not prepared for such a tussle, and beat a hasty and far from dignified retreat. At 6.30 of the same evening a Cabinet meeting was held which lasted some hours. At its close the Prime Minister had a further interview with the miners' representatives, and asked them if they would co-operate in an inquiry which would make a thorough investigation of the possibilities of improving the productive efficiency of the industry if their wages would be left as at present during its course. On their assenting he announced that in the circumstances the Government were prepared to assist the industry by means of a subsidy till the spring, when the inquiry would be completed, thus going back on his statement of a few days previously. The coal-owners, on being informed of this, agreed to suspend their notices for a fortnight, pending arrangements being made for the exact form of the subsidy, after which they would be withdrawn altogether. Thus the danger, not only of a general coal stoppage, but of a further closing down of pits on any large scale, seemed to be definitely averted, at any rate for another eight or nine months. What the cost to the taxpayer would be was not yet definitely ascertained, but it was estimated to be not less than 10,000,000*l.*

While the public learnt with relief that the danger of a stoppage in the mining industry was averted, it was greatly perturbed by the financial commitments involved in the proposed settlement, and not less by the surrender of the Government to trade union intimidation. On the very next day Mr. Lloyd George in a public speech gave strong expression to the former point of view, and Mr. MacDonald to the latter, and in the Unionist Party

feeling was, for a time, very bitter against the Premier. The terms of the subsidy were published on August 5, and did not bring much comfort to the taxpayer. The Government, it was stated, intended to institute a full inquiry into the industry, which should be completed by May of next year, and in the meanwhile had "agreed to assist the industry by filling the gap between the minimum level of wages provided by the National Agreement of 1924 and the lower level which would result from the colliery owners' proposals of July 1." The owners were to be allowed to retain 13 per cent. of the proceeds, subject only to the provision that if in any district profits exceeded 1s. 3d. a ton, the excess was to be utilised in aid of the subsidy. The cost of the subsidy would, it was stated, have been $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions between August 1, 1924, and May 1, 1925, but would be 24 millions if the month of June, 1925, when trade was very bad, were taken as a basis. For the present, the Government was asking Parliament for 10 millions.

The Premier, in asking Parliament the next day to pass the estimate, explained to a very full House the reasons of the Government's action. He maintained that the Government could not have done anything earlier in the year which would have prevented the trouble. By the evening of July 30 matters had reached a complete deadlock, and there were only two alternatives—one to have a stoppage, and the other to find a way out. Certain reasons immediately presented themselves to his mind for avoiding a stoppage if possible. One was that they were still in a period of unprecedentedly bad trade, and it was no time when they should enter willingly—if it could be avoided honourably—on an expenditure and loss which might easily amount to 100,000,000*l.*, or even much more. Again, the personal suffering of the rank and file caused by such a struggle must be far greater than suffering which might be caused to the country by the voting of the sum for which he was asking. Also, he did not want such a struggle to commence before the people of the country had an opportunity of thinking and understanding what such a thing meant. He found that there was, rightly or wrongly, a deep feeling among the men that there were possibilities of effecting economies in the coal industry, and that it was hardly fair to ask them to take lower wages until these had been explored. For that reason he formed the opinion that the fairest thing to do was to have an inquiry set up to go into all these matters with the widest terms of reference, and to help the industry by the means described in the White Paper until such time—which they estimated at nine months—as the Committee or Commission had reported, and the House had been able to give effect to any recommendations that might seem desirable. In conclusion, Mr. Baldwin uttered a warning to those persons in the trade union movement who were bent on fostering industrial

trouble, saying that no minority in a free country had ever yet coerced the whole community, and that if the community should ever have to protect itself with the full strength of the Government behind it, its response would astonish the forces of anarchy throughout the world.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who followed Mr. Baldwin, deprecated the tone of the Premier's closing remarks, saying that there never was anarchy in a State unless it was conditioned by a feeble and reactionary Government. The Opposition, he proceeded, objected very much to the description of the estimate in the White Paper as a "subvention in aid of wages," as being inaccurate. It was to meet the demands of the owners, and a considerable proportion would go to increasing profits and not to maintaining wage standards only. After criticising the delay of the Government in intervening, he said that any inquiry held henceforward must report in favour of two things—of the minimum wage, and, for the purpose of securing this, of organising the industry on a national basis; until that was done there would be no peace in the industry. He agreed with Mr. Baldwin's analysis of the situation, and said that though the secondary results of the course they were taking might be bad, the results both direct and secondary of a dispute would have been infinitely worse. Mr. Lloyd George, who followed, criticised severely the actual terms of the subsidy. The Premier, he said, was asking the House to sanction a guarantee to wages and profits without limit of amount and without ensuring a settlement within any definite time. There was an inducement to both parties not to hurry, and a temptation to the mine-owners not to restrict expenditure. What, he asked, was to be the effect on prices? Was this to be merely a method of giving cheap coal to their competitors? Mr. George also emphasised the peril to democracy involved in the Government's surrender to threats. Mr. Churchill stated that he was assured by the Mines Department that there was no danger of the bottom being forcibly driven out of the coal market. The position created by the new measure was, he admitted, an impossible one, which could not be allowed to continue, and to bring it to an end by the following May must henceforth be one of the main and predominant objects of public policy. In regard to the cost of the subsidy, Mr. Churchill said that although no provision was made in the Budget for this expense, he did not intend to propose any new tax; if, at the end of the financial year, there should be a balance on the wrong side, that would have to be taken into account in fixing taxation for the next year.

Mr. Thomas asserted that the railwaymen had been prepared to stop work, not because they wanted to challenge the constitution, but because they felt an injustice was being done to the miners, and they were prepared to stand by them. A protest

against the subsidy was made by one or two members. On the motion being put, the Liberals challenged a division, and sixteen of them, along with two Unionists, voted against the motion, while 351 members voted in favour.

In answer to a request of the miners, the Government consented to make the terms of reference of the Commission wider than it originally intended, so as to include everything connected or allied with the mining industry, such as by-products, royalties, and selling agencies. It would not, however, accede to a further request of the miners, to give them a representative on the Commission itself. The Prime Minister, in an interview on August 13, informed them that it was the intention of the Government to appoint a small impartial Commission, assisted by impartial technical assessors. The miners' deputation expressed themselves as dissatisfied with this decision, but nevertheless promised to take part in the inquiry. The coal-owners at the same time issued another alarmist manifesto, in which they expressed their determination of exposing the activities of the British "Reds," to whom they ascribed all the trouble in the coal industry.

Concurrently with the crisis in the coal industry, trouble of a similar kind arose in the Yorkshire woollen industry, and after the Government had made unavailing efforts to effect a settlement about 150,000 operatives actually ceased work in the last week of July. Fortunately, with the help of further Government mediation, means were found to satisfy their requirements, and work was resumed after a stoppage of about three weeks, a Court of Inquiry at the same time being set up to examine conditions in the industry.

During the closing weeks of the Session, Parliament was occupied with disposing of the Votes of Supply. When the vote for the Colonial Office was taken on July 27, Mr. Amery, the Colonial Secretary, pointed out that that was the last occasion on which the Estimates would be presented in an individual form. The creation of the new Secretaryship of State for the Dominions was, he said, a recognition of the profound transformation which the structure of the Empire had undergone in the last generation, and the emergence of the young nations of the British Commonwealth. The new Office would be constituted entirely separately from the Colonial Office, and would submit separate Estimates. Though for the present the two Secretaryships would be combined in the same individual, there was nothing to prevent the appointment of two different individuals if and when circumstances should warrant. In the debate which followed, Mr. Runciman called attention to injustices in the treatment of the natives in Kenya, and Mr. Fisher pressed the Government to carry out the recommendations of the East Africa Committee, which had just issued its report. Mr. Ormsby-Gore, in replying, stated that the Secretary of State had sanctioned a limited use of

compulsory native labour in East Africa in order to get new cotton railways through to Uganda, but there was no intention on the part of the Government to resort to compulsory labour wherever they could possibly avoid it.

On August 3 Parliament finished the Votes of Supply with one for the Ministry of Agriculture. The Minister, Mr. Wood, informed the House that the Wages Act passed in the previous year was working smoothly and well. Mr. Alexander, on behalf of the Labour Party, expressed disappointment that the Minister had not announced some more constructive policy in agriculture, and Mr. Lloyd George urged the Government to institute a thorough and systematic survey into the agricultural resources of the country, pointing out that there was a steady deterioration in the land owing to the fact that the landlord no longer had the money he used to have for spending on drainage and repairs. The Minister, in reply, stated that he would make a rather extended use of the Census of Production, which fell due this year, and which would probably give all the facts necessary for making a comparison between different parts of England and between England and other countries—a comparison which, he thought, would prove more favourable to this country than was often supposed.

In a miscellaneous debate on the Appropriation Bill on August 5, Mr. Churchill found again an opportunity of defending the return to the gold standard, which Sir J. Stamp, one of the members of the Court of Inquiry into the coal stoppage, had singled out in an addendum to the Report as a contributory cause to the crisis in the industry. Mr. Churchill declared that the Government was quite unrepentant. The step they had taken was to be judged, not by fluctuations which occurred in a few months or conditions in individual industries, but by a general view of the interest of the country as a whole over a period of years. Mr. Churchill dismissed with great scorn Professor Keynes's idea of a "managed currency." The view of the Government was that whatever their troubles might be, it was much better that all classes should face them with open eyes, and know the truth about what was taking place; and this was what the gold standard did for them, as it showed the exact cost of any measures that might be proposed.

The session ended, as it had begun, with a financial statement from Mr. Churchill, the tone of which, however, differed much from that of his Budget speech. Being pointedly asked by a Liberal member, Sir Godfrey Collins, what had become of all the Government's promises of economy, he confessed his inability to fulfil them; most of his time, he said, was taken up, not in making reductions, but in resisting further demands for expenditure, demands, too, that in themselves were not at all foolish or improper. He admitted that a reduction in the number of

Government officials made for economy, and that not only from the saving of their salaries. But it was a delusion to suppose that large, sweeping reductions of expenditure could be brought about by reductions of staff. They could only be obtained if people were prepared to adopt a cheaper scale of living, and Parliament was prepared to legislate to bring about that effect. In regard to the fighting services, Mr. Churchill announced that a committee of three Peers had been set up to overhaul the expenditure connected with them. In criticising the Chancellor's speech, Mr. Snowden said that the Labour Party were not opposed to a big national expenditure as such ; in his opinion the most economical form of expenditure was social expenditure. If his party returned to power, the country might look forward to very comprehensive schemes of this kind, and they would not hesitate to raise the funds for the purpose by taxation of the surplus incomes of the wealthier classes of the community.

Reassuring, if somewhat vague, statements as to Britain's relations with China were made by Mr. A. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on July 22, and Lord Balfour in the House of Lords on August 5. On the motion for the adjournment on August 7, Mr. Ponsonby criticised the attitude of the Government towards Russia, and urged it to take a bold initiative and institute a full and impartial inquiry into the troubles in Shanghai. Mr. MacNeill, in reply, disputed the proposition that trade relations depended on political relations, and said that the real obstacle to trade between Britain and Russia was not the attitude of the Government but the way in which the Russian Government used its monopoly of the carrying trade. He denied that there was any active unfriendliness on the part of the Government to Russia, but thought it would be a waste of time and inviting rebuff for them to approach Russia. With regard to China, the Government were hopeful of good results from the coming conference on tariff revision and extra-territoriality. For the moment their paramount duty was to protect British lives and interests.

On August 7 the Committee appointed by the Labour Party in February to consider the question of imported sweated goods issued its report. The Committee came to the conclusion that tariff manipulation provided no remedy against "sweated" goods ; it might even intensify the evil. The problem was one which called for international treatment, both as regards the minimum standards to be adopted and the method of enforcement. The Committee was of opinion that the International Labour Conventions provided the elements of an international code of labour conditions, and that the persistent refusal by a nation to adopt and carry into effect a convention should be followed by the exclusion, by all signatory States, of goods produced under conditions less favourable than those laid down in the Convention. Precedents for such a complete prohibition of

certain imports, it was pointed out, already existed, as in the case of books infringing the Copyright Acts ; while the example of a voluntary boycott had been given by certain cocoa manufacturers who refused to purchase cocoa produced under slave conditions.

CHAPTER III.

SCARBOROUGH AND LOCARNO.

THE rising of Parliament was followed almost immediately by important developments in the sphere of Anglo-French relations, developments for which the train had already been laid in the closing weeks of the session. During August, both the French debt to England and the proposed Security Pact became the subject of deliberations which brought these questions appreciably nearer to a settlement.

Early in the summer the French and Italian Governments had taken tentative steps towards the funding of their debts to the United States. In order that nothing should be done to the prejudice of British interests, the British Government, on June 26, sent a circular Note to each of the Allied Powers which owed Britain war debts—France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Rumania, and Portugal—reminding them of their obligations to that country. The Notes further drew attention to the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the House of Commons on December 10, 1924, that “any payments made by our debtors in Europe to their creditors in the United States should be accompanied simultaneously *pari passu* by proportionate payments to Great Britain.” In answer to this Note, the French Government intimated its willingness to resume the negotiations for the funding of the debt which had been broken off on the resignation of M. Clémentel on April 1, and had since been in abeyance ; and on July 27 three experts from the French Treasury came to London for this purpose, and immediately got in touch with the British Treasury officials. The differences of opinion between the two parties, as was anticipated, proved to be serious, and on July 31 the French officials returned to Paris to consult their chiefs, stating that negotiations had only been adjourned broken off.

While the British financial proposals were being considered by the French Government, the way was finally prepared for holding a conference on the proposed Pact of Guarantee by the end of July. Germany returned her reply to the French on June 16. Referring to this in a speech delivered at Locarno on July 25, Mr. A. Chamberlain expressed disappointment that it should have been of a character which necessitated a reliance on written communications instead of leading up to

obtain more favourable terms. In the course of the next two days he had long secret discussions with Mr. Churchill and also conversations with Mr. Montagu Norman, the Governor of the Bank of England, and Mr. McKenna. The utmost he would offer on behalf of France was that she should pay in principle sixty-two annuities of 10,000,000*l.*, the whole of which should be upon the responsibility of France. This constituted a marked advance on all previous suggestions which had been put forward for payment by France, but it was not near enough to the British demands to bring a settlement in sight. M. Caillaux had intended to leave at the end of the second day without having come to any definite conclusion, but he was induced to remain another day, and meanwhile a Cabinet meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. A. Chamberlain (in the absence of the Premier, who was taking his holiday at Aix-les-Bains), and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was authorised to make a new proposal to M. Caillaux, that France should make sixty-two annual payments of 12,000,000*l.* on her own responsibility, and that she should not fund her debt to America on terms more favourable to that country than she gave to England; in other words, that she should not pay America more than about 2 per cent., or that, if she did, she should increase her payment to England proportionately.

These were the terms of the offer as set forth by Mr. Churchill to a party of journalists. But M. Caillaux's secretary, before leaving England with the Minister, gave two important variations. One was that France was to have a moratorium, and to commence paying only 3,000,000*l.* a year. The other was that France was not to pay to England more than she herself received from Germany under the Dawes scheme. The British official statement, however, made no mention of these conditions, even without which Mr. Churchill's offer was criticised by Lord Bradbury and by many others as being excessively generous.

M. Caillaux returned to Paris to lay the British proposals before his colleagues. They were accepted by the French Cabinet, but owing to their nature could not be regarded as constituting a final settlement of the debt question till France had made some agreement with the United States. M. Caillaux shortly afterwards visited the United States and interviewed the heads of the Treasury there, but failed to come to an agreement with them. France thereupon fell into the throes of a financial and political crisis which lasted till the end of the year, and, in spite of the agreement, Britain's prospects of receiving any payment from France on account of war debt remained as uncertain as ever.

As a result of the conversations between M. Briand and Mr. Chamberlain, a small conference, consisting of a British, a French, a Belgian, and a German jurist met soon afterwards in London to put into formal shape the points on which the Ministers had agreed verbally. At the end of a fortnight they had succeeded

in drafting terms for a Pact to be submitted to Germany on behalf of Britain and France jointly, and reported to their respective Governments. Before any further step had been taken in the negotiations for a Pact, it fell to Mr. Chamberlain to address the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva on September 10. He devoted a great part of his speech to a repetition of the reasons which he had adduced six months previously in his statement before the Council for Britain's rejection of the Protocol, dwelling with much complacency on the Anglo-Saxon disregard of logic in this as in so many other matters. After insisting on the necessity of moral disarmament as a preliminary to physical, he stated once more the British policy for achieving this end. The object of the British Government, he said, was to supplement the Covenant by making special arrangements to meet special needs. It was manifest that these arrangements should be purely defensive, that they should be framed in the spirit of the Covenant, working in close harmony with the League and under its guidance, and in the opinion of the Government these objects would best be attained by knitting together the nations most immediately concerned, and whose differences might lead to a renewal of strife, by means of treaties framed with the sole object of maintaining as between themselves an unbroken peace.

Considerable interest was manifested during the latter half of August in the proceedings of a delegation from Russia which had come over to England for the purpose, it was said, of placing orders for textile machinery to the amount of five million pounds. A portion of the Press charged the delegation with having come over to carry on political propaganda, but this was indignantly denied. The leader of the delegation, Mr. Eremin, stated that during their three weeks' stay they had found English manufacturers ready and willing to do business with them, but they had not been able to place more than a small portion of the orders they desired because the manufacturers could not carry them out without assistance from the banks, and the banks refused the accommodation. With German firms they had not the same difficulty.

On the last day of August diplomatic relations were formally resumed between Great Britain and Mexico, after having been in abeyance for several years [*vide* also under MEXICO]. No reason was given publicly for this step, but it was no doubt prompted by the confidence felt by England in the administration of General Calles, who had shown himself a firm ruler and had held out prospects of Mexico paying the interest on her external debt.

On September 3, a full month after the granting of the coal subsidy, the Government at length announced the appointment of the Royal Commission to inquire into the conditions of the coal industry. It consisted of four members, with Sir Herbert Samuel, who had shortly before retired from the High Com-

missionership of Palestine, as Chairman, and four expert assessors. Great care had been exercised by the Government to choose men who, while commanding respect by their ability, could not be suspected of any partisan bias, and this was one reason for the delay in forming the Commission, another being the general exodus due to the holiday season.

Before the Commission commenced its labours, a hitch occurred which, for a time, threatened the continuance of the truce in the industry. Some of the colliery owners insisted on their right to alter the basis rates of wages under the terms of the 1924 agreement. The Miners' Federation contended that no alteration should be made during the period of the subsidy. The Department of Mines was asked to mediate, and upheld the view of the owners. The miners, thereupon, appealed to the Premier. In the interval the Commission actually commenced its labours, some seven weeks after the subsidy to the coal industry had first been granted.

The Prime Minister received a deputation from the miners on September 23, and heard their case. On the next day he wrote to them stating that the subsidy had been granted to the coal-owners on condition that they should observe the 1924 agreement, and this agreement allowed them liberty, in certain cases, to change the basis rate of wages. The miners were highly dissatisfied with this reply, and threatened to boycott the Commission. The mine-owners, however, gave an assurance that there would be no general reduction of wages, and the miners, with a somewhat bad grace, joined in the work of the Commission.

In pursuance of its pledge given to the Government to effect economies in its administration, the Admiralty announced, on September 2, that the dockyards at Rosyth and Pembroke would be reduced to a "care-and-maintenance basis," i.e., that actual work in them would cease as soon as possible, but that their buildings and plant would be maintained in such a state as would enable the establishments to be opened again in case of need. This step would necessitate the discharge of about 1,200 men almost immediately, and nearly 2,000 more later on. A great outcry was immediately raised at the places affected, and efforts were made to induce the Admiralty to revoke its decision, but without avail, nor were appeals to the Government any more successful.

At the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations on September 3, Mr. Amery, the British Colonial Secretary, stated the views of the British Government on the report recently issued of the International Commission which had been appointed by the League a twelvemonth previously to investigate the problem of the sovereignty of Mosul and the adjacent country. The Commission had reported that technically the area remained under Turkish sovereignty, but that the majority of the population

favoured union with Iraq, provided that country remained under British mandate for another twenty-five years. Partition of the country it declared to be inadvisable. Mr. Amery informed the Council that Great Britain was prepared to continue its mandate over Iraq for another twenty-five years, and for that purpose to extend its treaty with Iraq on its expiring in three years' time. He read a telegram from the Prime Minister of Iraq consenting to this arrangement. On the other hand, Mr. Amery declared that Great Britain would on no account accept partition, and would sooner abandon her mandate. This statement was bitterly resented in Turkey, and aroused a strong outbreak of anti-British feeling in that country. It also caused great disappointment to large sections of the British public, including many Conservatives, which were anxious to see Britain wash its hands of Mesopotamia as soon as possible.

Before the Council could give its decision, news came that on September 8 Turkish forces had crossed the "Brussels line," and deported the inhabitants of certain Christian villages into Turkish territory. The British Government at once lodged a protest with the Council, pointing out that the "Brussels line" had been fixed twelve months before in consequence of similar action on the part of the Turks. The Turks replied with countercharges of British incursions into Turkish territory, which were strenuously denied by the British representatives.

The decision of the Council, given on September 18, proved to be no decision at all. It merely referred to the Hague Court of International Justice certain questions with regard to its own competence in the matter of Mosul, in particular if it was to act as arbitrator or only as mediator. As soon as the Council passed this resolution, Mr. Amery said he accepted the decision of the Council, which, however, was regrettable because it involved postponement. The British Government, he said, hoped that the legal points in question would be settled very quickly and a decision on the frontier question taken at the earliest possible date, as the continued uncertainty involved administrative difficulties along the frontier. He pointed out that already last September Lord Parmoor had declared that the British Government regarded the Council as an arbitrator in the dispute, and that Fethi Bey, on behalf of Turkey, though at first he had wavered, had eventually come round to the same view. The pledge of the British Government was given on the understanding that the Council would give a clear arbitral decision, and it was only binding to the extent to which it was binding on the Turkish Government.

The Turkish representative, Rushdi Bey, thereupon made a speech in which he stated that an advisory opinion given by the Hague Court would not change the rights of Turkey nor modify the status of the Council. Mr. Amery, on the ground of this

statement, asserted that the Turks had repudiated the pledge given by Fethi Bey, and until that statement was withdrawn and the pledge renewed, the pledge of the British Government fell to the ground and was not effective. If the pledge was not renewed, the British Government had the same liberty as the Turkish Government, and its assurances did not apply.

A few days later (September 22), the British delegation requested the Council of the League to take cognisance of the reported deportations of Christians by the Turks near Mosul, and in response to their suggestion the Council consented to send a representative to Iraq to inquire into the British charges and Turkish countercharges.

On September 19 a delegation proceeded from England to attend the Chinese Tariff Conference which was to be held in Peking on October 26. On the day before their departure, at a luncheon given by the China Association, Mr. A. Chamberlain addressed them on the subject of British policy in regard to China. The present situation, he said, was grave, but with good will he thought there was no problem which could not be resolved to the mutual advantage of the Chinese and of the foreign Powers concerned. Speaking for England, he said they were ready to pursue the policy of 1902 adapted to the conditions of 1925. They were ready to carry out in the letter and the spirit the Washington engagements. But for the full fruition of the Conference two conditions were desirable—one, to put aside the suspicions disseminated by persons foreign to China and not regardful of her interests; the other, to create a strong central authority in China itself. England was ready to meet China half way, and to relinquish the special treaty rights she enjoyed, in proportion as the Chinese Government could assure to her nationals the due enjoyment of the ordinary rights of foreigners in every country.

The solidarity displayed by the trade unions in the mining crisis did not betoken any greater willingness on their part to enter into a comprehensive union at the sacrifice of their individual independence. The scheme for an Industrial Alliance, after making good progress in July, hung fire during August. The unions, with very few exceptions, hesitated to accept the draft constitution unless their rights were better safeguarded. Nor did the plan of securing unity of action through the General Council of the Trade Union Congress prove more feasible. The committee which, in accordance with the resolution of the Trade Union Congress at Hull in the previous year, had been appointed to consider the possibilities of securing greater unity of action without the definite merging of existing unions, reported at the end of August that further investigation was still necessary.

Meanwhile the fifty-sixth Congress of the Trade Unions opened at Scarborough on September 7. Its proceedings revealed

a marked heightening of class-consciousness in organised Labour in England, consequent in no small degree upon the stirring events through which the trade union world had recently passed. The opening address of the President, Mr. A. B. Swales, of the Engineering Union, struck a militant note, and issued a trumpet call to Labour to prepare itself for a great struggle with the employing class. According to Mr. Swales, the unions had reached the limit of the concessions which they could be forced to make to the employers, and their policy would henceforth be to recover lost ground, to re-establish and improve standards of hours, wages, and working conditions, and to win a larger measure of control in industry for the workers. The demonstration of trade union solidarity in the miners' struggle, said Mr. Swales, had given hope to the whole movement, and it was their task to harness the spirit then shown to their organising work, and to weave it into the fabric and structure of the trade union movement of the future. The use made by the General Council of the additional powers conferred on it by the last Congress had, he thought, been most encouraging, and he looked forward to the next Congress making the General Council the central directing and controlling body of the British trade union movement on all large issues.

Mr. Swales drew the attention of the Congress to the extent to which unification had recently been taking place among the trade unions, and which he thought was not generally appreciated. Whereas the number of distinct societies had decreased by over 15 per cent. since the war, the membership of the whole number of unions had more than doubled. The consolidation was most marked among the General Workers' Unions, but was also exhibited by the postal workers, the iron and steel trades, the textile and woollen industries, the building trade, and the foundry trades, and the process was still continuing.

Mr. Swales spoke with some bitterness of the hostility shown by the Government to Russia, and complained that that was the only country debarred from the benefit of the Trade Facilities Act and the Overseas Credit Act. He also referred sympathetically to Labour movements in India, China, and Mexico, and defended the policy of the General Council in co-operating with the Russian trade unions and in seeking to bring them into the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Following the lead given by its President, the Congress occupied itself largely with questions of organisation, in particular that of the functions to be exercised by the General Council. Mr. F. Bramley moved the approval of a paragraph in the General Council's report in which power was sought to build or purchase premises separate, if necessary, from those of the Labour Party. Mr. Bramley protested that this proposal indicated no desire for a split between the industrial and political

sides of the movement, but his remarks failed to carry conviction to many of the delegates. Mr. Cramp, of the railwaymen's union, moved that the paragraph be referred back unless the Council could assure them that the conversations with the Labour Party would be carried on in a spirit of mutual agreement. That such an assurance was required was shown by a speech of Mr. Herbert Smith, the outspoken President of the Miners' Federation, who said that each side should have its own director for its own business, and charged the political party with "bouncing in," and trying to do something that undid nine-tenths of what the industrial side had done, a charge which Mr. Bramley subsequently admitted by implication to be not without foundation. In answer to a direct question from Mr. Clynes, Mr. Bramley stated that if the motion were passed, the General Council would still not be free to do what they liked, but only to negotiate with the Labour Party and ask for a careful consideration of their difficulties. On the strength of this assurance Mr. Cramp withdrew his motion, and this portion of the report was carried.

On the next day a series of motions was brought forward by the Vehicle Workers' Union, the effect of which was to invest the General Council with power to call and organise a general strike "to assist a union defending a vital trade union principle." The motion was warmly supported by Mr. Cook, in the name of the Miners' Federation. It was combated by Mr. Thomas, who pointed out that the unity shown by the trade unions in the recent crisis was due to the feeling that they could not stand by and see debasing conditions imposed on their fellow-men, and this sentiment would always be forthcoming at the proper time, but a movement could not be built up on it. Mr. Thomas was supported by Mr. Clynes, and also by Mr. Bevin, who moved that the resolutions should be referred to the General Council with an intimation that there was in the movement a feeling which would like to turn to account the unifying sentiment which had been developed, and with directions to examine the problem in all its phases and to call a conference of union executives, in whom would be vested the power of decision. This course was ultimately adopted by the Congress.

A motion for instructing the General Council to aim at the formation of one all-embracing union was defeated, and a motion condemning schemes of copartnership and recommending the formation of shop committees was carried. On the fourth day of its sitting the Congress dealt with the important question of international trade union unity, with special reference to the position of Russia. Before proceeding to its own business it listened to a powerful appeal for unity from the Russian fraternal delegate, Mr. Tomsky. Mr. Bramley then moved the adoption of the part of the General Council's report dealing with their intervention between Russia and Amsterdam and the visit of

their delegation to Russia (*vide* p. 22). He said that the Council was opposed to the policy of demanding from the Russians affiliation before they could be met in conference by the Amsterdam International. The report having been adopted, a resolution was moved recording appreciation of the General Council's efforts to promote international unity, and urging the incoming General Council to do everything in their power to secure the world-wide unity of the trade union movement through an all-inclusive international federation of trade unions. After the motion had been seconded, Mr. J. H. Thomas rose to speak, but the Chairman gave him no opportunity, immediately putting the motion, and declaring it carried unanimously. Mr. Cramp thereupon asked how the General Council would interpret the motion—whether as an invitation to deal only with the recognised trade unions of the various countries or also with the Red International of Labour unions. The Chairman replied that that would be a matter for the new Council to decide.

On the fifth day of its sitting (September 11), the Congress completely broke away from the Parliamentary Labour Party by passing with a few dissentients a resolution condemning the Dawes scheme on the ground that it subjected the German workers to unduly low wages and long hours. Mr. Cook, in seconding the motion, maintained that reparation deliveries were responsible for much of the unemployment among coal miners in England. He said he did not blame anyone for the mistake of the Dawes plan, but the mistake should be rectified. Mr. Pollitt, the Communist, in supporting, called attention to the fact that the Pilgrims of America had invited Mr. MacDonald to dinner to express their admiration for his contribution to the adoption of the Dawes project, a fact which, he thought, spoke sufficiently in condemnation of it. The Congress listened with impatience to a delegate who reminded it that last year it had passed a resolution in the opposite sense, and in face of the unfriendly atmosphere none of the former members of the Labour Government who were present ventured to defend the London Agreement.

The last resolution of importance discussed by the Congress expressed the opinion that the domination of non-British peoples by the British Government was a form of capitalist exploitation designed to secure cheap labour and raw materials, and to degrade the workers' standards in Great Britain. Mr. Thomas tried to make out that imperialism had nothing to do with labour conditions, but he was flatly contradicted by Mr. Pollitt, who maintained that the Empire stood for the degradation of the workers in India and forced labour in Kenya. The Congress sided strongly with Mr. Pollitt, and the resolution was carried by a very large majority.

The Scarborough gathering was remarkable for the strong relish which it displayed for Marxist phraseology. It bestowed

its heartiest applause on the Communistic harangues of Mr. Pollitt, and paid scant attention to the warnings of trade union leaders of the old school, like Mr. Clynes and Mr. Thomas. Mr. Clynes, it is true, in discussing the Congress, consoled himself—and a large part of the public—with the reflection that resolutions, however strongly worded, would not shake the capitalist system, and that the Congress had shown no sympathy with instigations to use violence for the defence of working-class interests. Nevertheless, the partiality of the Congress for the “Red International” could not be gainsaid—it was noted with grave concern by Socialist journals in Belgium and Germany—and seemed to show that Communist influence in the trade union movement was a factor which could not be ignored.

A few days after the close of the Trade Union Congress—on September 16—Mr. Churchill delivered a political speech at Birmingham—some weeks before the regular autumn Conservative campaign opened—in the course of which he dealt at some length with the chief issues raised by that body, though he did not mention it by name.

He emphasised the danger to Britain and the British Empire of the Communist movement, and proclaimed the Conservative Government and its Prime Minister to be a “solid central body of stalwart common sense and moderation for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity.” He found this character to be exemplified in all the chief decisions which the Government had hitherto been called on to make—in its foreign policy, which was an endeavour to appease the quarrel between France and Germany, in the introduction of the Widows’ Pensions Act, in the settlement of the French Debt, in the re-establishment of the gold standard, and finally, in its averting of a stoppage in the coal industry. Each of these steps, he claimed, showed a largeness of conception, a fraternal spirit, a cool, long view. He thought that no one could now doubt the wisdom of the Government’s decision to make an effort to avert an industrial catastrophe on the coalfields and on the railways. But he warned Mr. Cook and his followers that the moderation of the Government and the forbearance of the House of Commons arose not from weakness but from a calm assurance of strength; and that strength would be exerted if need arose. Mr. Cook had talked about carrying the nationalisation of the mines by a general strike and of forcing a General Election in the spring. The Government had no intention of allowing a political change like the nationalisation of the mines to be foisted on the country as a surrender to industrial disorder, and as for a General Election in the spring, what need could there be for that in view of the decisive and recent mandate with which the present Parliament was armed?

Not content with their penetration into the trade unions, the Communists now made a determined effort to convert the political

Labour Party to their views. Although they had been formally excluded from membership of the party at the Congress of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 108), yet the resolution prohibiting them from belonging to local Labour organisations or trade unions affiliated to the Labour Party had proved incapable of enforcement and had remained a dead letter. Not only were there still several avowed Communists in the Labour Party, but a number of local organisations elected Communists to represent them at the Party Conference which was to be held at Liverpool on September 29, and submitted resolutions of a Communist tenor. They seemed to be assured of a sympathetic hearing, as on August 28 an appeal had been issued by some prominent members of the Labour Party, including certain members of Parliament, calling for the removal of the restrictions against the Communists in order to secure unity between all the forces of Labour. The party leaders, however, were of a different view, and, warned by the proceedings at the Trade Union Congress, took steps betimes to combat the Communist menace. The report of the National Executive Committee recommended two resolutions which reaffirmed in more precise terms the resolutions passed in the previous year excluding Communists, both as a body and individually, from the Labour Party, while in the issue of the Glasgow *Forward* published on September 24, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wrote that there could be no co-operation between Socialists and Communists, and warned Labour against falling into traps at Liverpool as it had done at Scarborough.

The Communist challenge to the existing order, although disavowed so strongly by the Labour Party leaders, was still taken seriously by a considerable section of the middle classes, and provoked among them a counter movement. Soon after the Trade Union Congress an Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies was formed as a precaution against the event of a general strike, and the British Fascisti, members of whom had during the preceding months frequently come into conflict with Communists, made application in various towns to be enrolled as special constables under their own officers. These activities were openly encouraged by the Home Secretary, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, who further irritated the working classes by talking of the need for additional legislation to deal with attempts at disorder. Mr. MacDonald wrote a letter to the Press pointing out the mischief which might be caused by what he called "fussy private enterprises," but he failed to make clear the line which a Labour Government itself would take up for dealing with the emergency of a national strike.

In the meantime an incident occurred which brought into strong relief the feelings of a large section of the Conservative Party towards the Communists.

An inter-Parliamentary conference was due to meet in Wash-

ington at the end of September, and among the British members of Parliament who announced their intention of attending was the member for Battersea, Mr. Saklatvala, a Parsee, and a declared Communist, who had frequently made public speeches of a revolutionary tenor, and denounced the British Empire in no measured terms. On learning of this, three Conservative members withdrew from the British delegation, stating that they would not sit at the same conference table with Mr. Saklatvala. Their action was severely criticised by Sir R. Horne, the *doyen* of the British party, who pointed out that if all the members who detested Communism took the same view, then Mr. Saklatvala would be left alone at the Conference to represent England, and the best way to counteract his influence was for them to appear in strength. The seceders, however, who were supported by a section of the Press, refused to listen to him. Luckily their scruples were removed a few days before the date of sailing by the United States Secretary of State, who cancelled Mr. Saklatvala's visa—not, however, before they had given the Communist cause an excellent advertisement.

While Labour in its industrial organisation showed itself ready to lend a willing ear to Communist propaganda, in its political organisation it decisively rejected the same doctrines. The Labour Party Conference, which opened at Liverpool on September 29, was dominated no less completely by the “right wing” of Labour than the Trade Union Congress had been by the “left wing.” The Chairman, Mr. C. T. Cramp, of the National Union of Railwaymen, devoted a large part of his address to a trenchant attack on the policy of seeking to improve the position of the workers by armed revolution. Alluding to the proceedings of the Trade Union Congress, and to the Communist resolutions on the agenda of the Conference itself, he said that Labour stood at the parting of the ways. Influences had been at work to confuse and divide them, and their policy had been deflected by the intrigues of people who aimed at the disruption of their movement. He called on the Conference to affirm its belief that by patient constructive work in Parliament it was possible to transform society without bloodshed and without violence, and bring the co-operative commonwealth into being, and to give the lie to the charge that British Labour was moving on the path which led to a destructive upheaval of society.

The sympathies of the Conference proved to be overwhelmingly with the Chairman. Its first business was to discuss two resolutions which had been framed by the Executive Committee for the purpose of giving effect to the resolution passed at the preceding Conference for excluding Communists as individuals from the Labour Party. One of the new resolutions declared that no member of the Communist Party should be eligible to become a member of any affiliated local Labour Party or entitled to remain

a member; the other took the form of an appeal to affiliated trade unions to refrain from nominating or electing known Communists as delegates to national or local Labour Party conferences or meetings. On behalf of the Communists it was contended that if the Labour movement could include in its ranks men who hob-nobbed with royalty and capitalists, then it should be wide enough to include them also; but the argument fell on deaf ears, and the resolutions were carried by decisive majorities.

The Conference finally settled the vexed question of the Zinovieff letter—as far as the Labour Party was concerned—by passing a section of the Executive's report which stated that the weight of the evidence was that the letter was a forgery prepared for use in a campaign against the Russian Treaty before a General Election was foreseen. A Communist delegate moved that an apology should be sent to the Soviet Government by the Executive Committee for its association through the party leader with the publication of the letter, but he received no support. Mr. MacDonald moved a long resolution setting forth the general objects of the Labour Party, and Mr. Clynes another of equal length outlining "a Labour policy for the British Commonwealth of Nations." Both were carried by enormous majorities, in spite of Communist opposition. Mr. Bevin moved that, "in view of the recent experience of a Labour Government, the Labour Party should not again accept office while being in a minority in the House of Commons." This was opposed by Mr. Thomas and Mr. MacDonald, and was defeated by a very large majority.

The last day's proceedings of the Conference furnished evidence that, although its tone differed so strongly from that of the Trade Union Congress held a few weeks previously, it was voicing no less authentically the sentiments of the trade unions. In one of the closing debates, the same Mr. Smith who at the Congress had so unceremoniously put the political leaders in their place dealt a crushing blow at Communism and its leaders. He expressed his conviction that not one member in twelve of the Miners' Federation would ever turn Communist, and ridiculed the pretensions of the Communist leaders to speak on behalf of organised Labour, scornfully declaring that if it came to a struggle they would be found, not at the post of danger, but at the telephone. This completed the Communist rout at the Conference, the whole proceedings of which were not unjustly described by Mr. MacDonald as "a triumph for constitutionalism."

In one matter, however, the Conference established a solidarity between the Labour Party and the Communists—in the determination to uphold freedom of utterance for the most extreme views. The Communists considered themselves to have legitimate ground of complaint on this head. Not only had they been frequently harried during the year by the Home Secretary (whose zeal in this matter sometimes overshot the mark and exposed

him to the ridicule of his political opponents and the mild criticism of his friends), but at least in one case the law had, in their opinion, failed to vindicate their rights. One day in February a party of British Fascists kidnapped the well-known Communist, Mr. Harry Pollitt, when on his way to address a meeting in Liverpool, and detained him till the next morning, and when he brought an action against them, the jury refused to award him damages, on the ground that the affair was a joke. The Labour Party was not without reason for thinking that the Home Secretary, if he obtained a free hand, would make little distinction between itself and the Communists. Accordingly the Conference now entered its formal protest against the violence done to Mr. Pollitt, and assured the Communists of Labour support in the struggle for freedom of speech.

During September the British shipping industry, depressed as it already was, suffered further severe loss through a strike of seamen on British vessels. In England the only large port seriously affected was Southampton, and that only for a few days at the beginning of the month. But in Australia and South Africa the strike assumed large proportions, and interfered seriously with the trade between those countries and England.

At the end of September there appeared a volume of over 500 pages entitled "The Land and the Nation," which embodied the results of the investigations conducted by the committee established two years previously under the auspices of Mr. Lloyd George to examine the agricultural problem in England. A fortnight before its issue, on September 18, Mr. George gave an outline of its principal conclusions to a huge open-air gathering at Kellerton Park, near Exeter. The inquiry, according to Mr. George, had been the most thorough and comprehensive ever undertaken into the conditions of agriculture in this or any other country. It found that the fundamental cause of the maladies of agriculture in England was that the landlords were unable, chiefly owing to heavy taxation, to fulfil their functions as capitalists effectively, and the remedy proposed was that the State should step into their place. The Committee, Mr. George said, had come to the definite conclusion that it was idle to attempt to make the best use of the soil of Britain as long as they preserved the existing system of agricultural tenure. Landlordism had already been breaking down before the war, and since the war landlords had become increasingly unable to set aside from their rents a sufficient sum to keep the land and buildings in proper condition. The landlord was no longer a real working partner, and therefore should be eliminated from the concern. The State should resume its ownership of the land, but not in order to cultivate the land itself, which would be nationalisation, but to give to the cultivator of the soil the necessary security, so that he and his children should reap the

full harvest of their own labour and enterprise. It was therefore proposed, on the one hand, that the State should buy out the landlord by giving him an annuity equal to the same net income in respect of his land as he was at present enjoying, and, on the other hand, that it should assist liberally in providing investment for the full and effective utilisation of the land, giving full security to the cultivator, but at the same time weeding out the indolent and inefficient. One other point on which Mr. George laid stress was the necessity, at whatever cost, of increasing the number of small holdings for agricultural labourers, and making wages a first charge on the soil. It would, Mr. George said, in the long run pay the State to incur the initial expense of putting the land in order; but he gave no indication of what the expense was likely to be, or where the money was to be found.

On the publication of the Report, Mr. George addressed a few meetings in Scotland on behalf of the policy which it set forth. He failed to arouse any great enthusiasm for his proposals, and they were adversely criticised by several leading Liberals. Nothing daunted, Mr. George organised a Land and Nation League for the propagation of his new doctrine, and planned a great oratorical campaign in all parts of the country to gain public support for his scheme.

The policy of making things harder for the unemployed, which the Government had initiated by extending the waiting period, brought the Ministry of Health into sharp conflict with the Board of Guardians of West Ham, a working-class district in the East of the London area. This was one of the places where for some time unemployment had been most acute, and in order to relieve the ratepayers from the resulting burden, the Ministry of Health had at various times sanctioned loans to the Guardians of some two million pounds, of which a million was still outstanding. When in September the Guardians applied for a further advance, the Ministry insisted that they should make certain reductions in the scale of outdoor relief, which it considered extravagant. The Guardians, the majority of whom were Socialists, refused to comply, and permission to raise the loan was withheld. As the Board of Guardians was thus left without funds, the Ministry of Health itself took over the task of relieving destitution, which it did by issuing vouchers for procuring goods in kind from the local shopkeepers. At its meeting on October 16, the Board, under strong protest from the Socialists, accepted the Minister's terms, and the loan was thereupon sanctioned.

On September 27 the German Ambassador visited the Foreign Office and handed to Mr. Chamberlain a Note containing Germany's acceptance of the invitation to the Ministers' Conference on the Security Pact, which was to meet at Locarno in Switzerland on October 6. Two days before that date Mr. Chamberlain left

London as British delegate to the Conference, and the next day he made a statement to a party of journalists, saying that he was profoundly grateful that the point had been reached when the sending of Notes would cease, and when Allied and German statesmen could meet round a table in an atmosphere of goodwill for a frank and friendly exchange of opinions. The present Conference, he said, differed from most of the meetings which had taken place between Germany and the Allies, because no one had come to Locarno to impose conditions or make demands, but all had come as the representatives of free and equal nations to seek a solution of the difficulties lying across their path. The British representatives were animated with the sincere desire to let the dead past bury its dead, and to think only of the future. In answer to a question, Mr. Chamberlain said he was satisfied with the statement made by Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Secretary, on the negotiations which M. Tchitcherin, the Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, had been carrying on with the German Government.

The Conservative Party held its annual conference at Brighton on October 8 and 9. For some weeks previously an agitation had been carried on in an influential section of the Conservative Press against the leadership of Mr. Baldwin, who was represented as having completely betrayed the Conservative cause both by his foreign and domestic policy. The Conference emphatically repudiated these attacks, and expressed its unswerving loyalty to the Premier. Nevertheless, it called for a change of policy in certain directions. One resolution passed demanded a stiffening of the law with regard to treasonable offences, and another a wider application of the Safeguarding of Industries Act. The Government were criticised for its delay in announcing an agricultural policy, and for its failure to reduce public expenditure. Another resolution attacked the return to the gold standard by urging that "currency policy should take due regard of British industries;" and in spite of the Government's decision in March, a demand was put forward for the abolition of the Trade Unions Act of 1913. The Government's policy in regard to Iraq was also a subject of complaint.

Addressing a large public gathering held in connexion with the Conference in October 8, the Premier outlined the Government's policy on some important outstanding issues. In regard to the Security Pact, which was then being discussed at Locarno, he said that Britain made the Treaty of mutual guarantee, as proposed by Germany, subject as a whole to only one condition—that Germany must join the League of Nations. The Treaty itself would have to be bilateral and purely defensive in character, and any new obligation undertaken by Britain would have to be pacific and limited to the frontier between Germany and her Western neighbours. In regard to Mosul, Mr. Baldwin, while

complimenting Mr. Amery on the way in which he had stated *the British case*, put a slightly different complexion on British policy from that which had been given to it by his colleague. Britain's relationship to Iraq, he said, was governed by a Treaty of alliance which, while fulfilling the obligations she had undertaken as mandatory, constituted the recognition of the independent national life which they aimed at establishing in Iraq. The preamble of the present Treaty contemplated its replacement by a fresh one, and stipulated that negotiations with that object should take place before the expiration of the Treaty. The Colonial Secretary had visited Iraq in the spring, and had reported that the policy under which Britain was working there had been a success, adding that, in the opinion of all whom he had met, it was necessary for the future development of the country that the British Government should give an assurance that the present Treaty, which was due to expire in 1928, should be replaced by another giving the Iraq Government for a further period the benefit of the help that it had received from British advisers in the past. The same point had obviously impressed itself on the Commissioners sent out by the League of Nations, and their report in fact involved a direct question as to whether the British Government were prepared to carry out the preamble of the existing Treaty and replace it by a new one. There could be only one answer—that Britain did intend to implement the preamble and co-operate with the Government of Iraq till such time as her help was no longer necessary.

On the matter of public expenditure, the Premier said that the mere cutting down of departmental expenses could not effect any great saving. If substantial reductions were to be made, it could only be in the field of contractual expenditure on a large scale, and such a course might involve sacrifice on the part of the nation at large. Dealing, finally, with the Communist menaces, he ignored the demands of a section of his party, including the Home Secretary, for additional legislation, but foreshadowed more drastic official action. The Government, he said, would employ all the power which the law gave them to put down sedition. In case of industrial disputes, the Government would do its utmost to secure industrial peace; if its efforts failed, its first duty would be to maintain law and order, and its other duty to ensure the maintenance of essential public services.

These minatory words were the prelude to a step for which many Conservatives had long been clamouring. On October 12 and the succeeding days the police, under instructions from the Home Secretary, arrested some twelve prominent Communists, some in London and some in Glasgow, on a charge of sedition under the Mutiny Act of 1797, a law which had been buried in oblivion for a century. The prisoners were all of pure British descent, and, contrary to the expectations of the Conservative

stalwarts, their arrest was not accompanied by any deportation of aliens on a similar scale, a fact which seemed to show that aliens played only a negligible part in the Communist movement in England.

One result of the Conservative Party Conference was to revive Conservative efforts, which had been in abeyance since the Premier's appeal in March, for altering the law on the Trade Union Political Levy. There was a hope now that these efforts would receive more support within the trade unions themselves, as the Labour Party Conference had decided that the levy should be increased for one year from threepence to sixpence, and this had caused dissatisfaction among trade unionists who were not Socialists. In view of this new situation, Mr. Macquisten, on October 23, wrote a letter to Mr. Baldwin announcing his intention of again introducing his Political Levy Bill, which had been scotched by the Premier in March, as a private member's Bill. About the same time the National Union of Conservative Associations issued a pamphlet calling the attention of trade unionists to the subversive tendencies of the recent Congress, and urging all who were not Socialists to take full advantage of the liberty to "contract out" afforded them by the law as it stood. Mr. Baldwin, on November 3, replied to Mr. Macquisten that he was still of opinion, as in the previous March, that the matter was one to be dealt with by the Government, and not by a private member's Bill. Mr. Macquisten, in reply, stated that, though he recognised that his Bill had no hope of reaching a second reading, he would still lay it on the table of the House, in order to rouse public opinion on the subject—an intention which he duly carried out in the course of the next session.

On October 16 the Prince of Wales returned to England from his extended tour in Africa and South America, and received an enthusiastic welcome at Portsmouth and at London. During his six months' absence he had traversed the countries of the Union of South Africa and some of the British Protectorates in Africa, and the Argentine, Chile, and Uruguay. He had been effusively welcomed in all the countries which he visited, and by his presence had done much to strengthen their friendly feelings towards Britain.

The negotiations at Locarno were brought to a successful termination on October 16. By the Treaties there initialled, England, in accordance with her promise, bound herself to come to the assistance of either France or Germany if wantonly attacked. In this way, as Mr. Chamberlain expressed it, she confirmed her friendship with France and sealed her reconciliation with Germany. Her labours on behalf of the Pact atoned in the eyes of many nations for her rejection of the Protocol, and fully restored British prestige on the Continent to the point at which it had stood in the first years after the war. [For Locarno Treaties, see under Public Documents.]

In the negotiations at Locarno Mr. Chamberlain faithfully adhered to the line which he had laid down for himself at their opening, and he contributed in a marked degree to their success, receiving valuable assistance from Mrs. Chamberlain, who had accompanied him. He received an ovation when passing through Paris on his way home, and on arriving in London was welcomed at the station by the Prime Minister and a distinguished company, including representatives of the King and the Prince of Wales. The public of London made him the object of most cordial demonstrations, and for a time he enjoyed a popularity such as has not often fallen to the lot of a Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Lord Oxford, who happened to be speaking the next day at the National Liberal Club, congratulated him warmly on his success; but the Premier, on adding his tribute a few days later, put in a reminder that the "team work" of the Cabinet had also been a factor of no small importance.

In furtherance of the Government's economy campaign, various departments were by now making serious efforts to reduce, or at least arrest, their expenditure. The Admiralty, besides closing the dockyards at Rosyth and Pembroke, effected other economies, the chief of which was the scrapping of the "K" class of submarine. The Ministry of Labour began to exercise stricter supervision over applicants for unemployment relief, and as a result of this and of the extension of the waiting period, their number fell considerably during October. In the field of education a similar policy was foreshadowed. Speaking at Haverfordwest, in Pembrokeshire, on October 30, Lord Percy, the President of the Board of Education, warned local authorities that they were spending too freely on administration and the upkeep of elementary schools. He intended, he said, to aim at continuity of policy in education, but at the same time he would not hesitate to arrest expenditure wherever he thought it was being directed to unnecessary objects. In addition to the efforts of individual departments, the Economy Committee of the Cabinet, which had been set up to examine the national expenditure, was endeavouring to find means of carrying out Mr. Churchill's promise to reduce the annual bill by £10,000,000.

Speaking at Sheffield on November 3, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the Government had decided to take a further step towards the establishment of complete freedom and normal conditions in the London money market by removing the embargo on the issue of Dominion, Colonial, and foreign loans. He knew that this course was not unattended with risk, but he relied on the City to use its freedom wisely and soberly, so as not by overlending abroad to cause a stringency of credit for domestic purposes. The Prime Minister, speaking a couple of days later at Aberdeen, expressed a somewhat hesitating approval of the step, and made it clear that he did not share the determined optimism which had characterised most of the recent speeches of

his colleague on the financial and economic situation. He also, however, declared himself to be more hopeful than he had felt for five years, and he pointed with great satisfaction to the fact that during the year War Savings certificates had been selling at the rate of a million a week, and that each week there were 10,000 new buyers. He thought this was the best evidence of the faith of the country in the permanence and power of the Conservative Party; so long as they were in power, these investors had a sound security. Unfortunately, he could not overlook the fact that Socialists as well as Communists were trying to destroy the growth of capital by preaching strikes in industry and spoliation, and this might bring about grave industrial conflict, which might set back the prosperity of the country for years.

In his customary speech at the Guildhall banquet on November 9, the Prime Minister again spoke in terms of cautious optimism of the prospects of a trade revival, and he endorsed the appeal issued shortly before by the President of the Board of Trade and other Ministers to local authorities throughout the country to organise before Christmas a British shopping week, devoted to the display of British goods. Referring to India, he claimed that in the preceding twelve months a real and progressive improvement had taken place in the affairs of that country. The recent session of the Legislative Assembly had furnished welcome evidence of the growth of the spirit of responsibility, and he urged the Swarajists to exact goodwill by showing goodwill, and to demonstrate political capacity by making the best of what had already been given.

Foreign affairs were dealt with by the Foreign Secretary, who welcomed the public recognition given to his work at Locarno as a sign that at the Conference he was the spokesman of the nation, and not merely of a party, and that the policy of peace and reconciliation which he pursued there was the policy of his countrymen generally. Locarno, however, was to him not the end but the beginning, and he was confident that it was so regarded by every Minister who was there present. He expressed the hope that the same spirit of mutual understanding and good will would prevail among the Powers then in conference in China.

An opportunity was afforded at the same function to the First Sea Lord of giving to the public at first hand the Admiralty's point of view regarding certain matters on which its conduct had been criticised. Lord Beatty maintained that the proposals put by the Admiralty before the Government in the matter of cruisers were strictly in accord with the formulas laid down by the Washington treaty. In 1914 they had 114 cruisers; now they had only fifty-nine afloat, under construction, or to be laid down, and he was convinced that no Board of Admiralty would consider this number unduly large for the protection of British trade

routes. The increased expenditure on the Navy he attributed largely to the need of an improved organisation for dealing with the increased complexity of the technique of naval warfare. Referring to the outcry regarding Rosyth and Pembroke, he said that these dockyards were redundant as far as the upkeep of the Fleet was concerned, nor could they take the place of any of the southern yards. If they were kept, it could only be for political reasons. Replying to the criticism that the Admiralty, after producing estimates for a sum which they considered to be the minimum necessary, had subsequently undertaken to effect further economies, he said the explanation was that at last they had a stable Government which was in a position to adopt a definite programme of replacement for naval defence, and this enabled the Admiralty to exercise economies which would have been impossible under the previous conditions. A factor of still greater importance was that the Government, in consideration of the improved international outlook, had authorised some temporary relaxation of the immediate readiness of the fleet for active service, and the sacrifice of preparedness, though undertaken with reluctance by the Admiralty, had already resulted in financial gain.

In view of the expiry of the existing Unemployment Act in the coming year, the Minister of Labour, on November 10, appointed a Committee of Inquiry "to consider, in the light of experience gained in the working of the Unemployment Insurance Scheme, what changes in the scheme, if any, ought to be made." The Committee consisted of eleven members, with Lord Blanesborough as chairman. At the same time another committee, with Sir H. Goschen as chairman, was appointed by the Government to consider schemes which might be submitted to them for special assistance from the Exchequer to local authorities in necessitous urban and quasi-urban areas.

In pursuance of the resolution taken at the conference of engineering employers and trade unions in July, a deputation representing both bodies waited on the Minister of Labour on November 10 to urge upon him the necessity of Government action for bringing the hours of labour in foreign countries more into conformity with those usual in England. The deputation directed attention to the labour clauses in the Treaty of Versailles, which laid it down that the High Contracting Parties recognise the necessity of a uniform working day of eight hours as being essential for securing the peace and well-being of the people in all countries. The Minister replied that he would give the matter his earnest attention with a view to arriving at a satisfactory understanding with other nations, and the conference then adjourned on the understanding that a further meeting would take place before Christmas.

At the end of October an ingenious scheme was laid before

the Prime Minister by the Boilermakers' Society for subsidising the hard-hit shipbuilding industry from the Unemployment Fund. It was suggested that there should be “a grant of 50 shillings a ton on each ton of shipping constructed beyond the average output of each yard up to a maximum of 50 per cent. increase.” The union estimated that the cost of such a subsidy would be £1,500,000 a year, but that on the other hand there would be a saving in unemployment benefit payments of over 5 millions. The Prime Minister replied on November 6 that he did not consider the scheme feasible, pointing out that there were insuperable difficulties in the way of diverting the Unemployment Fund to extraneous purposes, and that considerable credits for the shipbuilding industry had actually been granted by the Government under the Trade Facilities Acts.

Early in November Mr. E. Wood, the Minister of Agriculture, was appointed Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Reading, and his place was taken by Mr. W. Guinness, the Financial Secretary of the Treasury, who in turn was succeeded by Mr. R. McNeill, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Guinness had to seek re-election to Parliament from his constituency, Bury St. Edmunds, and he was opposed by a considerable section of the local farmers on the ground that the Government had neglected the interests of agriculture; but he retained the seat with a scarcely diminished majority.

A somewhat trivial incident, which took place a few weeks before Parliament met, put the Government in a position analogous in some ways to that in which its predecessor had been placed by the “Campbell case” in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 96). In the early hours of October 18 a van containing some 8,000 copies of the Labour organ, the *Daily Herald*, was held up in Fleet Street by four Fascists, who made the driver dismount and drove off. Before proceeding far they happened to collide with some obstacle and damaged the van, whereupon they got out and decamped, leaving numbers of copies of the paper strewn in the road. They were apprehended soon afterwards and brought before the magistrate. At the first hearing the Public Prosecutor charged them with larceny, but at the second he reduced the charge to one of mere breach of the peace. The magistrate expressed surprise at his extreme leniency, and the *Daily Herald*, along with many Labour leaders, charged him with having perverted justice for political motives, and asserted that he had acted on the instructions of the Government. The charge was repudiated by the Attorney-General, who stated at the Guildhall banquet that the Public Prosecutor had acted on his own judgment, but the Labour Party did not desist from accusing the Government of favouritism towards anti-Socialist organisations, and seeking in every way to make party capital out of the incident.

CHAPTER IV.

CLOSE OF THE SESSION.

WHEN, after the 1924 election, Parliament commenced its session in November, the hope was widely expressed that it would prove possible to finish the session in August instead of December, as had hitherto been customary, and so initiate a reform in Parliamentary procedure which many members desired. It so happened, however, that when the time for the summer vacation arrived, the House of Commons was in the middle of the debate on two Bills of major importance—the Tithe Bill, for regulating the payment of tithes, and the Rating and Valuation Bill. As the Government did not desire the discussion on these two Bills to be recommenced *ab initio*, Parliament, as usual, merely adjourned in August, and on reassembling on November 16, took up the thread where it had been dropped. The Premier's first step was to move that Government business should have precedence for the rest of the session. Mr. MacDonald opposed, on the ground that the Government had announced its intention of introducing a new Finance Bill containing proposals for the safeguarding of certain industries. If this could be brought forward in an autumn session, then the Government must also find time for the debating of some of the most important questions which had matured for discussion since the adjournment in August. Of these, over a dozen were mentioned by Mr. MacDonald and subsequent speakers, and they included the Locarno Agreement, the situation in Mosul, the decrease in the unemployment figures, the French Debt, and the administration of justice. Mr. Baldwin replied that he would see what could be done to meet the wishes of members, and after some further protests the motion was carried by a large majority.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in answer to questions, informed the House that, in spite of the political changes which had happened in France, the arrangements for debt repayment which he had made with M. Caillaux still held good "in principle." He added a brief statement of the position in which England was then standing to all her Continental debtors. Italy, which had just arranged a settlement with America, would very shortly open funding negotiations with Britain on a similar basis. The relief debts of Latvia and Lithuania had been repaid on January 1, 1925, and funding arrangements had been made covering the relief debts of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Esthonia, while a settlement of war debt had been made with Rumania on the same general terms as those offered to France. The war debts of Portugal, Yugoslavia, and Greece were still outstanding.

Labour members at the first opportunity subjected the Government to a severe cross-questioning on the action of the Public

Prosecutor in withdrawing the charge against the wreckers of the *Daily Herald* van. They elicited from the Attorney-General the admission that the Public Prosecutor had, in fact, informed him on the day before he withdrew the charge of his intention to do so ; and from the Home Secretary the remarkable statement that " he had given orders three or four weeks previously that equal justice should be meted out to all parties." Asked further whether it was not a fact that town clerks were receiving letters marked " secret " requesting them to assist the Government in setting up an organisation for maintaining essential services during a national emergency, the Home Secretary replied that such an organisation had been in existence under several successive Governments, including the last one, and had hitherto always been treated as secret. He did not consider that there was any need for this secrecy, and he intended soon to let the nation know what the Government was doing in this matter.

Conformably to this statement there was published the very next day (November 20) a circular issued by the Ministry of Health to all local authorities, informing them in outline of the organisation which would be brought into operation by the Government in case of emergency to deal with essential services which were not purely local in their character, as these naturally would be left to the local authorities themselves. The Government, it said, did not intend to substitute any new machinery for that ordinarily existing to meet the essential needs of the community, but only to supplement the existing machinery. For this purpose a Minister would, in such an emergency, act as Civil Commissioner on behalf of the Government in each of ten divisions covering the whole of England and Wales. He would be assisted by a staff consisting mainly of representatives of the Departments of Government concerned and dealing with the following subjects : Transport, food, postal services, and coal. The Commissioner and his staff would keep in touch with the local authorities, and he would be empowered, if necessary, to give decisions on behalf of the Government. The officers who would act as chief assistants to the Commissioners and those who would act as technical representatives for the services mentioned had already been appointed. In every division there would, if necessary, be recruiting centres for volunteers, and the Government would select Chairmen to convene and preside over Volunteer Service Committees. In case of need both vehicles and coal might be rationed. The control of the Police and Special Constabulary would be left, as hitherto, in the hands of the police authorities and the Chief Constables. The circular was loudly denounced in Labour quarters as another proof of the Government's class bias.

In accordance with the promise which he had given in the summer not to proceed to the ratification of any Pact of Guarantee

before Parliament had given its approval, Mr. A. Chamberlain moved, on November 18, "that this House approves the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee initialled at Locarno on October 16, 1925." In recommending the Treaty for ratification, he was at pains to place it in its proper perspective in the history of post-war Europe. The Government, he said, regarded Locarno, not as the end of the work of appeasement and reconciliation, but as the beginning. The policy they had pursued was built on the foundation laid by *their predecessors*, and was inspired by the same desire to help Europe to move out of the rut of war thought and war suspicion and fears into a better atmosphere. They were fortunate in not being called on to deal with the international situation before the reparations question had been removed from the sphere of controversy. He himself had been equally fortunate in the colleagues with whom he had the honour of working at Locarno. They all came animated by a feeling of the utmost goodwill, and they separated with the feeling that what had been accomplished at Locarno, while it marked a turning-point in the history of Europe, and perhaps of the world, was after all but an earnest and an omen of the new international spirit, and the relations which would grow and develop as the years went by. Although they had come to no agreement with regard to disarmament—this lying outside of their province—they had brought a new assurance of security to many nations which felt themselves threatened, and so made disarmament easier.

With regard to the actual Treaty which Britain proposed to sign, Mr. Chamberlain made three observations: first, that it was a Treaty which threatened none; secondly, the guarantee which it contained was strictly mutual, the obligations of the guaranteeing Powers, Great Britain and Italy, being the same to Germany as to France and Belgium; thirdly, that, in common with all the agreements initialled at Locarno, it conformed strictly to the spirit of the Covenant and the League of Nations. In no case could Britain be called upon to take military action except at the bidding of the League, or where the danger was judged to be so immediate that action had to be taken before the Council could meet. Each guarantor was to be the judge of whether the circumstances had arisen which brought the guarantee into immediate play. Answering a question from Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Chamberlain said that in practice the two guarantors (Britain and Italy) would probably, as a rule, exchange views on the situation and endeavour to act jointly, but the decision rested in each case with the particular Government, and a joint decision of the guaranteeing Powers was not required.

Mr. Chamberlain gave it as his opinion that the work of Locarno had produced a *détente* on the Eastern frontier of Germany, and had contributed to render peace secure in that part of the world. As the first-fruits of the Treaties, he pointed

on the one hand to the suspension of decrees of expulsion against German nationals from Poland and Polish nationals from Germany, on the other hand to the announcement that Great Britain would evacuate Cologne on December 1, and that the whole administration of the rest of the occupied Rhineland would be made as "invisible" as possible. Finally, he informed the House that while the Government had kept the Dominions and India fully informed of its proceedings, it had not been able to frame a joint policy with them, and their liberty and freedom of action were specifically safeguarded under the Treaty.

Mr. MacDonald, while extending a cautious welcome to the Pact, insisted on the necessity of its being supplemented in various directions. He asked the Foreign Secretary whether it was the Government's idea that Locarno was engineered for the purpose of uniting Western civilisation against Russia, and was answered with an emphatic negative. He regretted that the Government had not made a more serious effort to consult the Dominions, and Mr. Lloyd George, who followed, laid stress on the same point. The dissatisfaction felt by many Labour members was voiced more clearly by Mr. Ponsonby in an amendment which, while approving the provisions for arbitration contained in the Pact, expressed the opinion that the real test of the Treaty was whether it would be followed by disarmament, and regretted that it did not contain definite provisions concerning disarmament, at the same time calling for positive steps to secure the adhesion of Russia to the League of Nations.

Mr. Chamberlain, in his reply, said that no one would have been more glad than he of the assistance at every stage of the negotiations of representatives of the Dominions; that, however, he added baldly, was not possible under the circumstances. In answer to certain questions asked during the debate, he explained that by the Treaties framed at Locarno every dispute between Germany and France, Poland or Belgium was referable to arbitration, including those concerned with the interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles. It was not intended, however, that it should be open to any of the nations concerned to reopen past quarrels and bring them up as a subject for arbitration. Nor did any article in the Pact imply that Britain had changed its opinion with regard to the legality of the occupation of the Rhur.

The amendment was defeated by 332 votes to 130, while only 13 members carried their opposition to the Pact so far as to vote against ratification.

A few days later (November 24), the House of Lords signified its approval of the Treaty of Locarno and its appreciation of Mr. Chamberlain's work there as emphatically as the Commons had done. Lord Balfour, referring to the criticisms which had been passed in the Commons and the Press on the failure to include the Dominions in the Treaty, said the Government had taken care

to acquaint the Dominions with everything that had happened, and he did not believe they could have done more. He also defended the Treaty against the charge that it was, in effect, a blow at the League of Nations. In this view he was supported by Lord Grey, who, however, was still in doubt whether the Dominions might not have been more fully consulted.

The accidental sinking of the submarine M1, with the loss of 68 lives, on November 13, gave rise to an agitation in the Press for the abolition of this type of vessel. The question was raised in Parliament, and the Premier stated that Britain still stood by the declaration at the Washington Conference of her willingness to renounce submarines if other Powers would do so, but did not consider herself qualified to take the first step in the matter. On the question of disarmament in general, Viscount Cecil, in answer to a question from Lord Parmoor, stated in the House of Lords, on November 25, that the Assembly of the League of Nations was of opinion that before any practical step could be taken towards disarmament, there must be a thorough investigation of the principles on which it should proceed. A committee had, therefore, been set up to advise the Council as to what body should conduct this investigation, and he had been asked by the British Government to attend the committee as their representative. He assured the House that the Government was taking the matter seriously, and would be prepared with their proposals when the time came.

After a trial lasting eight days, the accused Communists were, on November 25, all found guilty of conspiring to publish seditious libels, and to incite to mutiny members of His Majesty's Forces. Five of the prisoners (including Mr. Pollitt), against whom there were previous convictions for political offences, were sentenced by Mr. Justice Swift to twelve months' imprisonment in the second division; the other seven (among whom was Mr. Campbell, still editor of the *Workers' Weekly*) were asked by him if they would consent to abandon the Communist Party and be bound over to keep the peace, and on their refusing were sentenced to six months in the second division.

The severity of the sentence made a painful impression in Labour circles, in which much personal sympathy was felt for the accused; while the Attorney-General's statement of the case for the prosecution and the tone of the Judge's summing up gave the alarm to those who, from the first, had looked upon the trial as an infringement of the liberty of speech. Steps were at once taken to raise the question in Parliament. Six Labour members tabled a vote of censure on the Government for violating, by this prosecution, the traditional British rights of freedom of speech and publication of opinion; and five members of the Radical group tabled a similar resolution which, in addition, animadverted on "the atmosphere of prejudice" created by certain remarks of the Home Secretary.

Before this motion could be discussed, another vote of censure was brought forward by the Labour Party condemning the Government for its continued failure to propose measures for dealing adequately with the problem of unemployment, and for exercising harsh discrimination against many unemployed persons. Mr. Shaw, the mover, found little new to say, and his attack was not taken very seriously by the Government. The Minister of Labour maintained that in cases where he refused extended benefit, he was carrying out the real principles of insurance, and that he was only discriminating between those who were justified in getting benefit and those who were not. The number of those who had been deprived of unemployment allowance as a result of the restoration of the Minister's discretion was only from 20,000 to 25,000; apart from this the very considerable drop of over 200,000 which had taken place in the unemployment figures during the preceding three months was due to an improvement in the state of trade. He charged Labour members with allowing their hearts to run away with their heads, and desiring to turn the unemployment allowance into a gigantic system of poor relief camouflaged as insurance. He was not personally in favour of relief schemes, and he had advised his colleagues that it was undesirable to draw off from the normal channels of trade large sums for measures which could only be palliatives. Still, the Government had done what it could by removing the embargo on foreign loans, by reimposing the McKenna duties, and by agreeing to lend to East Africa money which was to be spent on the purchase of railway material in England. He also claimed credit for the Government for the activity of the building industry in England, and referred to the Premier's promise of a subsidy for houses in Scotland to encourage building there. Opposition members, after hearing the Minister's speech, were still sceptical about the supposed improvement in the unemployment situation, surmising that what was saved in unemployment benefit would eventually be spent in poor relief; but the motion found only 133 supporters against 322.

The other vote of censure was moved by Mr. MacDonald, on December 1, and likewise failed to produce any untoward effect on the Government's position. The Labour leader made some shrewd hits at the seditious leanings of the Tory Party itself, but his attempt to paint the Government as the enemy of freedom of speech and opinion was somewhat half-hearted; he laid more stress on the impolicy of the prosecution, maintaining that the best way of combating Communist propaganda was by pointing out to the public a better way. The Home Secretary argued that the trial and sentence of the Communists were not at variance with the principles of the British Constitution; he quoted words used by Lord Erskine in his defence of Tom Paine to prove that a distinction was made between advocating changes in the law

or constitution by lawful means, and inciting to violence as a means. He made great play with the fact that the Communists took instructions and received money from the Executive of the Third International in Moscow, and seemed to think that this placed them in the category of persons whom it was dangerous to leave at large. In the course of his speech he expressed regret for having, in supporting the cause of Ulster thirteen years previously, used language which seemed to keep the Communists in countenance, and explained away a recent injudicious utterance for which he had been taken to task, not only by the Opposition Press, but by *The Times* also. His disclaimer did not save him from being severely taken to task by Sir J. Simon for having, by his indiscreet remarks, created uneasiness in the minds of those who valued British traditions of free speech; and Mr. Saklatvala complained that he was trying to interfere with the right of British citizens to belong to an international organisation and receive money from its headquarters. The Attorney-General stated again that the whole responsibility for the prosecution, in fact as by statute, rested upon him alone. He admitted that the prosecution relied entirely upon documents, and not on speeches or on the production of a single member of the Forces who had been seduced from his duty; but his view had been that those documents in themselves disclosed a criminal conspiracy against the State. He contrasted the leniency of the sentences complained of with the severity with which similar offences were punished in Russia, and maintained that he would have been guilty of a dereliction of duty if he had allowed the campaign of conspiracy to go on unchecked. The motion of censure was ultimately defeated by 351 votes to 127, the Liberal members, with one or two exceptions, abstaining from voting.

Though defeated in Parliament, the Labour Party did not desist in its efforts to secure the release of the imprisoned Communists. In the ensuing weeks an agitation was carried on in the country, culminating in a great demonstration at the Queen's Hall, London, at which some Labour members of Parliament ostentatiously used language which they held to be seditious in order to provoke the Home Secretary to have them arrested. The Minister ignored both the challenge and the appeal.

On November 29 it was announced that the King had made Mr. A. Chamberlain a Knight of the Garter and Mrs. Chamberlain a Dame of the Grand Cross, in recognition of their services in the negotiations at Locarno. Two days later (December 1), representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia assembled at the Foreign Office in Downing Street, to sign the Locarno Treaties. Sir Austen Chamberlain read a message from the King welcoming the delegates, regretting that his recent bereavement (the death of Queen Alexandra) prevented him from celebrating the occasion as he

would have wished, and expressing the hope that the great work of appeasement and reconciliation would provide the foundation for a sincere friendship between their seven nations and assure peace to their peoples. Sir Austen associated the Government with these hopes, and brief speeches of thanks were made by Dr. Luther, M. Briand, Signor Scialoja, M. Vandervelde, Dr. Benesh, and Count Skrzynski. The ceremony of signing then took place, and was followed by further speeches from M. Briand, Herr Stresemann, Signor Scialoja, M. Vandervelde, Dr. Benesh, and Count Skrzynski. Mr. Chamberlain, in his opening words of welcome, had spoken of "burying the hatchet," and this was the refrain of all the subsequent speeches. On the emergence of the delegates into Downing Street, a large crowd cheered M. Briand and raised their hats respectfully to the German delegates.

On the next day the Foreign Secretary was able, in Parliament, to add a graceful touch to the process of reconciliation with Germany. Shortly before Parliament met, General Charteris, who had been a director of propaganda during the war, made a speech in New York in which he practically admitted that the notorious "corpse factory" story which had done so much during the war and after to inflame feeling against Germany, was a fabrication. When Parliament met, Labour members called the attention of the Government to General Charteris's statement, and asked them to disown the story. For a time the Government prevaricated, but at length, on December 2, Sir A. Chamberlain stated that the Chancellor of the German Reich had authorised him to say that there never was any foundation for the story, and that he accepted the denial on behalf of the Government, and trusted that the false report would not again be revived.

In the early part of this session Irish affairs for the first time demanded the attention of the Government. When the Boundary Commission was set up in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 63), it was expected that the Irish question would not be reopened till that body had reported, but Britain was not allowed quite so long a respite. On October 18, when the Commission was known to be approaching the end of its labours, the public learnt with surprise, not unmixed with alarm, that the representative of the Free State on the Commission, Professor MacNeill, had resigned, and that his resignation had been accepted by the Free State Government. The Free State Premier further declared that the Commission was *ipso facto* dissolved, and could not make an award. This view was contested by the remaining two members, and their contention was upheld by the Law Officers of the Crown, who ruled that the Commission remained an effective body, and that a report signed by the two members who still belonged to it would become law directly it was issued.

The Free State Government, for reasons of its own, was

anxious that the Report, the substance of which had already been determined before Mr. MacNeill's resignation, should not become law, and to prevent this consummation Mr. Cosgrave, on November 28, crossed over to London to discuss the situation with Mr. Baldwin. Sir J. Craig, the Ulster Premier, came to London on a similar errand, and during the ensuing week conversations were carried on between the representatives of the three Governments with the object of harmonising the conflicting views of North and South. This object was achieved by the signing, on December 3, of an Agreement amending the Treaty and declaring the powers conferred on the Boundary Commission by Article XII. to be revoked and the extent of Northern Ireland to be permanently as it was fixed provisionally in the Treaty. It was further stipulated that the financial liabilities assumed by the Free State towards England under Article V. of the Treaty should be remitted. The Agreement was signed on behalf of the British Government by Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Churchill, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, Lord Birkenhead, and Mr. Amery. [See under Public Documents.]

A Bill for amending the Treaty in accordance with the Agreement was carried through all its stages in the House of Commons without a division on December 9. The Premier, in introducing it, compared it to the Treaty of Locarno, and expressed the hope that it brought them within sight of a final settlement of the Irish question. An Agreement by consent, he said, was much more satisfactory than any award of a Commission could have been, since, however fair the award, it could not have failed to embitter feeling on one or both sides; all credit was, therefore, due to the members of the Commission for consenting to suppress their Report which, once issued, would, under the terms of the Treaty, immediately have had the force of law. He explained to the House that the liabilities of the Free State which had been remitted were in respect of the public debt of the United Kingdom and war pensions. Britain claimed, under this head, 128,000,000*l.* with interest, but this claim was subject to abatement on so many heads that its real value was problematical. In its place the Government had secured from the Free State an undertaking to bear full liability for compensation for damage done in the Free State area since 1919, a liability which was calculated to amount to over 5,000,000*l.* In settlement of this, the Free State would pay Britain 150,000*l.* immediately, and an annuity of 250,000*l.* for sixty years.

Mr. J. H. Thomas supplemented the Premier's remarks by reminding the House that the Labour Government had, from the first, urged upon the two Irish states the advisability of an agreed settlement, and had only set up the Boundary Commission under pressure. As at Locarno, so now the present Government had reaped where its predecessor had sowed. He obtained an assur-

ance from the Premier that the grant of 1,200,000*l.* for the Ulster Constabulary contained in the Agreement was final and unaccompanied by any further express or implied commitment. He asserted roundly that the value of the undetermined liabilities mentioned in Article V. of the Treaty was known to be nil, a remark which provoked a subsequent speaker to ask whether their insertion had, from the first, been only a blind. Mr. Churchill, in reply, maintained that Mr. Lloyd George, as Premier in 1921, was perfectly right in having inserted in the Treaty a stipulation that the Free State should continue to bear a *pro rata* share of British liabilities contracted before the separation, but pointed out that, however an arbitrator might have fixed this sum, England would have been bound, in a final settlement, to consider Ireland's capacity to pay, as she did that of her other debtors. He, therefore, did not at all accept the suggestion either that England had no substantial or valid claim under Article V., or that there was a possibility of their obtaining 5,000,000*l.* or 6,000,000*l.* a year from Ireland under that Article, as some people imagined; and he thought that from the point of view of the British taxpayer, they were justified in abrogating Article V. in consideration of the Free State's undertaking to take over from Britain the burden of paying compensation for pre-truce damage.

In the House of Lords on the next day, the Earl of Birkenhead remarked that the Irish Treaty had been signed four years previously in an atmosphere ill-designed to attain any measure of permanent appeasement, but, nevertheless, it had rendered possible the passing of the Agreement in the Commons on the previous evening. He, therefore, considered that his advocacy of Article XII. at the time was justified. Lord Carson, on the other hand, saw in the Agreement proof that Ulster had been right all the time, and hoped that that country would never again become a pawn between Great Britain and the Free State. He trusted that better relations between the North and South of Ireland would accrue from the Bill, and recommended his friends in the South and West of Ireland to support the settlement in the Dail. The Bill passed all its stages in the House of Lords without a division.

Shortly after its election, in September, the new General Council of the Trade Union Congress received a request from the International (Amsterdam) Federation of Trade Unions to arrange a conference for considering anew the British proposal that an unconditional conference should be convened between the Amsterdam International and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. In response to this request the General Council met representatives of the I.F.T.U. in London on December 1. The Council, while professing the friendliest sentiments to the I.F.T.U., pressed on the Federation its proposal for meeting the Russian Unions in open conference, and reserved to itself the right of calling such a conference independently, should the Federation refuse. The

delegates took note of the views of the Council, and returned immediately to Amsterdam to lay them before the Executive of the Federation.

This body was not to be moved from the attitude which it had taken up in the previous February, when it refused to confer with the Russian trade unions unless they accepted the constitution of the I.F.T.U. At the meeting of the Council of the Federation held in Amsterdam immediately afterwards, the British delegates again raised the question, and again it was very fully discussed. An official resolution was brought forward reaffirming the decision of February. One British delegate, Mr. Hicks, moved that the Federation should meet the Russians in open conference, while two more, Mr. Brown and Mr. Hodges, moved and seconded a resolution that the Russians should be met on the terms laid down at the Vienna Congress, *i.e.*, "in so far as was compatible with the dignity of the I.F.T.U." The official resolution was eventually carried by 14 votes to 7, and the British motions did not come to the vote.

From Amsterdam the British delegates went on to Berlin, and there met representatives of the Russian trade unions. As a result of their discussions, a joint statement was issued criticising the decision of the Amsterdam Council, and calling upon the British Trade Union Council to summon a joint conference with the Russian Unions. The British Council, however, was not prepared for so decisive a step. At a meeting held on December 16, at which it considered its representatives' reports of the Amsterdam and Berlin meetings, it passed a resolution expressing regret at the failure of the Amsterdam International to accept the British proposal for a conference with the Russian Unions, and pressing the Amsterdam leaders to reconsider their attitude to the proposal; but it gave no hint of any intention to act independently of the Amsterdam Executive. This was the end, for the time being, of the British Trade Unions' coquetting with Moscow which had been going on for a couple of years, and which had been watched in many quarters both with bewilderment and alarm.

While representatives of the Trade Unions were still engaged in drafting a constitution for the proposed Industrial Alliance, a shrewd blow was struck at the prospects of the scheme by the decision of the National Union of Railwaymen on November 5 not to take part in the Alliance. This secession did not deter the other unions from persisting with their work, and about a week later the final draft of the constitution was completed and forwarded to the several unions for consideration.

Mr. Lloyd George's new land policy, which was meant to revive the fortunes of Liberalism in the country, was now threatening to have the opposite effect. Addressing a meeting at Hull on November 21, Mr. Vivian Phillips, the Chairman of the Liberal Party organisation, who was chiefly responsible for the organisa-

tion of the Liberal Million Fund (*vide* p. 5), stated that Mr. George's activities on behalf of his land policy were seriously interfering with the success of the Fund. Both Lord Oxford and Mr. George were gravely concerned at the dissension which was manifesting itself within the party, and at a complimentary dinner given to the former on December 1, pleaded for more harmony. Mr. Lloyd George shortly afterwards stated that he welcomed criticism and did not wish his proposals to be regarded as unalterable. From the Liberal side, as was to be expected, objection was taken chiefly to the highly Socialistic proposal that the whole arable land of the country should be taken over by the State on a given date. Although this was the corner-stone of the land policy advocated in his publication, Mr. George, at a meeting of the Liberal Candidates' Association on December 9, consented to withdraw it, and to substitute a proposal that the State should resume the freehold of rural land only in certain definite contingencies, *viz.*, when the land was put up for sale, when a farm became vacant, when an estate was badly managed or cultivated, and when the farmers and labourers in a parish expressed a desire that it should be taken over. Thus eviscerated the policy, with some further modifications, received official endorsement for the time being; but the final decision was left to the National Party Convention which was to meet in February, and meanwhile the fate of the policy, and with it that of the party, remained in suspense.

The Labour Party at this time also had to deal with internal differences which threatened to divide it. Half-way through the session Mr. Lansbury told the leaders that he was dissatisfied with the feeble way in which the official opposition to the Government was being conducted, and proposed that the party should adopt a policy of deliberate obstruction until the Government propounded some remedy for the unemployment evil. On his proposal being rejected, he took steps, in conjunction with Messrs. Maxton and Wheatley and Colonel Wedgewood, to form a group which should act independently of the Labour Party on the lines which he advocated. A meeting of the party was held on December 9 to consider the situation, and after a full and frank discussion the difference was finally composed at a second meeting held a week later, when it was agreed that the "back benchers" should, in the next session, be given greater opportunities of taking part in debate and expounding their views on the unemployment problem. In return, Messrs. Lansbury and Wheatley and Colonel Wedgewood consented to stand for re-election on the Party Executive, though Mr. Maxton still held aloof. The result of the election which was held just afterwards showed that their following was not so strong as had been generally thought. Mr. Lansbury, who, in the previous year, had been head of the poll, now came out tenth, while Mr. Wheatley and Colonel Wedgewood failed to secure re-election.

On November 30 it was announced that committees set up by the Board of Trade had reported in favour of safeguarding the manufactures of cutlery, gas mantles, fabric gloves, and packing paper, by the imposition of protective duties. The Government lost no time in introducing legislation to give effect to these proposals. On December 2 the President of the Board of Trade, Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister, moved that an *ad valorem* duty of 33½ per cent. should be imposed for five years on imports of knives, scissors, razors, carving forks, and steel knife-sharpeners. Vehement opposition was offered by Liberal and Labour speakers, who moved amendments on every item, and in spite of a liberal use of the closure the sitting continued all night till seven o'clock the next morning. The Conservative Party in the House loyally supported the Government, and gave it substantial majorities on every point. Within the week the Commons had finally agreed to resolutions for the imposition of duties on cutlery, gas mantles, and gloves, but the resolution for protecting packing paper was withdrawn, ostensibly because the time originally intended for its discussion was required for passing the Irish Bill, though the Government was no doubt also influenced by the representations of numerous businesses which objected to an increase in the price of packing paper. The debate revealed a certain difference of opinion in the ranks of the Labour Party, while some of its members, led by Mr. Snowden, denounced bitterly any tampering with Free Trade, others made it clear that they would not object to Protection, provided that it was accompanied by proper safeguards for wages.

Contrary to expectations, these resolutions were embodied, not in a Financial Bill, but in a Safeguarding of Industries Bill, which came up for its second reading on December 9. The President of the Board of Trade introduced it in a somewhat perfunctory manner, which laid him open to the charge brought by Mr. Snowden, that the only justification which he gave for the proposed duties was that they were as recommended by the Committee of Inquiry, a body of unknown persons nominated by himself. A scathing attack was delivered on the Bill by a supporter of the Government—Lord Hugh Cecil—who warned the Conservative Party against drifting down the primrose path of Protection, a policy which had proved so disastrous to it two years before. Mr. Churchill, however, reassured the waverers by asserting that so long as he was Chancellor of the Exchequer no duty would be submitted to the House which he would not be prepared to defend. In refutation of the charge that the Government was “introducing Protection by a back door,” he pointed out, that these new safeguarding duties which had been introduced were the survivors of twenty-four applications which had been made, and represented only one three-hundredth part of the country’s imports: and he sided with the protectionists so far as to hold

that there was no objection to their reducing to some extent their imports of luxury and finished articles. The second reading was carried by 308 votes to 142.

In spite of Mr. Churchill's speech, the Bill met with no less dogged opposition in Committee than on the second reading. The Government, however was equally obstinate, and overbore all objections with its "steam-roller" majority; and the Bill passed its third reading practically unchanged on December 16, after having been debated for eight days. A few days later proof was given that Mr. Churchill's words had not been spoken in vain. On December 21 Mr. Baldwin informed the House of Commons that the Cabinet had received the report of the Committee of Civil Research on the application of the iron and steel trades for the appointment of a committee under the Safeguarding of Industries procedure. The evidence, said the committee, showed a serious situation in the industries, and had it been possible to deal with them in isolation, the case for inquiry might have been regarded as complete. The investigations, however, had made it clear that the safeguarding of a basic industry of such magnitude would have repercussions which might be held to be in conflict with the Government's declarations regarding a general tariff, and the conclusion was, therefore, that the application could not be granted.

On December 4 the Rating and Valuation Bill (*vide* p. 51) reached its third reading. Its previous stages had formed the subject of long and arduous debate from which it did not emerge without considerable modifications. The chief of these were that the London area and certain special properties (including railways) had been excluded from the operation of the Bill, and that the Revenue Officer had been dropped from the valuation authorities. The effect of this last change, Mr. Chamberlain explained, would be to delay uniformity of valuation but not to endanger it, as it would be secured eventually by the rest of the apparatus provided. The proposal to derate machinery, the most contentious in the Bill, which Mr. Chamberlain described as an act of justice long overdue, had been carried on November 25, on a free vote of the House after an animated discussion by 324 votes to 106. The third reading was opposed by Labour members on the ground that the burdens taken off machinery had been placed on the poorer rather than the wealthier classes, but the Government secured a majority of 147.

On December 10 the Government applied to the House of Commons for two Supplementary Estimates—one of 9,000,000*l.* for the coal subsidy, to the end of the financial year, and one of 1,100,000*l.* for meeting the Government's guarantee for the Wembley Exhibition. In regard to the coal subsidy, Mr. Churchill admitted that it was likely, in the end, to amount to five or six millions more than he had at first anticipated, but in spite of this

he challenged anyone to say that the Government's action in granting it was wrong—a challenge which no one was found to accept. He professed himself hopeful that the Commission would settle the problem of the coal industry, and that this would inaugurate an era of real prosperity in the country. Mr. Samuel, in asking for the guarantee money, stated that there had been a large profit on the running of the Exhibition, but not enough to cover the capital cost. He thought that in view of the great educational and commercial benefits conferred by the Exhibition, the loss on it should be borne cheerfully—an opinion in which several members concurred. He mentioned that there had been a demand in certain quarters for an inquiry into the management of the Exhibition, but he did not think it should be considered unless specific charges were brought.

On the next day (December 11) an attempt was made, by means of a formal motion, to induce Parliament to reverse the Admiralty's decision, which had been upheld by the Government, to reduce the naval dockyards at Rosyth and Pembroke to a care-and-maintenance basis. A number of Scottish and Welsh members spoke feelingly of the suffering which would be caused in the two places by enforcing the decision, but Mr. Bridgeman was not to be moved. Economy had been promised, and it had to commence somewhere, and these dockyards were the most obvious point. He promised, however, to make every effort to mitigate the hardships of the sufferers. A motion upholding the action of the Admiralty was eventually carried by 237 votes to 65.

An attempt of the Government to economise in another field raised a storm about its ears. On November 25 the Minister of Education, Lord Eustace Percy, issued a circular, numbered 1371, informing local authorities that a "block grant" would be substituted for the percentage grant hitherto made by the Exchequer, and that there would be certain withdrawals of the grant in respect of children under five years of age. Before many days had passed, he was bombarded in the House of Commons with questions from members asking him whether he was aware that under the new arrangement a much greater burden would fall on the rates, unless expenditure on education was cut down. He replied that he intended shortly to discuss the matter with representatives of the local authorities, and begged his questioners to await the result of the interview.

Such an exercise of patience was not to the taste of many members, and before the interview could take place the subject was warmly debated in both Houses. In the House of Lords, on December 16, Earl de la Warr, a Labour Peer, introduced a motion deploring the proposals contained in Circular 1371, and a number of speakers expressed their pained surprise at what they regarded as the backsliding of the Minister of Education into the paths of reaction. A similar motion was brought forward

the next day in the House of Commons by Mr. Trevelyan, Lord Percy's predecessor at the Board of Education. He referred to the chorus of disapproval which the new proposals had evoked in the Press of all parties and among educationists throughout the country, and complained strongly that the Government was going back on its promise to continue the education policy which he had inaugurated when in office, and was reverting to the parsimony of the Geddes Committee. Lord Percy, in reply, caustically remarked that it had never been Mr. Trevelyan's lot to draw up Estimates for his Department. He criticised severely the existing system of financing education as being "unreal," in that it left authorities in the dark as to their actual commitments, and so led to waste and inefficiency; and he flatly refused to withdraw the circular. The percentage system was warmly defended by Mr. Fisher, who had introduced it in 1917, and who now claimed for it that it had made possible all the progress attained in recent years, though he admitted it was capable of improvement in many directions. More than one Unionist member thought the issue of the circular a mistake, but the motion was eventually defeated by 266 votes against 124.

Although Parliament had refused formally to condemn the circular, the criticisms passed on it in the debate were not lost on the Minister of Education. At his conference with representatives of the local education authorities the next day he offered to defer the introduction of the block grant system till 1927, and contented himself for the present with calling for strict economy and promptitude in the framing of local estimates and presenting them to the Board of Education.

At the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, which opened at Geneva on December 7, Mr. Amery, the Colonial Secretary, attended, along with Sir A. Chamberlain and Lord Cecil, to present once more the British point of view on the question of Mosul. The Hague Court had, shortly before, advised that the Council of the League was qualified to give an arbitral award on the subject, provided that its decision was unanimous, the interested parties not being allowed to vote. On December 8 the Council decided, under protest from the Turkish delegate, to adopt the advisory opinion of the Hague Court, and to assume the function of arbitrator in the dispute between Britain and Turkey. Mr. Amery consented in advance to accept the Council's award, but the Turks refused to bind themselves, though perfectly willing to accept the mediatorial offices of the Council.

The Council of the League of Nations, after many days of hesitation, at length, on December 17, delivered an arbitral award on the status of the Mosul district. It decided unanimously that the provisional boundary known as the Brussels line should become definitively the northern frontier of the British mandated territory of Iraq, provided that Great Britain, within

six months, assumed responsibility for Iraq for another twenty-five years, or less if Iraq should be judged by the Council to have become qualified for membership of the League. On the decision being announced, Sir A. Chamberlain, who, with Mr. Amery, was present at the proceedings, rose to say that the British Government had no desire to take up a rigid or uncompromising attitude towards Turkey, and that it would gladly enter into conversations with the Turkish Government to see if relations between the two countries could not be rendered easier and safer. Mr. Amery added that he hoped to submit, at a very early date, the new Treaty between Britain and Iraq, which would give final effect to the decision of the Council, and he expressed the thanks of His Majesty's Government to the League Commission of Enquiry and to General Laidoner for their scrupulous and impartial efforts.

While the Council's deliberations were still in progress, the Premier, in the House of Commons, was subjected to a fire of questions which showed that apprehensions were felt on both sides of the House with regard to the Government's intention in the matter of the Iraq mandate. On the day after the Council's decision, Mr. Baldwin read out the text of it to the House of Commons and, as members seemed to desire opportunity for discussion, promised that the Colonial Secretary would make a statement as soon as he returned.

To provide a basis for this, the Premier, on the next day (Friday, December 18), put down a motion expressing approval of Mr. Amery's action in accepting the League Council's award. When the House met on the following Monday, Mr. Clynes (in the absence of Mr. MacDonald, who had just left for Ceylon) complained that the Opposition had not had time to consider the terms of the motion or draft an amendment, and he asked the Prime Minister to initiate a discussion by moving the adjournment, and not to press his motion to a division. The motive of this request, it was said, was to enable the Labour Party to express its disapproval of the Government's action without seeming to condemn the League of Nations. Mr. Baldwin promised that the Treaty, in its completed form, would be laid before the House in the coming session, but he refused to withdraw the motion. Mr. Clynes thereupon, in accordance with the plan concerted by the party before Mr. MacDonald's departure, announced that as soon as the motion was put he and his followers would express their protest in the most vigorous manner they could, by leaving the House and taking no part in the discussion; and this threat was duly carried out, not before individual Labour members had obstructed other business before the House, and forced the Government to defer it to the next day.

Mr. Baldwin defended his motion chiefly on the ground of loyalty to the League of Nations. The undertaking to accept the award of the League as deciding the question of the Iraq

frontier was, he said, given in the first instance by Lord Curzon at Lausanne, and again by Mr. MacDonald at the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne a year later, and it was renewed by Lord Parmoor at Geneva in September, 1924. Nor did it stand by itself as a particular policy adopted for this dispute; it was only one instance of the principle of using the League of Nations as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Referring to the statement frequently made in a part of the Conservative Press that Britain was pledged to evacuate Iraq by 1928, he pointed out that the existing Protocol provided for the conclusion, at its expiry, of a fresh agreement which might prolong the mandate. It was, he said, too late to ask themselves whether, in the first place, they were wise to accept the mandate. Once that was done, no mandatory was entitled simply to throw up his mandate and leave chaos in its place. He denied that the obligations to which the extension of the mandate would commit them were either new, or costly, or dangerous. Finally, he repeated the desire expressed by the Foreign Secretary at Geneva for a friendly settlement with Turkey, and stated that in order to give effect to this desire he was inviting the Turkish Ambassador to meet him the next day—a statement which drew loud applause from the House.

A debate followed, in which a number of Conservative members warmly supported the Government policy, while the Conservative opposition, so vociferous in the Press, was reduced to a whisper. Mr. Amery painted an encouraging picture of the progress of Iraq under British tutelage, and expressed himself as hopeful that long before twenty-five years had passed the country would be qualified to enter the League of Nations. He thought that there was no common ground for compromise with Turkey so long as that country was claiming territory which belonged of right to Iraq, and that recognition of such right must be the basis of negotiations. Some Liberals challenged a division on the motion, and four voted against it, while 239 members supported it.

Before adjourning, the House of Commons, on December 18, reviewed the housing situation. In view of the marked progress which had been made during the year in supplying the housing needs of the population, Labour members for once forbore from importing any note of bitterness into their discussion of the subject. The Minister of Health stated that no new legislation was now required to get new houses, as they were already being built on a scale which made it possible to overtake arrears at a considerable rate. The number erected in 1925 was over 159,000, against 116,370 in the "peak" period of 1904. In view of this activity, the failure of the "demonstration" houses, Weir and other, due to the refusal of the workmen to co-operate, was a matter of indifference. In regard to slum clearances also progress was being made; in the period 1919-25, 71 local authorities had

put forward 92 schemes, of which 83 had been confirmed. In order, however, that progress might be quickened, he admitted that some new plan of enabling local authorities to improve conditions seemed to be necessary. Scottish members pointed out that the improvement in housing conditions was confined to England, and that in Scotland they were going from bad to worse. The Prime Minister confirmed this pessimistic view from his own observations during a visit to Glasgow some three months previously. He had, on that occasion, offered a Government subsidy for 4,000 steel houses, but applications had been put in for less than a quarter of that number, and he now felt bound to withdraw the offer. Sir J. Gilmour, the Secretary for Scotland (whose office had shortly before been made into a Secretaryship of State), announced that the Government intended itself to take in hand the building of 2,000 houses by alternative methods in Scotland through the agency of the Scottish National Housing Company, and he called on the workers to co-operate—an appeal to which those concerned turned a deaf ear, as Lord Weir was still offering rates of pay which they considered unsatisfactory.

The prorogation took place on December 22, having been delayed for two sittings, first by the demand of the House for a debate on Mosul, and then by the obstruction of Labour members before that debate. At its final sitting the House of Commons accepted an amendment inserted by the Lords in the Administration of Justice Bill, that persons convicted of drunkenness when in charge of a motor vehicle should have their licences suspended for twelve months, and should be liable to imprisonment. A similar clause had been rejected by the Commons in the Report stage of the Bill on November 17. On that occasion there had been an animated discussion in which the Home Secretary had carried his point of allowing the number of the jury in criminal cases to be reduced from twelve to ten when jurors fell ill during the trial, but his proposal to abolish Grand Juries was defeated by a small majority. Of his own accord also he withdrew a clause allowing search warrants to be issued on mere suspicion, in view of the serious opposition which was manifested towards this encroachment on the liberty of the subject. Other important bills passed during the session were the Tithe Bill and the Indian Civil Service Bill (*v. p.* 36).

England, during 1925, saw itself drifting towards an economic impasse. The export trade, which had been the basis of its prosperity for so many years, was no longer maintaining itself at a level commensurate with the country's scale of living, both public and private. A collapse of some kind seemed to be impending unless the export trade could be revived, or the scale of expenditure could be reduced, or a new economic basis could be found. The Government made spasmodic efforts in all three

directions, but without vision or determination, and with no appreciable success ; and when the year closed there was a general expectation that a critical situation would arise in the following spring, when the Coal Commission made its report.

Mr. Baldwin, during the year, faithfully upheld the principles of the "New Conservatism" which he professed, and his conciliatory methods did much to mitigate the bitterness of class and party feeling engendered by the economic situation. His tenderness for the working classes severely tried the patience of a large section of his own party, whom he further incensed by his Mosul policy. Rumours were occasionally heard of plots to depose him, but up to the end of the year party discipline had remained intact, and his leadership had not been seriously threatened.

During the year the cleavage between Socialist and anti-Socialist elements in the State began to assume a greater political significance than it had hitherto possessed, and tended more and more to take the place of the old party divisions. There was in practice, if not nominally, a reversion to the two-party system. The Liberal Party failed to evolve a positive policy which could give it cohesion or driving force. In the House of Commons its representatives were little more than a group of Independents who made excellent contributions to debate, but scarcely counted in the division lobby. Its internal disunion was strikingly shown in the Mosul division, when of the handful of its members present about a third voted for the Government and a third against, while the rest abstained. This was typical of its attitude towards many important questions, including Mr. Lloyd George's land policy, the effects of which, up to the end of the year, had been the reverse of what its author anticipated, both for his own fortunes and for those of his party.

FOREIGN AND IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

DURING 1925, the prestige and influence of the League of Nations increased even more than it had done in 1924. An excellent gauge of the relative importance with which the nations of the world regard the League is to be found in the number of Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers which each year attend the Assembly of the League. In 1925, there were no fewer than six Prime Ministers and sixteen Foreign Secretaries actually in Geneva, while Sir Austen Chamberlain has apparently established the precedent that the British Foreign Minister invariably represents Great Britain at meetings of the Council. The friendship which has rapidly grown between the regular representatives on the Council is one of the most striking examples of the indirect way in which the League creates a harmonious atmosphere.

During the year the political work of the League, important though it was, naturally was somewhat overshadowed by the negotiations conducted at Locarno and the Treaties resulting therefrom. It appeared to many people that the one major advance in world comity was effected outside the League, and that, therefore, the League was either superfluous or ineffectual. It certainly appeared in the early part of the year when the British Government rejected the Geneva Protocol that the work of the League had suffered a set-back, and that the Great Powers, having failed to find a formula to cover a general agreement for security, were proposing to fall back upon the old and much-criticised plan of negotiating regional agreements. Fortunately, those who had viewed with misgiving the conclusion of the first great regional agreement, namely, that of Locarno, found that for the most part their fears were ill-grounded. The main Treaty of Locarno proved to be built upon the foundations of the League; all the Locarno Treaties¹ are "within the framework of the Covenant;" they are "in conformity with the Covenant and shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world"; except in the case of a flagrant

¹ For the text of the Treaties see under "Public Documents."

aggression, the Council of the League is to decide whether the Treaties have been violated, and, if so, by whom ; the Treaties remain in force until the League itself ensures sufficient protection for the nations concerned ; the Treaties do not enter into force until Germany has become a member of the League. It is not too much to say, therefore, that without the League there could never have been a Locarno. It is also of vital importance to the whole principle of general security at which the League has been aiming that Sir Austen Chamberlain has repeatedly said that the Treaties of Locarno are only a beginning. It would be fatal if the Great Powers, having secured peace among themselves upon the Rhine, were then to stand by and allow the rest of Europe to sink into a chaos of armaments and distrust. The only justification for the regional pact is that ultimately the whole world should be covered with regional pacts which would then be linked up under the Council of the League into a general system of world security.

The most important political questions before the League during the year were : (1) the delimitation of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq known as the Mosul dispute ; (2) the Greco-Bulgarian incident ; and (3) the reduction of armaments.

The case of Mosul had been referred, in September, 1924, to the Council by the Treaty of Lausanne, and in that year a provisional frontier was traced between Turkey and Iraq and a Commission of Enquiry despatched to present a report to the Council on the various aspects of the case. When the Commission's report was received, in July, 1925, the Council set up a special committee to study the material furnished by the Commission. The Turkish delegates then raised the question of the competence and functions of the Council, stating that the Turkish delegation at Lausanne had been led to believe by Lord Curzon that the Council would only be asked to mediate and not to issue an arbitral award. The Council asked for an advisory opinion on the interpretation of the Treaty of Lausanne from the Permanent Court of International Justice, which replied that the Council was competent to issue an arbitral award and that the decision of the Council must be unanimous, excluding the votes of the interested parties. Turkey refused to accept this interpretation but, in spite of this refusal, the Council issued an arbitral award in which the frontier between Turkey and Iraq is drawn along the provisional line traced in 1924. This decision gives the Mosul province to Iraq, but is subject to the prolongation for twenty-five years of the British Mandate for Iraq unless Iraq becomes a member of the League at an earlier date. This decision was accepted by the British Government.

On October 19, 1925, a shooting affray took place on the frontier between Greece and Bulgaria in which a Greek officer was killed. Greek troops were set in motion, part of Bulgaria was

occupied, and an ultimatum demanding an indemnity was sent by Greece to the Bulgarian Government. For two days Bulgaria offered, through the ordinary diplomatic channels, to set up a Court of Enquiry, and then, on this being rejected, appealed to the League. On October 26 the Council met in Paris and requested both parties to give orders within twenty-four hours to their troops to cease hostilities and to evacuate occupied territory within sixty hours. The orders were given and executed in less than sixty hours, and the Council then despatched to the scene of the incident a Commission of Enquiry, under the Presidency of Sir Horace Rumbold, to determine the responsibilities and fix the amount of any damages to be paid by either side and to make recommendations how such incidents might be avoided in the future. In three weeks the Commission issued its report, which was accepted by the Council and both Greece and Bulgaria.

The Commission found that the Greek Government was responsible for the expense, losses, and suffering caused to Bulgaria by the invasion of Greek troops, and recommended that Greece should pay an indemnity of about 45,000*l*. It further recommended that a special body of frontier guards should be set up, to which a neutral officer should be attached on each side of the frontier, and that a Conciliation Commission should be formed, composed of a Greek and a Bulgarian, with a neutral Chairman. The most important part, however, of the Commission's report dealt with the possibility of preventing such incidents in the future. The root cause of the ill-feeling is to be found in the application or non-application of the Minorities Treaty. The Commission concluded that the tension between the two countries would be greatly reduced if the voluntary exchanges of populations were hastened, and if the Bulgarians leaving Greece were compensated by the Greek Government for their loss of property.

The grievances of minorities is one of the real dangers to European peace. The League, of course, was given the task of supervising the enforcement of the Minority Treaties, which are designed to remove grievances. During 1925, the Council, working in close contact with the Governments concerned, took several important decisions with a view to ensuring the application of the Treaties in Lithuania, Greece, Rumania, and Hungary. It also settled a certain number of questions raised in petitions, and improved the procedure followed in the settlement of such questions, in particular by setting up its own Minorities Subcommittee of three members.

The Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes had provided for a disarmament Conference after a certain number of ratifications of the Protocol had been deposited at Geneva. The number of ratifications having proved insufficient, the Conference could not be convened. The Council, nevertheless, at the request of the Assembly, decided to convene a preparatory

Conference to make a preliminary study of the whole question and to clear the ground for a Conference on the reduction of armaments when the time for such a Conference comes. It was decided to summon this preparatory Conference in February, 1926, and to invite nineteen States to send representatives, these nineteen being the ten States members of the Council, and Bulgaria, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Rumania, Russia, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, and the United States of America. All these States accepted the invitation with the exception of Russia, which objects, owing to the murder of M. Vorovsky in Lausanne, to participating in a Conference on Swiss soil. The Conference was subsequently postponed at the request of several members of the Council. The delay may be fortunate if it allows the negotiations between Russia and Switzerland at present in progress to arrive at a successful conclusion.

Closely bound up with the reduction of armaments is the League's attempt to limit the private traffic in arms. A Conference was held in the spring of 1925 attended by forty-four countries, including Germany, the United States, and Turkey, and a Convention was adopted to establish a general system of control and publicity for the international trade in weapons. A Protocol was annexed to the Convention prohibiting the use in war of chemical and bacteriological methods of warfare. The actual manufacture of war material by private firms is still under consideration, and a special committee has been set up to study the question.

On the administrative side of its work, the Council did all in its power to mitigate the difficult economic situation in the Saar Valley which arises mainly out of the tariff regulations of France and Germany. It cannot be denied that the situation in the Saar is at present far from happy. Industrial disputes are in progress, and the number of unemployed has risen alarmingly. On the other hand, the recruiting for the local gendarmerie has now almost reached 1,000 men, and the French garrison is to be withdrawn in the near future. A new procedure has been adopted for the settlement of disputes between Poland and Danzig, by which advice from the League's technical organisations will be available for disputes on such matters as railways, postal services, etc. The Mandates Commission met twice, but postponed the examination of the French administration in Syria until February, 1926, in order to give time for M. de Jouvenel, the new High Commissioner, to present his report.

The expert Commission appointed by the Council to investigate the economic situation in Austria reported that the recovery of Austria was now an established fact, and the League's Financial Committee were able to agree with this report. As a result, the Council decided that on January 1, 1926, the financial control of Austria would come to an end, subject to certain precautionary

measures, such as the appointment of a financial Adviser in the place of the financial Controller. The financial reconstruction of Hungary has been so successful that already it is possible to look forward to the time when the Hungarian control can be terminated. Seven hundred thousand Greek refugees have now been established under the Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme, but about half a million still remain to be settled.

In the highly technical fields of double taxation, fiscal evasion, unfair competition, the protection of industrial property and communications and transit, the League's committees continued their work steadily.

A Convention simplifying tonnage measurement in inland navigation was drawn up in Paris by a Conference of European States and signed, among others, by Russia, this being the first League Convention signed by the Soviet Government. The 1909 Road Traffic Convention was revised, the preparatory work for a Passport Conference to be held in 1926 completed, and an extensive inquiry into the traffic conditions on the Rhine and the Danube carried out. Questions of wireless broadcasting, long-distance telephony, the lighting and buoyage of coasts, and the reform of the Calendar have also been studied.

The Sixth Assembly decided that an investigation of economic problems in the widest possible sense would be a desirable task. A preparatory Conference will be convened early in 1926 to prepare the way for a general economic Conference.

The Health Organisation expanded its work considerably, and important progress was made in the technical and scientific work begun in former years, such as biological and serological research, the campaign against malaria, the study of cancer, tuberculosis, and sleeping-sickness (a Commission is being despatched to Central Africa to study sleeping-sickness on the spot). The Singapore Epidemiological Bureau has now been established, and it is proposed to set up a similar Bureau on the West Coast of Africa.

Two International Conferences on the traffic in opium and dangerous drugs drew up Conventions to regular the trade in opium and the manufacture of drugs.

The settlement of Armenian refugees in Erivan was investigated on the spot by Dr. Nansen, and it was decided to recommend that about 25,000 refugees could be settled there if a loan of a million pounds could be raised. Another Commission recommended the settlement of some thousands of Russian refugees in South America at a much smaller cost.

A Draft Convention for the suppression of slavery was submitted to the Sixth Assembly, and by it referred to the Governments for their comments before being finally discussed at the Seventh Assembly. The Draft Convention contains provisions preventing and abolishing slavery and also dealing with forced labour.

During the year the Permanent Court of International Justice gave two decisions and three advisory opinions. The decisions were given in the Mavrommatis dispute between Greece and Great Britain (as the Mandatory Power in Palestine), and in a dispute in Upper Silesia. The advisory opinions related to the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations, the Polish postal service in Danzig, and the third, already referred to, on the Mosul dispute. As in previous years, a certain number of International Treaties were concluded in which the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court is invoked for the solution of certain categories of international disputes should they arise between the signatories.

The Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law met in 1925 for the first time, when it drew up its range of action and the lines on which it proposed to work in the future.

The Annual Conference of the International Labour Organisation took place in May, and 144 delegates representing 46 States were present. All the important industrial countries of the world were represented except the United States and Russia. The Conference adopted four Draft Conventions dealing with the prohibition of night work in bakeries : the equality of treatment of national and foreign workers as regards accident compensation ; workers' compensation for accidents, and workers' compensation for occupational diseases. A Draft Convention to establish a weekly dispensation of work in the glass-making industry was rejected by the Conference. The Conference also held a preliminary discussion on the general problems arising out of workers' insurance, and it was decided to place the whole question of Social Insurance upon the Agenda for next year.

The International Labour Office, during the latter part of 1925, devoted a considerable amount of time to the collection of information on conditions in the coal-mining industry throughout the world, and also to a similar inquiry into the conditions of Asiatic labour for the purpose of preparing a general survey of conditions of life and work in the Far East.

The Joint Maritime Commission, which is composed of ship-owners and seamen's representatives from different countries and advises the Labour Office on maritime affairs, met in Paris in April and considered, among other matters, general principles for the inspection of working conditions for seamen and the codification of rules relating to seamen's articles of agreement. Both these subjects will be included on the Agenda of the Annual Conference in 1926.

The Fifth Assembly of the League transferred the High Commissariat for Russian and Armenian refugees from the League itself to the International Labour Office, and the work, as mentioned above, showed notable progress, particularly in the regulation of the supply of, and demand for, refugee labour throughout the world.

One hundred and eighty-five ratifications (formal signature as a Treaty) of Conventions adopted by the Conferences of the Organisation have now been received, and thirty-seven others have been authorised, but not formally registered. One hundred and twenty-three ratifications have been recommended by various Governments to their national authorities, but not yet made effective. A feature of the year was the first formal ratification of a Convention by France which has now ratified three, and by Germany, which has now ratified four, Conventions.

The Budget for the League for 1925, including the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice, amounted to 920,000*l.*

CHAPTER II.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND

IN Northern Ireland the boundary question during the opening months of 1925 took precedence of all other political issues. Though officially ignored by Sir James Craig's Government, which had announced that it declined to be bound by a settlement to which it was not a party, the Commission established in accordance with Article XII. of the Anglo-Irish Treaty proceeded to hold sittings and collect evidence from both Unionists and Nationalists in the Six Counties. No obstacles were placed in the way of the Commissioners by Northern Ministers, and it was intimated that Unionists in the border counties who desired to give evidence opposing the transfer of the areas in which they resided to the Free State were free to do so.

Sir James Craig and his Cabinet came to the conclusion that with the Boundary Commission at last in being, it was necessary that Ulster opinion as a whole should register its protest in the most emphatic manner against any change that might endanger the rights conferred by the Act of 1920. With this in view it was decided early in March to dissolve Parliament, which, under normal circumstances, could look forward to another year of life, and obtain a new mandate from the constituencies. Polling took place on April 3 and, as far as the boundary question was concerned, Sir James Craig could claim that the result justified the experiment. There were, it is true, no dramatic changes, but dramatic changes were not expected. In Tyrone and Fermanagh the Unionists managed to knock a few thousands off the Nationalist majority, and slightly improved their position in Derry. Broadly speaking, however, the verdict showed that on the Partition issue things remained very much as they were in 1920.

Belfast provided the surprise of the election. Whereas four years ago official candidates swept the board, their total preferences on this occasion were 67,911, as against 80,174 for the various Opposition groups. With the exception of Mr. Joseph Devlin, who was returned by a great majority for West Belfast, the votes cast for these candidates cannot be regarded as having a bearing on the boundary problem. Nevertheless, to lose six out of sixteen seats in Belfast was a severe blow to the Government, particularly as their Junior Whip was amongst the defeated, while in County Antrim the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Home Affairs lost his seat to a representative of the Unbought Tenants. The new House is constituted as follows : Official Unionists, 32 ; Independent Unionists, 4 ; Labour, 3 ; Tenants, 1 ; Nationalists, 10 ; Republicans, 2.

Nationalists had hitherto declined to take their seats in the Northern Parliament, a policy which, in practice, was more injurious to themselves than to their opponents. Mr. Devlin instituted a new departure, and with Mr. McAllister, the Nationalist member for Antrim, entered Parliament, where he speedily established himself as leader of the Opposition, and by his skill and resourcefulness has added immensely to his political prestige. The other eight members returned by Nationalist votes for the frontier counties have not yet followed the example of the member for West Belfast, but their last ground of objection has disappeared with the boundary settlement.

It was unfortunate that in the Senate elections in July, papers posted in favour of Mr. Devoto, the Nationalist candidate, through a delay in delivery, were ruled to be invalid. The incident gave rise to a sharp controversy, and Mr. Devlin's contention that since the papers were posted in time a new election should be held, though not officially accepted, found many Unionist supporters.

In his fourth Budget, introduced on May 6, Mr. Pollock, the Minister of Finance, was able to show a surplus for 1924-25 of 151,000*l.* For the present financial year he estimated revenue at 10,805,000*l.* and expenditure at 8,022,000*l.*, leaving a balance of 2,783,000*l.* available for contribution to Imperial services and contingent liabilities.

The final report of the Colwyn Commission, which was issued a fortnight before Mr. Pollock's Budget statement, established the formula that the proportion of Imperial liabilities and expenditure to be contributed by Northern Ireland should be determined by the amount by which Ulster revenue exceeds the local revenue. Standards of expenditure for the Northern and British Governments were fixed by the Commission, and subject to modification by the Joint Exchequer Board, these decide the method by which Ulster's share of her total revenue will be fixed for the next five years.

Ever since the passing of the Education Act of 1923 continual friction had existed over the question of religious instruction in the schools. The bone of contention was the clause laying it down that the Education Authority should not provide religious instruction. A tentative settlement was arrived at on the eve of the spring elections, but this did not satisfy the Protestant Churches, and ultimately, in June, the Cabinet accepted amendments of the Act on the basis that local authorities might adopt a programme of simple Bible instruction to be given by teachers, provided the instruction was undenominational in character.

Depression in the staple industries of shipbuilding and textiles continued throughout the year with deplorable results as to unemployment. Whereas the British average was reckoned at 28.5, the figures for Northern Ireland stood as high as 90. Naturally, this meant an exceptionally heavy drain on relief funds, and in September a measure was passed through Parliament enabling the Ministry of Finance to make advances to the amount of 750,000*l.* to discharge the liabilities of the Unemployment Fund. A joint conference was also held of the representatives of employers and workers, together with delegates from various public bodies, but while several useful recommendations were made for the provision of relief work, no remedy was discovered that went to the root of the disease. Official Labour organised a demonstration of unemployed in Belfast to take place on October 6, when the Northern Parliament reassembled for the autumn session. The gathering was proclaimed by the Minister of Home Affairs on the ground that it was an attempt to intimidate, and his action, though hotly challenged by Labour members, was endorsed by the House of Commons.

The Northern Government took no part in the preliminary disputes over the findings of the Boundary Commission which led to the withdrawal of Professor Eoin MacNeill. When, however, negotiations were opened in London, Sir James Craig participated in the discussions which resulted in the agreement of December 3. By this settlement the Northern Cabinet established its main point that there should be no transfer of the territory allocated to it by the Act of 1920. It obtained also the concession that the powers in relation to Northern Ireland which, by the Act of 1920, were made powers of the Council of Ireland should be transferred to the Government of Northern Ireland. As against this, Sir James Craig and his Ministers agreed that the Governments of Northern Ireland and the Free State should meet together, as and when necessary, for the purpose of considering matters of common interest, a provision which, with the growth of good understanding between the two States may yet have far-reaching effects.

As proof of their desire for conciliation, Northern Ministers decided that the cases of political prisoners held by them should

be reviewed by the British Cabinet and where recommendations as to release were made these would be adopted.

One of the clauses in the London Agreement made provision for the final payment of 1,200,000*l.* by the Imperial Treasury for the Special Constabulary which it was arranged should be disbanded in due course. The Northern Government decided that disbandment should begin at once with the "A" Division of the Specials, a whole-time force of some 3,500 men, who had been used to supplement the regular constabulary. The Government's plan was met by an ultimatum on December 14 from the men, who demanded a gratuity of 200*l.* a head, and to enforce their claims imprisoned or expelled their officers, seized great quantities of arms and munitions, and proceeded to place their barracks in various counties in a state of defence. To this defiance the Government replied that members of the force would be given two months' leave on full pay from the date on which their services were dispensed with, and followed this offer with an ultimatum that if the mutineers failed to resume duty inside forty-eight hours they would be disbanded immediately and claims to pay and allowances from that date would be forfeited. Large sections of the men were wavering even before the ultimatum was issued, and a hastily convened conference of the leaders of the outbreak at 'Derry resulted in an agreement to accept the Government's offer. No further friction occurred, and practically all the "A" Specials had returned to civil life before the end of the year.

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

The year opened gloomily enough in the Free State. In addition to the distress caused by unemployment and the heavy falling off in cattle exports due to the epidemic of fluke and to the restrictions imposed as a consequence of outbreaks of foot and mouth disease in Great Britain, the abnormally wet summer of 1924 had made it impossible to save the turf upon which large areas of agricultural Ireland are dependent for firing. The fuel shortage was most severe along the western seaboard, where the majority of the peasants are doomed to live even at the best of times on the margin of subsistence. Fortunately, the Government took prompt steps to deal with the crisis. Coal supplies were provided at a nominal sum, and arrangements were made by which children attending school were given hot meals. State efforts were supplemented by private charity, and British organisations such as the Save the Children Fund rendered admirable service. A good harvest during 1925 has eased the situation, but it is obvious that in spite of the extensive powers now possessed by the Government under the Land Act of 1924, the problem of the congested districts still awaits solution. The Minister for Agriculture recently admitted that more people were

trying to make a living out of the land than the land would support, and little or nothing has been done to find a way out of this economic impasse.

Early in February, Mr. Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council, carried a motion in the Dail urging the Senate to consent to alterations in the Standing Orders of both Chambers which would have the effect of prohibiting the introduction of private bills for divorce *a vinculo*. The resolution led to a curious tussle between the two Houses of the Oireachtas, which for the present has ended in stalemate. It was the first sharp division in the Free State between Protestant and Catholic views, for whereas the majority of Irish Protestants are opposed to divorce, they do not consider that to provide facilities is an offence against faith and morals. Had the Executive Council decided to proceed by way of direct legislation prohibiting divorce, its members would have no difficulty in passing a Bill of this kind into law. The Dail resolution, however, when sent up to the Senate, was ruled out of order by the Chairman of that body on the ground that it was unconstitutional, inasmuch as it sought to usurp by resolution and standing orders the functions of legislation. In June the Senate suggested a compromise by which Bills of divorce must secure a first reading in both Houses before the Senate could proceed to consider them further. This scheme was rejected by the Dail, and later the Senate rescinded its own resolution, without, however, accepting the original Dail proposal, and for the time being the matter remains in abeyance.

In the second week in March polling took place for the nine vacancies created by the withdrawal from the Dail of the members of the National Group. With the exception of Mr. S. Milroy, who was heavily defeated in North Dublin, none of the retiring members sought re-election. In all seven constituencies Government candidates were returned at the top of the poll, though in North Dublin and Sligo-Leitrim, which had each two seats to be filled, the Republicans succeeded by means of second preferences in returning a couple of their candidates. The voting made it clear that throughout the country Republican stock was falling rapidly; and in the elections to local governing bodies, held on June 23, Mr. de Valera's adherents gained few successes, despite the fact that no official candidates were put forward by the Government Party. It is clear that ratepayers for the present at least, have had enough of politics in local affairs, and Republicans everywhere suffered heavily at the hands of Farmers and Independents.

Mr. Blythe's Budget, introduced on April 22, was preceded by a campaign organised by a group of Cork business men to abolish income tax on all incomes earned in the Free State or derived from investments in the Free State. The crusade had no chance of success, but it served the useful purpose of concentrating

popular attention for the first time upon economic and financial questions. In the matter of income tax, the Minister for Finance contented himself with a reduction of a shilling, which equalised the Free State rate with that of Great Britain, but in addition tea, cocoa, and coffee duties were abolished, and the duty on sugar reduced to one penny. As a result of rigid economy, the deficit, which had been £4,000,000, was reduced to £532,000, and the total national indebtedness of the Free State is now less than half a year's normal revenue. The customs tariffs first imposed in 1924 were extended to cover duties of 15 per cent. on personal clothing, blankets, and rugs, and of 33½ per cent. on wooden furniture and bottles, while an additional 10 per cent. was added to the tariff on toilet and fancy soap. A pledge was given that no further duties on manufactured articles would be added during the life of the present Dail. According to figures issued by the Government, taxes imposed in 1924 had done little to increase employment up till July, 1925, except amongst workers engaged in the manufacture of boots and confectionery.

While the Budget resolutions were being passed through the Dail, the Government introduced, on May 1, a Bill authorising the contractors, Messrs. Siemens-Schuckert, to proceed with the development of the Shannon water-power scheme. This is the most ambitious piece of constructive work yet attempted by the Free State. In its initial stage the scheme is to cost £5,200,000, and produce a minimum of 153 million units a year. Power is to be generated at a single generating station at Ardnacrusha, 3 miles from Limerick, and the electricity is to be transmitted on high tension lines, and distributed through transformers to cities, towns, and villages throughout the twenty-six counties. Labour in the Dail strongly supported the scheme, which was opposed by big business and the banks. When active operations began at Limerick early in September, local dockers refused to unload machinery on the ground that the wages of 32s. a week paid to rural labourers for navvy work was inadequate. This provoked an embittered conflict, still in progress at the end of the year, with organised labour as represented by the Irish Trades Union Congress, which has declared Messrs. Siemens to be "unclean and untouchable." So far the contractors have had little difficulty in recruiting men, and work is reported to be proceeding normally.

A concession for a beet factory to be erected in Co. Carlow was secured by a Belgian group. The Government undertook to provide a subsidy of 23s. per ton for ten years, and in consideration the firm undertook to pay farmers 54s. for beets having a sugar content of 15½ per cent.

During the summer a vehement controversy took place over the decision of the Government to establish a separate Medical Register for the Free State. By a series of temporary measures passed through the Oireachtas, doctors who graduated since the

Treaty have retained the right to have their names placed on the British Register. The Executive Council has announced that it does not intend to renew this legislation, its argument being that "national dignity" requires that the medical profession should be governed from Dublin instead of from London. There is practically no popular support for the Government policy, which, it is recognised, would mean that the majority of Free State students would graduate either in Northern Ireland or in Great Britain, thus inflicting grave damage on the historic Dublin medical schools, and lowering the status of the profession in the country. After a vigorous campaign on platforms and in the Press, and a series of stormy debates in the Dail, the Government agreed to re-open negotiations with the doctors in the hope of arriving at an agreed settlement. These discussions were still proceeding at the end of the year.

The Senate elections, which took place in September, were memorable less as a political event than as an experiment in the application of the proportional representation system. Candidates for the nineteen vacancies were nominated by the Dail and Senate, which naturally excluded Republicans, who decline to recognise the existence of the Oireachtas, and the ballot-paper was a formidable broadsheet containing seventy-six names. If there were fewer spoiled votes than was expected, more than half the 1,345,000 electors failed to mark papers, and the popular view is that the system is altogether too cumbrous and expensive. Eight of the retiring members were re-elected.

The Boundary Commission, which held its first meeting in Ireland towards the end of 1924, continued the work of collecting evidence in the border counties throughout the greater part of 1925. Except in the districts likely to be affected by its findings, the proceedings aroused little public interest. That the mere lapse of time had done much to modify bitterness was shown by the statement of President Cosgrave that the Free State did not desire Northern Ireland to unite with it before its people desired to do so. Early in November the *Morning Post* published a forecast of the award of the Commission, according to which not only had the tribunal decided against the Free State claim to acquire large areas in Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh, and 'Derry, but had fixed the new boundary line to include a strip of Donegal in the six counties. This announcement provoked a storm, and in a Dail debate President Cosgrave, while disclaiming any knowledge of the findings of the Commission, declared that by the terms of the Treaty the Commission was excluded from interfering with Free State territory. Professor Eoin MacNeill, the Free State delegate, announced on November 19 his resignation from the Commission on the ground that the other members of the tribunal, Mr. Justice Feetham and Mr. J. R. Fisher, were seeking to interpret their terms of reference in a manner contrary

to the provisions of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. His protest was met by a statement from the other Commissioners that Professor MacNeill had agreed to accept what became known as the Feetham-Fisher line, and a couple of days later Dr. MacNeill resigned his office as Free State Minister for Education.

Negotiations were opened between the British and Free State Governments, and, after certain preliminaries had been arranged, Sir James Craig also crossed to London. On December 3 it was announced that a Tripartite Pact had been concluded, of which the main provisions were that the boundary of Northern Ireland, as defined by the Act of 1920, should remain unchanged, that the Free State, in consideration of the payment of £5,000,000 to cover damages caused in the Anglo-Irish struggle, should be relieved of its obligations under Article V. of the Treaty in relation to war debt.

A Bill to ratify the agreement was introduced in the Dail, and after four days' debate was passed on December 10 by 71 votes to 20. Opposition to the measure was led by the Labour Party, backed by a few members of Cumann na n Gaedheal; but it was clear from the first that the country was strongly in favour of acceptance, especially as the critics failed to put forward any practical alternative. Mr. de Valera and the Republican deputies, who refused to take the oath of allegiance, held a conference on December 7 in the Shelbourne Hotel with critics of the agreement in the Dail, but it was evidently found impossible to devise a common plan of action. In the long run Republicans contented themselves with repudiating the agreement at a public meeting, while the Labour members, after fighting the Bill through all its stages, formally declared that once it became law no action would be taken by them to hamper good relations between the Free State and the Northern Governments. Thus has ended, more happily than even optimists believed possible, a controversy that throughout the four years of its existence had done more than anything else to prevent political progress in the Free State by keeping alive old enmities and intensifying the divisions between North and South.

CHAPTER III.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

FOR France 1925 was a year of political crises and financial confusion. There are many people who believe that it was redeemed by the conclusion of the Locarno Pact, by which France entered into better relations with Germany; but certainly in every other respect the year was the most depressing since the war.

When it opened M. Herriot was still in power, although it was obvious that he was losing his grip upon the curious team which he had undertaken to manage. His majority depended upon the alliance of Socialists and Radicals. The alliance had been formed for the elections of May 11, 1924, and afterwards the *Cartel des Gauches* might have been expected to break up. Instead, the Cartel was converted into a Parliamentary Bloc, and M. Herriot governed with the support of the two main parties of the Left, together with the Republican Socialists, led by M. Painlevé, and a more central group which called itself the *Gauche Radicale*. The union had been maintained by means of a common anti-Clerical policy.

It should be noted that the Socialists at no time took their share of responsibility: there were no Socialist Ministers in the Government. M. Herriot, the chief of the Radicals, counted, not upon Socialist collaboration, but upon Socialist support. Now, it became apparent early in the new year that the campaign against the Clericals was ill-advised. It had produced several unpleasant effects. In the first place, it strengthened the incipient revolt of Alsace-Lorraine, where the suggestion that the restored provinces were to be submitted to the Republican laws was badly received. Alsace preferred to stick to its old customs. The schools are Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish: they are not laicised. The proposed introduction of secular education such as prevails in the rest of France was regarded as a menace. Moreover, since the Concordat still exists for Alsace-Lorraine, Alsace-Lorraine must be represented at the Vatican. The French Government could not withdraw its Ambassador at the Vatican without replacing him by a special representative for Alsace-Lorraine—unless, indeed, it chose to denounce the Concordat.

In France generally there was considerable excitement. The Catholics joined forces with the Opposition. There were meetings of protest and the liveliest agitation. The consequence was that there were serious reactions in the financial field. The franc began to fall. Money was sent out of the country. The fiscal difficulties which were to continue throughout the year already made themselves felt. It was obviously desirable to drop the religious controversy, and the outcome of it all was that the French Ambassador was allowed to remain at the Vatican; Alsace-Lorraine was left undisturbed; and for the first time a Radical attack against the Church was utterly routed because the fight was inopportune and was producing unexpected results in various domains. So complete was the Radical retreat that at the end of the year preparations were made for a remarkable and significant ceremony at the Elysée where the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Ceretti, was in the presence of the President of the Republic and of the Prime Minister, given the barrette of the Cardinalate (December 20). Thus ended the principal campaign in which

the Radicals and Socialists joined hands—in a rout and a reverse.

But to hold the Parliamentary alliance together, a new programme had to be found. One began to hear the clamour for a capital levy. It was in March that the first Ministerial crisis arose. In the first place there was published a letter from the Cardinals and Bishops of France which constituted a grave menace of resistance, and in Alsace there was actually a strike of school children. At Paris there were violent manifestations on a subject which did not appear to be of much importance, but which, nevertheless, helped to undermine the prestige of the Herriot Government. M. François Albert, the Education Minister, who had chiefly inspired the anti-Clerical movement, appointed in the Faculty of Law a professor who was acting as *Chef de Cabinet*. It was alleged that the appointment was purely political. The Faculty itself had recommended a provincial colleague who was regarded as professionally better qualified. The law students refused to hear the new professor, and the Doyen of the Faculty clearly expressed his sympathies with them. There were collisions with the police. The Senate plainly deprecated the whole transaction, and eventually the nomination was cancelled: the Doyen who had been suspended was reinstated and some discredit fell upon the Government.

It was while this dispute was at its height that a strange revelation was made. The Government had declared that in no circumstances would it consent to inflation. The legal limit of emission of bank notes had been fixed at 41 milliard francs, while the advances of the Banque de France to the State were fixed at 22 milliard francs. Certainly there was something arbitrary about these figures. If commercial needs called for a higher issue it would have been possible, with proper precautions, to have raised the limit. But the Government had adopted the rigorous doctrine that inflation in any conditions was not to be thought of, and had itself denounced the operation as fatal. Yet while it was denouncing it was shown that for three months it had been resorting secretly to inflation. In January, February, and March, the Bank had progressively emitted an excess number of bank notes amounting to several milliards. It was not so much the fact in itself as its dissimulation which caused a shock of surprise, for to cover up the unauthorised borrowings the weekly returns of the Banque de France had been less straightforward than was desirable in the interests of French credit.

The expedient to which M. Clémentel, who was Finance Minister, and M. Herriot, who was Prime Minister, had resorted was of a questionable character. Precisely at the moment when other grievances had accumulated against the Government its financial administration was exposed. M. Clémentel resigned (April 2), but M. Herriot, assuming the responsibility, faced the

Senate and was defeated (April 10). Thus the Cabinet fell, but not before M. Anatole de Monzie, who had temporarily replaced M. Clémentel at the Finance Ministry, had endeavoured, while asking for the inflation to be regularised retrospectively, to introduce a "counterpart." The counterpart, like many other schemes put forward during the year, was swept away, and the net result of the operation was that France had an authorised inflation of 4 milliard francs.

The fall of the Herriot Ministry on the fiscal terrain completely demolished the policy of the *Bloc des Gauches*, which had been inaugurated in May of the preceding year. When M. Painlevé was called upon to form a Ministry (April 17), he proclaimed that in future a policy of appeasement was to be followed. The situation was seen to be serious, and it was generally considered necessary to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation of Frenchmen and to call a truce around the franc. Even the Opposition was disarmed, and was prepared to give a judicious support to M. Painlevé. On the other hand, the *Bloc des Gauches* was dislocated. It had looked upon M. Herriot as its only possible leader. The Socialists and a large section of the Radicals did not take up a kindly attitude towards the newcomer. M. Painlevé had been President of the Chamber, and when he stepped down into the arena his place in the Presidential fauteuil was taken by M. Herriot.

The leader of the Republican Socialists, in forming his Cabinet, called upon M. Briand and M. Caillaux to assist him. M. Briand, who has, since his early days, occupied a somewhat central position, was frankly disliked by the Socialists. They had prevented him from forming a Cabinet of his own. They remembered that he had once been a Socialist, but when he became a Minister had rigorously suppressed a strike. They remembered that for a year he was Prime Minister in the *Bloc National* Parliament, and during his Ministry the reparation demands of Germany had been fixed at 132 milliard gold marks; Upper Silesia had been partitioned between Germany and Poland; and the occupation of the Ruhr had been begun with the installation of the French in Duisburg, Ruhrort, and Dusseldorf. On the other hand, M. Briand had, at the end of his period of office, tried to effect a rapprochement. It was at Cannes, at the beginning of 1922, that he had consented to a compromise in respect of German payments, and that he had almost completed a pact with England. He had fallen because M. Millerand, who was then President of the Republic, and M. Poincaré, who was writing articles in the journals, had protested against his concessions. Therefore, he had "fallen to the Left," and the two ideas which he had bequeathed were an arrangement with Germany and the renewal of an Entente with England.

By contrast with the subsequent policy of M. Poincaré, who

fully occupied the Ruhr and antagonised England, M. Briand appeared to be extremely liberal. The trend of national thought seemed to favour the diplomatic designs of M. Briand and to justify his past policy. Nevertheless, the Socialists were adamant, for M. Briand was not considered to be one of the chiefs of the *Bloc des Gauches*. But if M. Briand could not be accepted as Prime Minister at that time, there was little demur against his being placed in the post of Foreign Minister by M. Painlevé.

More astonishing was the choice made by M. Painlevé for the post of Finance Minister. He turned to M. Caillaux. M. Caillaux, at the end of the war, after a detention which lasted two years, had been tried by the Senate sitting as a High Court of Justice, and had been condemned for various equivocal activities. Into the merits of the Caillaux process it is not necessary to enter, but it may be briefly indicated that in the opinion of most impartial observers the case against him was not proved, and, although a revision of the sentence which deprived him of political rights and banned him from the large towns was legally impossible, public opinion had acquitted him, and Parliament had included him in a wide amnesty. He was, when M. Painlevé formed his Cabinet, living at Mamers, and by a series of pronouncements stood out as the financial expert who might, if he were given his opportunity, save the franc and France. There can be no doubt that M. Painlevé, in appealing to him to come back, expressed public opinion, but the selection was nevertheless daring. M. Caillaux, before M. Herriot, had been the leader of the Radicals, but he had gradually acquired the reputation of leaning towards Conservatism. By a paradox that is not unusual in politics, it was the Radicals who were apprehensive of the policy of M. Caillaux, and the Opposition which was inclined to welcome him.

Altogether the Painlevé Cabinet seemed to promise a more "national" policy, as distinct from the sectarian policy of the Herriot Cabinet. This impression was confirmed when, at the beginning of May, there was an outbreak of hostilities in Morocco, and the Government took up a strong attitude. M. Painlevé had reserved for himself the post of War Minister, and instead of offering easy terms to the leader of the Riff, Abd-el-Krim, who was in revolt, he sent reinforcements and prepared to oppose a strenuous resistance to the pretensions of the tribes who were in rebellion. It should be noted that Marshal Lyautey, who, for thirteen years had administered Morocco and had brought about improvements which even his political adversaries acknowledged to be of a remarkable character, had during the Premiership of M. Herriot asked for troops and had foreseen the attack of the Riffians. Unfortunately, political exigencies made it difficult for his reports to be taken with the seriousness that they deserved. Marshal Lyautey, in the eyes of the Radicals, was a reactionary general, and the Socialists, by tradition, were against colonial

expansion. This meant that the French were unprepared, and came within an ace of losing Morocco. The progress of Abd-el-Krim was rapid, and at first overwhelming. M. Painlevé acted with energy and himself left for Morocco in aeroplane. After severe fighting the position was partly re-established. It was natural that Marshal Lyautey should be made the scapegoat, and the beginning of his "disgrace" was seen in the appointment of General Naulain as Commander-in-Chief in Morocco. To the Marshal were left his administrative functions. This was in July, but Naulain was soon followed by Marshal Pétain, who personally conducted the operations. Finally, at the beginning of October, Marshal Lyautey was recalled, and M. Steeg, a well-known politician, was appointed Résident Supérieur in his place. This was a striking change. Hitherto Morocco had been governed by a military man; now it was to be governed by a civilian.

At first there was a vigorous protest against the war in Morocco. Unquestionably it was unpopular in the country, and Radicals and Socialists in Parliament clamoured for a speedy peace. The affair, however, was not purely a French affair. The Spaniards in their zone were equally interested, and there were negotiations between the French and Spanish Governments. M. Malvy, who also had been condemned by the High Court for his administration at the Ministry of the Interior during the war, was the special intermediary between the two Governments. The Spanish, though suffering reverses, were resolved to continue the campaign. In July M. Painlevé publicly stated the peace terms which the French and the Spanish were prepared to offer.

At the beginning of October the Spanish troops, after severe fighting, took possession of Adjir, and there was much rejoicing. Henceforward there was still less desire on the part of the two Governments to accord advantages to Abd-el-Krim, and when in December, an emissary of the Riff, Captain Gordon Canning, came to Paris with a letter from Abd-el-Krim authorising him to receive the conditions of the French, he was unable to see the French Prime Minister—who was then M. Briand—and returned empty-handed, his mission unaccomplished. Even the qualifications of Abd-el-Krim to treat on behalf of the revolting tribes were challenged, and it seemed as though there was no alternative but unconditional surrender. Events had moved, since July, and the European countries, feeling convinced of their triumph, were reluctant to enter into negotiations.

Nor was the fight with the Riff the only unpleasant episode: in Syria, which the French held under a mandate of the League of Nations, there was also a formidable outbreak (see under Syria). General Sarrail had been appointed Governor of Syria by M. Herriot. He was, in the eyes of the Radicals, a general who had been harshly treated by Clemenceau, and some compensation was due to him. It is, perhaps, regrettable that politics

should enter even into military appointments. General Weygand, the predecessor of Sarraïl, had shown exceptional competence, and his recall, attributed to his Catholicism, was blamed in many quarters. That this blame was not altogether undeserved was shown by the troubles which arose under the rule of Sarraïl. Whether it was due to lack of tact or not, the truth is that discontent manifested itself in Syria, and Sarraïl does not appear to have taken proper steps to allay the discontent. After various representations had been made to him without avail, there was, in the first week of August, a serious attack by the Druses on the Syrian troops. Nor did Sarraïl furnish to the Government a full account of what was happening. There was against the Governor an outcry in the Opposition journals, but the Radical journals, apparently in spite of the evidence, defended him. Eventually, in the month of October, the revolt assumed a serious character at Damascus, and it was impossible to conceal the grave incidents from the world. Particularly was the conscience of peoples shocked by stories of the bombardment of Damascus by Sarraïl. Undoubtedly the accounts were exaggerated, but the maintenance of Sarraïl was no longer possible. It was no longer a matter of purely French concern. The French were merely the agents of the League of Nations, and would ultimately be obliged to render an account of their stewardship. Moreover, it was charged against Sarraïl that not only had he caused the bombardment of the city but had failed to warn the foreign officials who were in Damascus. In the face of the widespread condemnation he was recalled, and the Government, having already initiated the new policy of appointing civilians in territories under its control, nominated M. Henry de Jouvenel, a Senator and the editor of the *Matin*, as High Commissioner in Syria, trusting to his suppleness and intelligence to restore order and reaffirm French prestige.

Blunders, both in Morocco and in Syria, had been committed, and although those blunders had been magnified for the purpose of propaganda against France, it cannot be denied that these incidents had damaged the French administration and had brought upon France strong criticisms in England and in America.

In the meantime, M. Caillaux had succeeded in being elected to a seat in the Senate. He had not, however, succeeded in restoring French finances. On the contrary, he had been obliged, at the end of June, to ask for further inflation to the amount of six milliard francs. He also launched a loan of a novel kind which was intended, in part, to consolidate the floating debt. Its principal feature was a guarantee against the fluctuations of the Exchange. Only 4 per cent. was to be paid in interest, but that 4 per cent. was to be counted at 95 francs to the pound. If the franc were to fall further—and before the end of the year it had fallen to 130 to the pound—the subscribers would be paid more paper francs on a sliding scale. Always were they to receive

interest on the assumption that 95 francs went to the pound. It was anticipated that in spite of the low interest the new bonds would be taken up in large quantities because the French were seriously troubled about the possibilities of a fall of the franc. The loan did not, however, make the appeal that was expected, for after it had remained open for several months it was found that only between five and six milliard francs were forthcoming.

The Socialists and the majority of the Radicals were becoming more restive than ever, and on July 12 voted in a body against the Ministry, which was saved by the votes of the Opposition. There seemed to be emerging an entirely different majority in the Chamber, and M. Painlevé was placed in a dilemma. With his past as a man of the Left, could he consent to remain in office with the Left in opposition and the old Opposition demonstrating its confidence in him? Clearly he could not, if he had any regard for his reputation, stay in these circumstances. Happily for him, he was rescued from his dilemma by a long Parliamentary vacation, and until November he was enabled to remain in the post of Prime Minister without putting the matter to a test in the Chamber.

M. Caillaux profited by this vacation to raise the problem of Inter-Allied debts. On August 23 he went to London to discuss the question with Mr. Churchill. France could not complete a settlement of her debt towards England before completing a settlement of her debt towards America, and *vice versa*. England could not permit American claims upon France to enjoy priority, but, on the other hand, France's resources could not be determined until the terms of her settlement with America were known. The operation had to be a single operation. The arrangement which was made in London was thus only provisional: it was contingent upon a corresponding arrangement with America. For what it was worth, the British offer, after some debate, was as follows: England was prepared to take twelve and a half million pounds a year for sixty-two years instead of the twenty million pounds annually which the British Treasury had counted upon. M. Caillaux, though reluctant to pay more than ten million pounds a year, could not reject this bargain. He further agreed tentatively to place the whole responsibility of French payments upon the French Treasury, transferring no portion of the responsibility on to German shoulders, but demanding that the settlement should be revised if German annuities to France ever fell below the French annual liabilities to England and to America.

On the whole, the tentative settlement was a triumph for M. Caillaux, and, cheered by his success, he took the risk, a week later, of going to America to negotiate an arrangement there. He did this against the advice of those who remembered the fate of President Wilson who, instead of remaining in Washington as

a final court of appeal, in 1919 personally came to Paris, thus placing himself in a position of inferiority, obliged to accept or reject whatever conclusions were reached by the Allied representatives. If M. Caillaux had sent a Mission to America, that Mission could have returned empty-handed without giving the impression of a rupture. M. Caillaux, sitting in Paris, would have been free to manœuvre. Not only did he undertake the journey himself, compelling himself to say yes or no, but he handicapped himself further by placing a time limit upon the negotiations. He found that the ground had not been properly prepared, and America was not willing to accept the amount he suggested. On his side, he was not willing to accept the American suggestions. With the boat which was to bring him back to France waiting for him in harbour, a deadlock was reached. At the last moment, a provisional five-year offer was put forward by Washington, and M. Caillaux, disappointed, reserved his answer. Washington appeared to be the Waterloo of M. Caillaux. He had set out for fresh conquests in high spirits: he came back to record a failure. At the end of the year M. Henri Bérenger, Senator, was appointed Ambassador to Washington, charged with the negotiation of the debt.

Thus M. Caillaux was unable to sustain the attack which the Radicals now resolved to make upon him. On October 15 the Radical Congress opened at Nice. That Radical Congress, which was attended by M. Painlevé and by M. Caillaux, decided that a capital levy was necessary. To a capital levy M. Caillaux, a cautious financier with classical traditions, was implacably opposed. The breach was flagrant. M. Painlevé, though he, too, having regard to the experience of Germany and other countries, was not favourable to a capital levy, felt bound to dismiss M. Caillaux, who had not produced the comprehensive scheme which was needed after seven months of office. M. Caillaux insisted on Cabinet solidarity. He declined to go unless the whole Cabinet went with him. To this the answer of M. Painlevé was prompt and decisive. On October 27 he resigned, and on the 29th he formed a new Ministry, from which M. Caillaux was excluded.

M. Painlevé, in his second Ministry, himself assumed the rôle of Finance Minister, though he was assisted by M. Bonnet, for whom he created the new office of Minister of the Budget. There was hastily prepared a plan of financial purification. Its principal feature was the creation of a sinking fund—a *Caisse d'Amortissement*—which would be responsible for redeeming short-term bonds. It was to be alimented by heavy taxation which, although nominally paid out of income, appeared rather to constitute a levy on capital. Commercial and industrial undertakings, for example, were asked to pay 50 per cent. of their annual profit if they made a single payment, or 5 per cent. annually if they spread the payments over fourteen years. In addition, shares and salaries were to be

further taxed to the extent of 15 per cent. on the former and 5 per cent. supertax on the latter. Even the *rentes*, which had been issued on the promise that they would be tax free, were not exempted. Real estate was to pay an extra tax amounting to *one and a half times* the net income derived therefrom if a single payment were made, or three annuities of 60 per cent., or fourteen annuities of 15 per cent.

Everywhere it was protested that the middle classes were being crushed by this demand, and that the French manufacturers were being dealt a fatal blow. Moreover, the complicated system would be difficult of operation. *Titres de reconnaissance* were to be furnished by the manufacturers—in other words, there was to be a mortgage on their factories. Moreover, it was clear that the special taxation could not produce much money for a considerable time, and the borrowings of the *Caisse d'Amorissement*, which might reach over eight milliard francs, together with other Treasury borrowings, could scarcely be described as anything but inflation, for the bank could lend only if it printed notes.

The weak point of all these discussions was that they neglected the vital matter of the Budget. France was approaching the end of the financial year, which synchronises with the end of the calendar year, and there was no Budget in sight. The device, which has become usual, of voting provisional monthly credits, had again to be adopted, and 1926 was to open without a Budget. Even if the proposals with regard to a sinking fund for the consolidation of the floating debt had been sound in themselves, they would have been useless unaccompanied by a balanced Budget and a stabilised franc. The absence of a Budget, and the continual slipping of the franc, meant that every estimate was vitiated. Finances were falsified, and the confidence which had been lost by the French people in their own currency and in their own rulers was not restored.

No wonder that the great producers in a letter to the President of the Republic expressed their apprehension. They passed over the head of Parliament, indicating their distrust of Parliament. Throughout the country there was growing up an anti-Parliamentary spirit. This spirit has always existed, but the Chamber elected in 1924 had, in the opinion of large numbers of Frenchmen, proved itself to be the most incompetent Parliament of the Third Republic. The Radical organs themselves were distressed at the afflicting spectacle offered by the politicians with their disorderliness, their talkativeness, their manoeuvres, and their impotence. There were lobbyings, machinations, conspiracies, conflicts of ambition. There was a desperate sentiment of incertitude, a poignant sensation that everything was upset by occult powers. An enormous disillusionment had been produced by the disastrous financial liquidation of the war, the lack of

foresight, the wastefulness, the demonstration that in spite of progressive increases of the sacrifices demanded from the taxpayer, the 'gulf in which disappeared the product of the taxes and the loans was incessantly growing greater. In the country was an atmosphere of lassitude and disheartenment that it will be difficult to dissipate. The bitterness of the political quarrels brought about an increasing inquietude. There was open talk of a dissolution of the Chamber, which could apparently do nothing which it had set out to do. A dissolution of the Chamber is provided for in the Constitution, but only once has it been witnessed. A dissolution was provoked by President MacMahon, and the result was that he was broken. Yet with a consciousness that there was no majority to be found in the Chamber for any positive project—though a destructive majority could be found—dissolution was regarded as a solution.

Still more ominous questions were raised. It was asked whether France was approaching a *crise de régime*, and whether the Republic which had existed for fifty years was in danger. Whatever comes of these questionings, undoubtedly movements have begun which it will not be easy to arrest. Parliamentary helplessness was emphasised when the Painlevé-Bonnet project was defeated and the Ministry was compelled again to resign (November 22). For a week there were vain attempts to form a combination which would have any prospect of success. Finally M. Briand, despite Socialist opposition, undertook the task (November 29). He showed his reluctance, but it is understood that President Doumergue insisted, threatening to resign rather than be compelled to turn towards the Socialists.

The outlook was certainly not bright for M. Briand, who took into his Cabinet M. Loucheur as Finance Minister. Lasting only a fortnight M. Loucheur, after obtaining fresh inflation to the extent of seven and a half milliard francs, was thrown out of office in his turn (December 15). His project, which simply consisted screwing up existing taxation, met the same fate as previous projects. At the end of the year M. Doumer held the portfolio of Finance, but his plan, which consisted, in part, in doubling the business turnover tax, was opposed by the Finance Commission, precisely as M. Loucheur's plan had been opposed. This time, M. Briand, who had always preferred to resign before being dismissed, declared that he considered it his duty to cling to the Premiership.

A new fight had begun. The Socialists had decided that they would not enter any bourgeois Cabinet; they asserted their liberty; they repudiated their former allies. The Radicals were perplexed. The groups in the centre of the Chamber, though favouring M. Briand, were insufficient. The Opposition proper was afraid of taking the responsibility of voting for unpopular taxation. The year closed on a series of gigantic question-marks,

There was a question-mark after the word Finances. There was a question-mark after the word Government. There was a question-mark after the word Chamber. There was a question-mark after the word President. There was even a question-mark after the word Régime.

The year, however, saw the conclusion of the Locarno accords. M. Briand, at first serving under M. Painlevé and afterwards as Prime Minister, had remained in the specific post of Foreign Minister since April, and he had been preoccupied with one subject: the subject of the relations of France with England and with Germany. Early in the year Germany had proposed voluntarily to enter into an undertaking with France to respect the Alsace-Lorraine frontier and to submit other Franco-German disputes to arbitration. England's conception, which was afterwards evolved, was to be a third party to an arrangement which, it was hoped, would make an end of the age-long feud. With Mr. (afterwards Sir Austen) Chamberlain and with Herr Stresemann a number of documents were hammered out. Many difficulties arose, but after months of negotiations, an understanding was reached on October 15 in the Swiss town of Locarno, and on December 1, at London, two days after M. Briand became Prime Minister, the treaties were formally signed.

Germany had been admitted to the conference at Locarno on an equal footing. She agreed that her western boundary with France and Belgium was permanently laid down by the Treaty of Versailles. She agreed that the Rhineland should be permanently demilitarised. England pledged herself to assist in the maintenance of the *status quo* in the west. Germany was to take her place in the League of Nations. This was a desirable step, since it implied goodwill on both sides. But France had special engagements with Poland, with Czechoslovakia, and with other nations, amounting to promises to uphold, by force of arms if need be, the existing territorial arrangements. Germany was willing to enter into arbitration treaties with her eastern neighbours, but was not prepared to renounce a subsequent revision of the territorial arrangements, and in the last resort England was not prepared to fight for the preservation of the eastern frontiers.

France had to pay a price for the Pact. She had to consent to the evacuation of the zone of Cologne, which had been postponed for a year because Germany had failed to carry out the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty, and to all intents and purposes French demands with regard to the strict fulfilment of these clauses were abandoned. The Pact also seemed to point to the breakdown of the special diplomatic relations between France and her smaller allies in Europe. England, too, had intimated that whatever engagements were taken by the guaranteeing Powers towards France were equally taken towards Germany. England was to be the sole and sovereign judge of

urgency, and if England decided that there was no urgency, violations of international law were to be submitted to the League.

It cannot be denied that there was a certain amount of misgiving in France, where the Locarno documents were not received with the enthusiasm that might have been expected. Yet M. Briand, though behaving modestly, was the hero of the hour, and politically his achievement stood him in good stead. France was weary of the Continental quarrel, and was concerned with more immediate and, perhaps, more vital issues. Her objections to the Locarno Pact were not pressed in any quarter. The worth of the Pact, it was contended in France, was in rigorous relation with the spirit that prevails on either side of the Rhine. It was not the text which was of importance—it was the trend of thought in the two countries which truly mattered; and in so far as the trend of thought was influenced by the conclusion of accords, those accords were exceedingly promising.

ITALY

The announcement sprung on the public by Signor Mussolini at the end of 1924 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 173), that he intended to abrogate the electoral law voted a bare twelvemonth earlier, and substitute a return to the single member constituency system and election by mere majority vote after a single ballot, raised in many quarters a hope that the coming year would witness a revival of political liberties in Italy. The Fascist leader, however, soon showed that such an idea was far from his thoughts. On January 3, in the Chamber, he made a fighting speech, in which he commented scathingly on the way in which his political opponents had exploited the Matteotti murder in the previous autumn to distract and confuse public opinion, and taunted them with making political capital rather than justice their aim. He boldly took upon himself all responsibility, not only for the Government's proceedings in this matter, but for any Fascist action whatsoever that might be taken in support of their creed. This speech was followed up by a regulation bringing the Press, which had continued to enjoy a limited measure of freedom, within the scope of the Municipal bye-laws which gave the Prefects power of unconditional sequestration and eventual suppression of any paper guilty of printing matter deemed by them subversive of law and order. Full latitude was meanwhile left to the Fascist Press to indulge in invective against their opponents, whose reply to provocation was naturally held to be "subversive."

This proved to be but the first step in a campaign for the limitation of liberty which was continued throughout the year, without encountering any effective resistance on the part of the public. The mentality developed through century-old traditions

of theocracy, oligarchy, and absolutism in Italy displays no *prima facie* repugnance for the admixture of paternalism and Prussianism inherent in all dictatorships; the period of parliamentary government has been too brief to create a tradition in the opposite sense. Unquestionably, too, the year has brought Italy political and economic advancement, which has fostered the creation of what is currently termed in Italy "the Mussolini legend," so that at the end of the third year of his rule the general judgment "by results" has not found Fascism constructively wanting.

During 1925 Signor Mussolini prosecuted with vigour his policy of strengthening the Executive at the expense alike of the legislative and the judicial powers, with a view to realising the ideal he laid down in his speech on October 28, the anniversary of the March on Rome: "all in the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State." The elimination of Cabinet Ministers of other than pure Fascist creed required by this policy led, on January 12, to the introduction of a Bill declaring illegal all associations, secret or open, among the bureaucracy, and placing all outside associations and corporate bodies under administrative supervision with power to suspend or dissolve them. This measure was meant to pave the way for the institution of State syndicalism, *i.e.* the grouping of all workers according to trade or calling in Unions termed National Corporations which alone should possess legal status, and in which employers and employed alike should work under agreed terms, subject to a special magistrate's arbitral award, without appeal from his decision. Fascism having been thus rendered secure, the reform of the electoral law was passed rapidly by the Chamber, the Fascist majority acquiescing through party discipline, and the "Liberal" minority, a mere handful of former Cabinet Ministers, representing an unfashionable, though still not negligible, party in the country, voting in favour through conviction. The Senate ratified the measure on February 14, but the prospect of its coming into operation is still remote.

Patriotic feeling in Italy was gratified by the award of the Field-Marshal's baton (the King likewise accepting the distinction) to the three Commanders-in-Chief of the land and sea forces in the late war. Honours had been awarded already to General Diaz and Admiral Thaon de Revel, but the promotion now offered to General Cadorna was felt to be an act of justice long overdue. Signor Mussolini's serious indisposition about this time aroused misgivings in the party concerning the eventual hold of Fascism upon the country, and a show of hands was taken on the occasion of the Volunteer Militia's second anniversary in Rome. On his recovery, which took place soon after, Signor Mussolini referred with great scorn in a speech before the Senate to these "intelligent anticipations of coming events."

Legislation during this session included a measure to re-

organise the bureaucracy which increased the scale of salaries and superannuation allowances, and extended also to the parochial clergy, whose claims were long overdue. At the same time the general dissatisfaction with Senatore Gentile's educational reforms was allayed by his successor Signor Fedale's promise to modify their incidence in the spirit if not the letter of the law. Various measures were also introduced to "Fascistise" the State dealing with military and naval reforms, national aeronautics, judiciary changes, economic reform and State Stock Exchange control, State corporations under Government auspices embracing all trades and callings with direct legislative representation, replacement of mayors of 7,000 out of the 7,500 communes by State officials, and control of the Press. These were all discussed in a somewhat perfunctory manner by a Press restricted to the mildest criticism under the penalties contemplated by administrative control.

Commercial and economic questions held the first place in Italian foreign affairs practically throughout the year. The Commercial Treaty with Soviet Russia had so far proved disappointing to Italian exporters, and the land concessions in Russia were in no case suitable. The Government nevertheless regarded the instrument as a future, if not an immediate asset, and the Senate's ratification was obtained in the autumn session. The negotiations for a settlement with Yugoslavia of differences arising out of the Fiume agreement, after being broken off in Venice in 1924, were taken up again this year, and transferred to the serener atmosphere of Florence. An agreement, made on August 1, ceding certain dock areas in dispute at Fiume to Yugoslavia, was ratified at Nettuno by Signor Mussolini on August 5. An Albanian oil-field concession to a British group occasioned some feeling in Italy, which was allayed by the safeguarding of Italian interests in the terms. The successor States of Austria, at a conference in Rome, arranged for certain railway transit, frontier commercial, postal, and passport facilities to Italy, most of which have become operative. The most important commercial treaty concluded by Italy during the year was that with Germany, now first entitled under the Versailles Treaty to negotiate upon the most-favoured-nation basis. The negotiations initiated in the spring proceeded laboriously, the reciprocal demands being placed somewhat high. A *modus vivendi* on existing terms was carried on until a settlement satisfactory to both parties was reached in the late autumn. Under this, advantages are conceded to German manufactured goods, whilst Italian agriculture, benefiting by its superiority of climate, receives seasonal preferences which only terminate when German growers are in position to enter the market. The Treaty was ratified by both Houses in the autumn Parliamentary session, and came into operation on December 16.

The frontier dispute between Egypt and Italy arising out of the cession of the Jarabub Oasis to the latter under the Milner-Scialoja agreement, which was virtually repudiated by Nationalist opinion in Egypt, had dragged on through the year 1924. Discussion was resumed in March in Cairo in a friendly atmosphere, and was subsequently transferred to Rome; an agreement stipulating the cession of Jarabub on the one hand and on the other hand frontier rectification at Solum so as to place the water works within Egyptian territory was at last attained in Cairo on December 6.

The general confidence felt in Signor Mussolini's administration, the continued satisfactory reports of the public revenue, and Signor De Stefani's reiterated forecasts of a substantial surplus at the close of the financial year on June 30, 1925, gave so decided a stimulus to Stock Exchange business in 1924 that a somewhat disquieting speculative position developed in the principal Bourses, aggravated, too, by rumours of the stabilisation of the lira on a gold basis. To keep speculation within bounds, Signor De Stefani reluctantly determined to raise the bank rate from 6 to 7 per cent. and to enact a number of stringent measures—including a revision of Stock Exchange rules, restriction of membership, increases of caution money—by Ministerial Order, declaring them immediately operative as from March 1. The suddenness of the measures, which strongly affected respectable vested interests, produced intense feeling, which partial modifications failed to allay, and on Signor Mussolini's personal intervention being invoked on March 10, the more obnoxious portions of the Order were withdrawn. But the feeling against Signor de Stefani persisted, and his unpopularity was shared by his colleague, Signor de Nava, the Minister of National Economy, for kindred reasons. The unfavourable trade balance, due to excessive imports assisted by easy money and credits, reached an unexpectedly high figure, whilst the sterling and dollar rate fluctuated rapidly against Italy, largely on account of the announcement of a fifty million dollar revolving credit with Messrs. Morgan, but in some measure also through temporary causes such as heavy payments abroad for wheat imports, necessitated by the partial failure of crops in 1924. The position of both Ministers became untenable, and in spite of the substantial revenue surplus—209 million lire—and the general healthy economic condition of the country as indicated by improved railway revenue, their resignations were accepted by Signor Mussolini at the end of June.

The measure placing all Associations under Government control was ratified on March 8. A few days before that date, however, it had already been enforced by Royal Decree against the Ex-Service Men's Association, which was looked on askance by Fascism, now priding itself on its exclusiveness. In spite of the

Government's warning, they had persisted in their design of holding their annual convention in Rome; and the Government, in order to bring them to heel, promptly substituted a nominated Triumvirate for their elected Directors. This method has been followed consistently throughout the year in the "Fascistising" legislation which has gradually brought all co-operative, benevolent, labour, and other unions tinged with any political colour whatsoever under direct or indirect administrative control.

On March 23, the Minister of Justice, Signor Rocco, introduced a Bill for the Reform of the Penal Code, giving the police extended powers in the matter of arrest and criminal investigation, whilst the Judiciary was brought more under the control of the Minister of Justice. Whilst the Chamber placed no obstacles in the way of realising the "Fascist State," the Army Reform Bill laid before the Senate met with unexpected opposition. On March 30 the proposals to subordinate the naval to the land forces in time of war underwent searching criticism on technical grounds from Marshal Cadorna and his colleagues, whilst from the naval standpoint Admiral Thaon de Revel was no less explicit. Signor Mussolini defended the Government policy, but in spite of his interposition the measure, as framed by the Minister for War, was withdrawn, and General di Giorgio's resignation was accepted on May 4. During the Easter recess Signor Mussolini took over the War and Marine portfolios *ad interim*, while General Badoglio and Admiral Acton were respectively appointed Chiefs of the military and naval Staffs, with supreme command to the former in time of war. On May 18 the Bill was ratified by the Senate, Signor Mussolini taking exception in severe language to the attitude adopted by Admiral Thaon de Revel.

The debates in both Houses on home affairs during the month culminated in the grant, on May 28, of full powers to the Government to amend the Penal Code in so far as it applied to "secret associations." This was followed, on May 30, by a law authorising the exercise of disciplinary sanctions against public officials suspected of "inactive conformity" and of Freemasonic or otherwise "subversive" antecedents, whilst the political opinions and past activities of Senators, Deputies, and persons in the public eye were indirectly brought within the scope of the law. Meanwhile the Court of Inquiry into the Matteotti murder instituted by the Senate, after hearing a mass of evidence through several months, cleared General de Bono, who had been Chief Commissioner of Police in Rome at the time of the murder, on the major counts of accessory knowledge and connivance, but found him guilty of errors of judgment. The ruling was received with mixed feelings, and whilst the criticism of opposition organs was curbed by the censorship, the Fascist Press was given full rein for invective against the "Aventino" Parliamentary opposition, which was deemed to have "engineered" the inquiry.

Criticism driven underground began to emerge in clandestine broadsheets, the prosecution of which proved, on the whole, ineffectual, though without doubt it encouraged the extreme Fascist spokesmen to persist in the ferocity of language in which they had indulged throughout, and which was often translated into regrettable acts of violence.

On May 27 Signor Mussolini, who had followed the "exchanges" problem assiduously, announced his determination to open conversations in Washington for the funding of the Italian War Debt to America. Instructions were sent accordingly to the Italian Ambassador in Washington to declare Italy's willingness to meet her liabilities to an extent corresponding with her capacity. The determination of this amount formed the subject of protracted but friendly preliminary discussion, which culminated in the appointment of plenipotentiaries in the autumn.

On June 12 Italy took the first steps conjointly with France and Belgium to examine the German security pact proposals in a friendly but yet reserved spirit, Italy's geographical position making her only indirectly interested in the object of the proposals, the guaranteeing of the Rhine frontier. This point was made clear by Signor Mussolini in a speech of June 16, and formed the subject of a friendly exchange of views between the British and Italian Governments in Rome on July 9, the outcome of which was made manifest at Locarno in November, when Signor Mussolini arrived to affix his signature to the Italian guarantee to the Pact of Security.

The meeting in Rome of the General Party Congress on June 21 was opened by Signor Mussolini's pronouncement on Fascism regarded as a religion, with its duties as well as privileges, to deny which was a sin against the light. He reviewed all that Fascism had done and would do for districts in the South, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, now the object of his especial care, and at the same time warned his adversaries that no quarter would be given them by the "Fascistising" laws in preparation.

The second economic half-year opened with the meeting in Rome of the Employers' Association and the Fascist Workers' Unions championed by Signor Rossoni, the pioneer of State syndicalism. Government support had enabled him to bring over the majority of former Socialist workers; a few only stood out, and most of the organisations supported by these were lying under sentence of natural or violent death. Resolutions were passed in favour of co-operation, discouragement of strikes, settlement of differences by compulsory arbitration before special courts, and the framing of agreements and labour contracts by each technical syndicate to the exclusion of other bodies, and these resolutions had their practical outcome in the "pact" concluded on October 5, and in the State Syndicate laws which were soon after laid before Parliament and ratified at the close of

the year. The reports of a plentiful harvest suggested to Signor Mussolini the idea of a "battle for wheat," the winning of which, by making Italy self-supporting, would eliminate one of the adverse factors of the lira exchange. The campaign opened with extensive propaganda in favour of increased acreage under wheat, and enlarged yields through intensive culture. The methods adopted for winning the battle were subsidies and experimental plots, agricultural lectures, cheap fertilisers, and the like; their results will be visible only in the future. Signor De Stefani's resignation from the Finance Ministry became effective on July 8, Conte Volpi, the late Governor of Tripoli, accepting the office on July 13, while Signor Belluzzi succeeded Signor De Nava at the Ministry of National Economy. The Exchange controls tentatively ordered by Signor De Stefani were now co-ordinated, and they stabilised the lira markedly for the rest of the year, in striking contrast with the fluctuations of the French currency.

Politically speaking, the municipal election at Palermo on August 3 may be regarded as a sign of the times. Palermo, hitherto a stronghold of Liberalism, returned the Fascist candidate for the Mayoralty, rejecting Signor Orlando, whose qualifications combined distinguished public service with great personal popularity. The election was admittedly a trial of party strength on which the dissident Parliamentary opposition had staked their *raison d'être*, now that the "moral" question of the Matteotti murder was rapidly passing out of practical politics, partly through the lapse of time, and also as a result of the amnesty proclaimed by the King on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession, which appreciably modified the position of those accused of complicity in the act. The methods of Fascism, unpalatable as they are still to many, have come to be regarded as a transitory evil worth enduring for the sake of attaining the material prosperity for which the country with patriotic feeling at white heat is making a firm and unequivocal bid.

The combined naval and military manœuvres—August 22 to September 4.—presided over by the King and attended by Signor Mussolini, were made the occasion for the assertion of a forward aeronautic policy. Signor Mussolini had taken over the Commissionership of Aeronautics himself as early as 1923, and after his intensive development of this arm, his appointment, on August 27, as its first Cabinet Minister gave general satisfaction. The public had followed with keen interest the daring Naples—India—Australia—Japan—Rome flight, undertaken by the military airman, Marchese de Pinedo, in April, and brought to a successful termination only in November. Concurrently, Italian air squadrons were visiting Britain, France, Spain, the Scandinavian countries, Russia, Central Europe, and the Balkan States with conspicuous success. Signor Casagrande's projected flight across the Atlantic to South America on a "commercial"

machine, a pioneer of its kind, was frustrated at the close of the year by untoward weather conditions.

The long-mooted Fascist control of all municipal activity by placing both the capital and the smaller municipal areas (those under 5,000 inhabitants) in direct charge of the Executive was made effective in regard to the former by Royal Decree on August 27, through the appointment to the Governorship of Senatore Cremonesi, the Royal Commissioner who had for some years past exercised the Syndic or Mayor's powers, previous elections having been declared void. The new Governor of Rome has entire control of the municipal machinery, being assisted by a consultative body only, co-opted from the former municipal assessors. The measure was a preliminary to the institution of the office of "Podesta," an Executive official appointed for a five years' term to administer—on the population basis above-mentioned—all but 500 of the seven thousand odd Italian municipalities, which are thus brought under direct Government supervision. The Fascist Grand Council met early in October during the Parliamentary recess to examine the report of the Commission of Eighteen nominated in 1924 to study the constitutional changes demanded by Fascism, primarily the relative positions of the Executive and Legislature and the proposed representation of the National Corporations or Syndicates as such in the Legislature. The Senate has been preferred for this experiment, as it already contains the present life-members nominated by the Sovereign, and so "corporation" Senators will for the present not affect its composition materially. The extension of the Prefects' powers made operative by Royal Decree on October 7 gave these officials the presidency of the Provincial Councils, which had hitherto elected their own chairman, thus effectually establishing their authority in all civil questions at issue.

The signature, on October 19, of the Locarno Pact of Security, was received with general satisfaction by the public, which discerned in it a favourable omen for the negotiations about to be opened in Washington for the funding of the Italian Debt. The Minister of Finance, Count Volpi, and his colleagues of the Delegation, reached Washington on November 1, and were not long in obtaining a settlement which reflected the greatest credit on the discernment and goodwill of both parties to the agreement. The terms included an annual payment of five million dollars on principal account only for five years, and interest rising proportionately to an aggregate of less than 2 per cent. with extinction of capital and interest in sixty-two annuities. As soon as the news became public the idea of a national voluntary offering of a million dollars towards the payment of the first annuity of the debt was mooted unofficially, and gave rise to a most gratifying expression of patriotic sentiment. Unexampled success attended

the appeal, limited, as it was, naturally, to Italians at home and abroad, with the result that in less than a fortnight, the lists closing on December 1, no less than 666,000*l.* sterling had been subscribed.

A sensation was created on Armistice Day, November 4, by the news of an attempted assassination of Signor Mussolini, averted only by the alertness of the Rome police. A former Socialist Deputy, Signor Zaniboni, was arrested when on the point, as it was alleged, of firing at the Premier from a closed window of a house facing the balcony of Palazzo Chigi, at which Signor Mussolini was about to witness the march past of the troops and patriotic associations to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Other arrests speedily followed throughout the country, leading members of the Order of Italian Freemasons being charged with complicity in the affair. Popular effervescence made a stricter Press censorship advisable, in view, especially, of recent regrettable incidents accompanied with loss of life and destruction of property in Florence and other cities, traceable to anti-Freemasonry agitation. The Press laws voted by the Chamber of Deputies in the summer session had resulted in more furious attacks on the part of the Fascist Press on their journalistic adversaries. The few remaining independent organs suffered daily sequestration and threats of suppression, averted in the case of the *Corriere della Sera*, a paper of the highest standing and moderate Liberal views, only by editorial and proprietary changes.

CHAPTER IV.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

THE Ministerial interregnum with which the year 1924 had closed lasted till the middle of January. The German People's Party (*Deutsche Volkspartei*) and the German National People's Party (*Deutsche Nationale Volkspartei*) were determined at all costs to keep together, and without them no Cabinet could be formed, but their united forces did not constitute a majority of the Reichstag. Thus the Centre held the balance. The members of this party were prepared to enter a Government which should be in close touch with the two Nationalist parties, but they were insistent that there should be no tampering with the Republican idea. An attempt therefore was at first made to form an independent non-party Ministry; but Herr Marx, who essayed the task, could obtain no collaborators. After some more failures, a Chancellor acceptable to all three parties was at length found in Herr Luther, who belonged formally to no party, but was reckoned

a friend of the German Nationals, and who as Finance Minister had been a leading figure in the Cabinets of Stresemann and Marx. The German Nationals now for the first time joined a Republican Government, accepting three posts: Interior (Schiele), Finance (von Schlieben), and Economy (Neuhaus). Other new figures were the Minister of Communications (Krohne, of the German People's Party), and the Minister of Justice (Frenken, of the Centre). The Ministry of Posts was entrusted to Herr Stingl, of the Bavarian People's Party, who had already occupied the same position in the Cuno Ministry. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs (Stresemann), Food, Labour, and Defence (Count Kanitz, Brauns, and Gessler) remained in the same hands. The Centre purposely abstained from putting forward any of its leading representatives.

Stresemann's purpose was thus achieved; he was in a position to prosecute the policy of which the London Agreement had been the firstfruits, without having to guard against a hostile agitation from the side of the Nationalists. The next objective of this policy was only revealed gradually. In February there was despatched to the Governments of the Western Powers the notable letter which developed in a new form the idea of a security pact with France, once vainly broached by Cuno. The German public gained its first meagre information of the details of this proposal from the accounts in the foreign press. When, however, English Ministers made their statements to Parliament in March, the letter became an international European concern, although its text had not yet been published. But the interest of the German public was by this time absorbed in quite other matters.

The new Chancellor—*pace* the persistent rumours of differences of opinion between Stresemann and himself—knew how to maintain at home that equilibrium between parties which was necessary to secure a safe passage for the Government's foreign policy. In his address to the Reichstag he deprived the Opposition of its most powerful weapon of attack by promising to uphold the Republican form of government. At the same time, he pronounced the magic word for which the middle class was so anxiously waiting—"revaluation"—promising an extension of the meagre concessions which as Finance Minister in the previous year he had made to the holders of State bonds and of mortgages who had been ruined by the inflation. Expectations were held out to other sections of the electorate also. A customs tariff was necessary as a basis for the commercial treaties which Germany was now free to make after the lapse of the restrictive clauses in the Treaty of Versailles; and in any case, such a tariff was bound to take into account the protectionist tendency which the whole world was manifesting. Apart from this, the composition of the new Government gave those who desired Protection hopes of having their wishes fulfilled in Germany itself. In the field of internal affairs the German Nationals were scheming for

a revision of the Constitution and the restoration of the old national colours.

While the national policy of the Government required months for its elaboration, the parties in power had more immediate requirements which they hoped to fulfil in the State of Prussia. The elections for the Prussian Diet had not turned out so favourably for the Right as in the Reichstag. The parties which supported the Weimar Constitution had obtained about one-half of the seats. The German People's Party, nevertheless, was determined to create the same system of alliances here as existed in the Reichstag. It left the "big coalition" which it had formed with the Democrats and Social Democrats, and its Ministers, Boelitz (Instruction) and von Richter (Finance), resigned on January 6. A violent agitation was commenced against the Premier, Otto Braun, and the Minister of the Interior, Severing, who was almost as much hated by the extreme Nationalist associations as by the Communists. Herr Braun at first maintained that he was under no obligation to resign; but as the Communists joined with the Right in opposing him, only half the House supported the vote of confidence on January 23, and his Ministry accordingly resigned. His opponents, however, failed to secure their object, as in Prussia also the Centre was now the deciding factor, and here it was not willing to share its influence with the Right. According to the Prussian Constitution, Parliament chooses the Premier, who then selects his colleagues and seeks a vote of confidence for the Cabinet thus formed. Simple as this process seems, it proved on this occasion to be a veritable squaring of the circle. Time after time a Premier from the Left received a small majority for himself personally, and was then left with his Cabinet in a minority. Herr Braun was the first to undergo this experience; then the former Chancellor Marx made repeated unsuccessful attempts to obtain a majority for his Cabinets.

In this way public attention was almost monopolised by party and personal rivalries, and an atmosphere was created in which abuse and recrimination thrived. At the close of the previous year the discovery of certain shady financial speculations which were going on had led to prosecutions in the law courts. It now became known that the promoters, among whom the names of Barmat and Kutisker were most prominent, had had at their disposal public moneys, credits of the Post Office and of the Prussian State Bank, while responsible members of the Republican parties, such as the former Chancellor Bauer and the Centre deputy Hoefle, who had been Minister of Posts for the last few years, had served as intermediaries. Hoefle fell under suspicion of having received bribes, and was arrested. Voices naturally were not wanting which laid these offences at the door of the Left generally. The Republican Press retaliated by bringing similar charges against the other side, calling attention to the

irresponsible and light-hearted way in which the heads of a certain mortgage institution had granted credit to a consortium of noblemen. It stigmatised the compensation paid to the manufacturers of the Ruhr district as a robbery of the taxpayers.

The investigations into the bribery scandal led in April to a tragic occurrence. The ex-Minister Hoeffe, in the course of his examination, broke down completely. Regardless of this, the court officials continued to keep him in strict confinement, with the result that he died on April 20, in circumstances which pointed to suicide. The public clamour for purer administration was now pointed at the law courts, which in many respects gave ground of complaint. The judges were accused not only of harsh treatment of prisoners undergoing examination, but also of showing partiality in political trials. The deputies and officials implicated in the Barmat affair were examined by a committee of the Landtag, the competence of which in relation to the law courts was also disputed. The result of its labours, which closed in November, was to clear all remaining deputies of suspicion of criminal offences.

While the bribery investigations were in full swing, the Republic lost one of the most, if not the most generally respected of its public men—its first President. True, the rage for fastening imputations on public men had not spared Ebert either in the preceding months. In December of the previous year an editor who had stigmatised him as a traitor on account of his diplomatic attitude during the Berlin labour risings in January, 1918, had been acquitted by a Magdeburg court. And there were now people who tried to implicate him in the Barmat scandal. These accusations, however, had only served to secure for him strong expressions of public confidence. These were followed by the liveliest manifestations of sympathy when in February he fell seriously ill and had to undergo an operation, which was followed by his death on February 28, a few months before the end of his term of office. [See Obituaries.] So long as he was in power, neither the workers nor those who favoured the monarchical form of government were over-ready to praise publicly the ex-saddler. Now they remembered how much Ebert, by his staunchness and firmness, had done to restore constitutional conditions in the revolution period, and to pull the Republic through its various crises. The procession at his funeral, and the tributes paid to his memory on that occasion, testified to a sincere and universal admiration for his character.

While all parties united on this occasion in praising his aloofness from the passions and watchwords of party, his death was the signal for an outbreak of the most embittered strife between the factions into which the German people is split up. For two months the choice of a successor was hotly disputed. That the attempts to induce all parties to compromise on a single candidate

should come to grief was not to be wondered at (one of those named in this connexion, the President of the Imperial Court, Dr. Simons, was appointed temporary President on March 6). But it proved impossible even to unite parties so far as to reduce the field to a small number of candidates for the first ballot. Only the German Nationals and the German People's Party retained their coalition for this occasion also. They proclaimed as their candidate Herr Jarres, who, as Minister of the Interior under Stresemann and Marx, had passed as the most extreme "Right" representative in the Ministry. The parties of the Weimar Coalition could not come to an agreement. A Socialist candidate could not hope for middle-class support; nevertheless, the Social Democrats, in order to show the strength of their following, nominated Herr Braun, while the Centre nominated Herr Marx, so that the two men between whom lay the choice of a Premier in Prussia were, at the same time, competing for the highest post in the Reich. The Democrats brought forward the President of the State of Baden, Hellpach, whose oratorical gifts drew surprisingly large audiences to the election meetings of his small party, without giving it any prospect of success. To these were added the Communist Thalmann, Ludendorff as candidate of the extreme Nationalists and "Racialists," and the Bavarian Premier, Held, by nominating whom the Bavarian People's Party showed that it was not at one with Herr Jarres, in spite of its standing so near to the parties supporting him. On March 29 the first ballot took place. Jarres received the largest number of votes among the competitors (10·3 millions), but not an absolute majority, and a second ballot was necessary, in which, according to the law, the candidate who obtained the largest number of votes even without an absolute majority would be victor.

The parties of the Weimar Coalition had now to make up their minds on an issue which they had so far shirked. They had to choose between running a Centre or Democratic candidate at the risk of losing the Socialist vote, and running a Socialist candidate with the opposite risk. They chose the former course, and nominated Marx, who thereupon resigned the Prussian Premiership. In his place Braun again essayed to form a Ministry, this time with success.

The Nationalist Coalition had now to find a candidate who could reckon on obtaining not only the same number of votes as in March, considerable as that was, but a substantial increase. It was particularly important to win the support of Bavaria. Jarres did not seem the right man for this; his popularity suffered from the fact that in 1923, in the Ruhr crisis, he had for some time recommended a policy which meant the avoidance of an agreement and the endurance of the illegal French occupation, in the expectation that this would eventually collapse of itself. In place of Jarres, the name of Hindenburg now began to be

mooted. At first, it is true, such a candidature had not been considered possible either by public opinion or by influential persons in the Nationalist Coalition. Hindenburg was 77 years old ; his career had been a purely military one, and he had no knowledge of State affairs. As an officer who had faithfully served the Imperial House during the whole period of its existence, he was a living reminder of the Monarchy. As holder of the highest office in the Reich, the aged general might awaken apprehensions abroad and hopes at home which would not conduce to the welfare of the Republic. The German Nationals, however, hailed his candidature with enthusiasm. They saw in his presidency a sure means of accustoming the people to look upon the Republican regime only as a temporary substitute for the Monarchy. Above all, his name gave them better prospects of success at the polls than any other could have done. The best way to meet the coalition of their opponents was not simply by forming another coalition with a compromise candidate, but by putting forward the man with the most popular name in the country. With the great mass of the middle classes, it was rather a recommendation than a drawback that this candidate was no politician and was unconnected with the strife of parties.

Hindenburg's party in the Nationalist Coalition was not long in gaining the upper hand there. But Hindenburg's own opposition had still to be overcome, as he wished to end his days in private life. On April 6 he declined to stand as a candidate, and only on his friends making a pressing appeal to his sense of duty did he at length consent two days later. The succeeding weeks witnessed a bitter campaign carried on by means of speeches, manifestos, and illustrated posters. Besides Marx and Hindenburg, the Communist Thalmann remained in the field. On April 26 Hindenburg won with 48·3 per cent. of all recorded votes, Marx receiving 45·4, and Thalmann 6·3.

A few days sufficed to show how mistaken had been the expectations formed on both sides and also abroad of the results which would follow such a choice. The voting showed the same balance of parties as had made the formation of a Cabinet so difficult in Prussia, and on the skilful handling of which the Reich Ministry based its existence. And though the candidate of the Republican parties had been defeated, yet the Republic had in fact triumphed. The result of the election showed that the majority of the people did not desire a return to the Monarchy. Above all, Hindenburg, the great hope of the Monarchists, now took over a Republican office, and soon showed that he intended to wield it with the same scrupulous regard to duty as he had shown in his capacity of officer. On May 12 he took the oath to support the Constitution, with the religious affirmation which the law left optional.

The proceedings which followed in the Reichstag and its committees showed that in regard to the fundamental questions of

internal and external policy nothing had changed. A suggestion of the Minister of the Interior, Schiele, to appoint a committee to draft alterations in some articles of the Constitution was rejected, as also a German National proposal to reintroduce the black-white-red Imperial colours. On May 18 Stresemann was able again to defend triumphantly in the Reichstag his policy of an understanding with the Western Powers, and of entry into the League of Nations. Little as the German Nationals liked this policy, they were unable to place any serious obstacles in its way, as this would have split the Coalition. In other respects, however, it was just at this time that the accomplishment of Stresemann's designs seemed to be beset with the greatest difficulties. Security Pact and entry into the League of Nations were out of the question without a satisfactory solution of the questions of disarmament and the evacuation of the Cologne zone. Not till towards the end of May did the German Government receive the Note setting forth its alleged shortcomings in the matter of disarmament, and this Note was on all sides regarded as unsatisfactory.

The only sphere in which Conservative influence made itself to some extent felt was that of economic legislation. Progress in this field was rendered difficult not only by the conflicting interests of parties and classes, but also by the gravity and uncertainty of the general economic situation, by international complications, and by differences between the Reich and the States ; and accordingly legislation went forward slowly and by a series of compromises. In the matter of revaluation, the Bill drafted by the Government made far smaller concessions to the bondholders than they had hoped, and the Reichstag was unable to improve it to any great extent. Mortgage claims from the time of the old currency were made valid again at 25 per cent. of their gold mark value, and payments received by the creditor before June 15, 1922, were allowed to be annulled even if he had not reserved his right to do so. Similar regulations were made with respect to the rights of owners of coupons from public loans and industrial bonds. Negotiations for commercial treaties came to a standstill several times in the spring and summer. An agreement with Spain was completed in April, but it was rejected by the Reichstag because the vintagers felt their interests to be jeopardised. Negotiations with France were suspended for a time, because each side demanded greater concessions than the other would give, and because the uncertainty as to the French currency made any decision difficult. With Poland Germany began a formal tariff war in June, because it could not absorb Polish coal in the quantity which the other side claimed the right to deliver. The Tariff Bill, which was to form the basis for future commercial treaties, was laid before the Reichstag on June 18. It gave the Government the right of imposing high customs duties on all goods, while in the case of wheat certain

minimum duties were to be obligatory. The individual duties were vehemently attacked by the Opposition, and the Centre also was against the agrarian dues. The Government met all attacks on the duties on manufactures with the plea that the high figures were not binding, but were only a weapon against the protectionism of foreign countries. In regard to the agrarian duties, a compromise was reached between the Government parties by which the minimum figures were dropped. At the same time, they agreed not to admit any further alterations into the tariff, in order not to delay longer the passing of the Bill. The Left protested vehemently against this high-handed proceeding, and the adoption of the Bill on August 10 was accompanied by great tumult in Parliament. About the same time the taxation proposals which the Government had introduced in May came up for discussion. Here the most difficult point had been the apportionment of burdens between the Reich and the States. Higher excise duties were laid on beer and tobacco. In respect of the business turnover tax, the Left had pleaded for a reduction to 1 per cent., at first in vain, but now after the tariff compromise the Centre supported it, and the tax was reduced to this figure. Dr. Wirth, the ex-Chancellor and leader of the Democratic group in the Centre, found in spite of the compromise that the party had given way too much to the Conservatives, and left the group. This incident also showed how strictly limited was Conservative influence on the Government policy.

But the worst pill that the German Nationals had to swallow was that Stresemann had a free hand in foreign policy. From July onwards the prospects of a Security Pact Conference became more and more tangible. Movements of the German Nationals intended to bring about Stresemann's fall proved ineffectual. Their Ministers showed openly their distaste for the Security Pact; but Luther stood by Stresemann, and a Cabinet crisis was avoided. The German Government was able on July 20 to despatch a Note setting forth German aims substantially as they were later expressed at Locarno. The deliberations of the international commission of legal experts established the formal basis for the novel treaty. Improvement in the relations with France was facilitated by the punctual withdrawal between the end of July and the end of August of the garrisons from the occupied towns of Essen, Düsseldorf, and Duisburg. When Germany received, on September 12, an invitation to the Conference, a refusal was out of the question. The fact that Stresemann was to be accompanied to Locarno by Luther indicated a confirmation rather than a weakening of his attitude. The only point which the German Nationals were able to gain was that the acceptance of the invitation should be accompanied by some sentences referring to the question of war guilt and the evacuation of the Cologne zone. The principles set forth in the Note for the

treatment of these questions were scarcely in dispute among the German parties. But it was idle to put forward the demands at this moment, as they did not constitute Germany's terms for entering the Conference, but only laid down certain essential conditions for its success. The unfavourable and to some extent deliberately unfriendly answers which Germany received to the suggestions of the Note were made the occasion in the Democratic Press for a violent outcry against the German Nationals. But the significance of the *faux pas* was much exaggerated. The defence of Germany's vital interests, which Luther and Stresemann were called upon to undertake at Locarno, was not indeed assisted by these preliminaries, but it was hardly affected adversely.

German interests at Locarno were concerned mainly with three points. Germany desired to enter into binding agreements for the peaceful settlement of all disputes alike with her western and her eastern neighbours. But a supplementary undertaking giving Germany and her neighbours the reciprocal right of calling on the military assistance of the signatories of the Agreement against any one of their number who should break the peace was only to be embodied in a "Western Pact," in which Germany on one side and France and Belgium on the other should renounce all appeal to arms in case of dispute, and Great Britain and Italy should, along with France and Belgium, guarantee assistance. A similar pact for the East, in which the above-named Powers should promise their help on the same terms to Poland and Czechoslovakia, was declined by Germany. The reason was that the Security Pact signified a confirmation of the territorial arrangements of the Treaty of Versailles, and Germany was bound to leave open to herself the possibility of obtaining a change in the eastern frontiers by way of mutual agreement. The second point related to Article 16 of the constitution of the League of Nations. Before its entry into the League, which was postulated by the Locarno agreements, Germany wished to make sure that this Article would not, in case of the League taking action, place it in a more unfavourable position than that of the other members, owing to its military weakness and geographical position. Lastly, after the conclusion of the agreements, Germany desired to see some practical results of the reconciliation with the Western Powers, and especially with France. Chief of these were that the other side should declare themselves satisfied with the disarmament measures, and that the Cologne zone should be evacuated; further, a relaxation of the occupation régime in the other parts of the Rhineland and, if possible, a curtailment of the periods laid down in the Treaty of Versailles. Further requirements were the cessation of the trials for "German war crimes," which, owing to their one-sided character, had led so often to offensive verdicts *in contumaciam*, the mitigation of other needless severities of the Peace Treaty, in so far as this was not effected by the new

arbitration treaties, and the participation of Germany in the colonial mandates of the League of Nations. In regard to the first two points the German negotiations were quite successful ; for the " practical results " they obtained only promises, the value of which could not be gauged in the period between the conclusion of the treaty (October 16) and the date of ratification (December 1).

This circumstance damped in no small degree the joy which was felt in Germany at the visible heightening of German prestige due to the Treaty, and at the guarantee which it provided against invasion. Before the " practical results " were assured, it was difficult for the parties and for public opinion to judge whether Germany had not undertaken heavier obligations than the other partners. Their doubts were strengthened by the interpretation which the Treaty of Locarno received in a portion of the French Press. Acceptance of the Treaty was to a large degree not merely an act of judgment, but also, so to speak, an act of faith. Even apart from the question of the practical results, the signing of the Treaty might in many respects be regarded as a leap in the dark. Unmistakable as was the will to peace expressed in it, there was yet complete uncertainty as to the concrete political situations to which it might give rise. Fears were expressed that Germany perhaps had tied herself for the future to the political and economic chariot of the Western Powers ; the conversations which Stresemann had had before Locarno with the Russian Foreign Minister seemed to provide no sufficient guarantee against this. Such apprehensions were most pronounced in influential circles in Bavaria, where they led to the wish being expressed that the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, which was to complete the rapprochement with the Entente Powers, should be deferred as long as possible.

The rank and file of the German Nationals were influenced by considerations of a less subtle kind. Their feelings revolted at the thought of accepting a Treaty which threatened to establish a permanent understanding with the victors in the world war. Without waiting for the " practical results " to begin, or for directions from the leaders and Ministers of the party, local associations of the German National People's Party passed resolutions urging the rejection of the Treaty. The leaders and Ministers, who hitherto had been powerless against Luther and Stresemann, now followed the lead given by their supporters. On October 25 the party rejected the Treaty of Locarno, and the Ministers Schiele, von Schlieben, and Neuhaus resigned. This was followed by a lively discussion in the Press, in which the Foreign Minister had to defend himself against the charge of having betrayed his German National colleagues. Thus the Coalition which Stresemann had formed for the support of his foreign policy was rent asunder. As a stable basis for this policy and an instrument for

uniting the whole German bourgeoisie on questions affecting the future of Europe it had broken down.

For the moment it was not required. A majority for ratification was assured, especially when practical results began to be visible in the shape of preparations for the evacuation of Cologne. But warning voices which were raised against joining the League of Nations were not without influence on the deliberations of the Reichsrat and Reichstag, which met at the end of November. The Treaty was accepted, but before Germany's entry into the League further "practical results" were to be awaited.

After the ratification on December 1 the Government had to face the altered alignment of parties to which the treaties had given rise. The Cabinet, from which the Minister of Justice Frenken had also just resigned, could not be reconstructed by simply filling up the vacant places. The Democratic parties, on which the Government now had to rely for support in its foreign policy, demanded a Ministry which should not again be forced to make concessions to the German Nationals. Accordingly Luther, with his Ministry, resigned on December 5.

The Cabinet crisis with which the year closed was even more serious than that with which it had commenced. It seemed natural that the new Ministry should be formed from the parties which had undertaken the responsibility for the ratification, that is, the Social Democrats, the Democrats, the Centre, and the German People's Party. This would have meant the restoration of the "Big Coalition," with which Stresemann had governed in his August Ministry. As then, so now, such a consummation was highly desirable for the bourgeois parties on economic grounds as well as those of foreign policy, in spite of the unwillingness of the People's Party to recognise the fact. The economic plight of Germany had become much worse as the year went on. The financial exhaustion to which the country had fallen a prey through the inflation and the reactions of economic crises abroad were now first felt in their full strength, and in combination. The first of these factors had ruined the purchasing power of the home market and had dissipated the capital required for production or diverted it to wrong channels. On the other side, the export trade, owing to the fact that the purchasing capacity of foreign countries had also been diminished, and that German products had been too long strangers to them, could only recover gradually, although a steady increase was unmistakable. The general overstocking of the market caused an uninterrupted series of failures. The crisis led among other things to the dissolution of the Stinnes concern, which in the inflation period had grown to gigantic dimensions. It was the unsound concerns from this period which were particularly exposed to danger; but old undertakings which were regarded as well established were also drawn into the vortex. An enormous increase took place in the number of

unemployed ; in December the number of those receiving support rose to nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The necessity of grappling with the unemployment problem was one of the causes which made the middle-class parties anxious for the co-operation of the Socialists.

The prospects of winning over this party for a Coalition in which it should not be the leading factor were slight. There was no question that the economic situation drew the workers in numbers away from the Socialists to the Communists, who in the Prussian provincial and communal elections, on November 29, showed a marked increase for the first time since the spring of 1924. The Social Democrats could only make sure of retaining the workers under their banner if as governing party they should be able to carry through an extensive programme of social legislation. The programme which they drew up with this end in view was not regarded as feasible by the bourgeois parties, and especially by the German People's Party. A further problem, which now engaged public attention and which the Left and Right sides of the projected Coalition handled in quite different ways, was the question of compensation for the Hohenzollerns. The claims to certain properties put forward by the dynasty deposed in November, 1918, were decided by the courts in many places, particularly in Prussia and Thuringia, in a manner so highly favourable to the princes that in all non-monarchist circles an insistent demand was made to reduce the awards. The various parties drafted Bills for this purpose ; but the Social Democrats in their Bill adopted a radical standpoint which could scarcely be reconciled with the attitude of the German People's Party.

Under these conditions the attempt to reconstitute the Big Coalition failed. Fehrenbach, whom Hindenburg first entrusted with the formation of a Ministry, soon gave up the task. The Democrat Koch, who then made a determined attempt and drew up a programme for the Coalition, received a refusal from the Social Democrats on December 17, and further negotiations were then postponed to the New Year.

AUSTRIA

By the end of 1924 the Austrian Government had made but little progress in carrying out the undertakings which it had given to the League of Nations in September (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 186), and in his report in January the League of Nations Commissioner in Vienna, Dr. Zimmermann, complained of the slowness with which the work of reconstruction was proceeding. On February 7 Austrian delegates appeared before the League of Nations Financial Committee in Geneva to beg for consideration on the ground of Austria's difficulties, in particular the lack of long-term credits for her business undertakings and the difficulty of finding markets. The Finance Committee of the

League adopted a resolution noting that certain laws required under the agreement of September had not been passed, and insisting that the Austrian Finance Committee should exercise real control over the other departments. The delegates replied that they realised the importance of the Committee's representations, and would endeavour to carry them out.

In accordance with this promise, the Government immediately took energetic steps to bring the Provincial Governments more under the control of the Central Government, especially in fiscal matters—a reform to which the League Committee attached great importance. Most of the Provincial Governments showed themselves willing to submit their Budgets and taxation measures to the Central Government, provided the Vienna municipality, which ranked as a Province, did the same. This body, however, which was controlled by the Social Democrats, was jealous of its financial autonomy, and long stood out against the proposals of the Government. At length, after wearisome negotiations, the Government succeeded in coming to an arrangement with the party leaders and the representatives of the Provinces, as a result of which, towards the end of May, it laid before the National Council a number of proposals designed to regulate the relations between the Central and Provincial Governments on the lines demanded by the League of Nations Committee. By these proposals the respective spheres of action of the two parties were clearly defined; the financial measures of the Provincial Governments were made subject to the supervision of the Chief Court of Audit and to the veto of the Central Government; and a new apportionment of financial burdens between Central and Provincial Governments was instituted. The proposals were keenly debated, but Dr. Ramek, the Chancellor, by the exercise of great skill and tact, piloted them safely through the National Assembly before that body rose on July 30, although, as they involved changes in the Constitution, a two-thirds majority was necessary for their adoption.

While endeavouring to improve the internal administration, the Government did not slacken its efforts to induce Austria's neighbours to give greater facilities to Austrian imports. When the Austrian delegation went to Geneva in May to meet the Council of the League of Nations, Dr. Mataja, the Foreign Minister, had a conversation with Dr. Benes, the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, and pointed out to him that Austria's financial difficulties were largely due to the tariff policy of her neighbours. Dr. Benes replied sympathetically, but could promise nothing till the new Commission of investigation, which had recently been appointed by the League of Nations, had made its report. However, negotiations for trade agreements were continued with Czechoslovakia, and were opened soon afterwards with Yugoslavia and Hungary. Agreement was first reached with

Yugoslavia, on September 3, Austria receiving a tariff reduction of between 20 and 30 per cent. on certain goods. Negotiations with Czechoslovakia made progress, but were not completed so quickly, while with Hungary a deadlock was reached, owing to the inadequacy of the terms offered by that country.

Concurrently with the Government's endeavours to secure tariff concessions, an unofficial but influential agitation was carried on in favour of the "Anschluss" with Germany, as an alternative method of improving the economic situation. In January two prominent members of the Pan-German Party, Dr. Dinghofer and Dr. Franck, visited Germany in order to encourage the idea of a rapprochement, and found a sympathetic reception. In May there was founded in Vienna a German-Austrian "Arbeitsgemeinschaft," or Co-operative Committee, with an influential membership from all parties, especially the Socialists, for the purpose of working out a plan for the ultimate union of the two countries. These activities were viewed with disfavour in Czechoslovakia and also in Italy, where Signor Mussolini denounced them with characteristic vigour; and the Government was careful to dissociate itself from them. When the German-Austrian negotiations for the abolition of passport visas between the two countries broke down in May, the Austrian negotiators were strongly criticised in the National Assembly for losing such an opportunity of drawing closer to Germany. After a brief lull, due to a renewal of hopes in the League of Nations, the agitation revived, and at the end of August the Austrian-German People's League held a great demonstration in Vienna, which was attended by an influential German delegation headed by Dr. Löbe, the President of the Reichstag, and which showed great enthusiasm for the idea of Austria's union with Germany. In a debate in the National Assembly on October 13, the leader of the Opposition, Herr Leuthner, strongly attacked the Government for what he called their "sabotage" of the union of Austria to Germany. A vigorous reply by Dr. Mataja, the Foreign Minister, gave rise to a stormy scene, and the President was forced to adjourn the sitting.

During the first two months of the year the Ministry of Finance had succeeded in keeping the Budget deficit well within the limits allowed by the League of Nations, but subsequently expenditure rose more rapidly than revenue, so that the Budget figures for June, issued at the end of May, showed a deficiency of 9.49 millions of schillings (the new currency denomination, now officially used for the first time) on an estimated expenditure of 70.99 millions of schillings, which was more than the one-twelfth allowed under the Geneva scheme as revised in the previous September. Nevertheless, the League of Nations Council, at its meeting in May, consented to release 18 million dollars from the unspent balance of the loan for the electrification of the Austrian railways, which,

it was hoped, would contribute to reduce the number of unemployed.

At a meeting of the Chief Committee of the National Assembly in April, it was decided, with a view to obtaining more sympathetic consideration from the outside world, to approach the League of Nations with a request to appoint an expert Commission to examine Austria's economic condition. The League of Nations at the end of May consented, and a little later commissioned Professor Charles Rist, a French economist of distinction, and Mr. W. T. Layton, editor of the London *Economist*, to carry out the task. These two gentlemen went to Vienna at the beginning of July and spent about three weeks there. Their report, issued in September, was an exhaustive account of Austria's financial and economic position. They were on the whole hopeful regarding the country's future. They found that it was sharing in the general European recovery from the after-effects of the war, and that, in spite of the financial crisis of 1924, production had risen steadily ever since the krone had been stabilised. The most urgent need for Austria was to sell more goods abroad. For this purpose it was necessary for her to cheapen production costs and to dispense with unnecessary labour, even if this led to an increase of unemployment. But Austria's eventual recovery depended largely also on external economic conditions. It would be of advantage to her if the protectionist barriers of the surrounding States could be lowered, and it was essential to her progress that she should be assured of the continuance of foreign credits, which would only be forthcoming if confidence was created in the national banks, and in the internal political situation.

The report of the experts, after being considered by the League Finance Committee, was discussed by the League Council on September 10. After hearing statements from the Chairman of the Finance Committee and from the League's High Commissioner, Dr. Zimmermann, the Council decided that League control over Austria should terminate by July, 1926, with two reservations—(1) that the Foreign Adviser to the National Bank should continue in that capacity for three years afterwards; (2) that the League Council, by a three-quarters majority, should be entitled to re-establish control within ten years if the assigned revenue should fail to cover the service of the Reconstruction Loan, or if Budget equilibrium should be seriously menaced.

Great dissatisfaction was manifested by the Pan-Germans and the Socialists at the conditions attached by the League to the ending of control. The Government brought in a Bill for their acceptance, which it recommended as being necessary to enable Austria to secure foreign credits. The Socialists opposed the Bill, and proposed that, in order to maintain confidence, the loan service should be secured by other revenues in case of the pledged

revenues proving inadequate, and that the National Assembly should give the League a pledge never to resort to inflation till the international loan had been repaid. These suggestions were, however, rejected, and the Government Bill was eventually carried.

At the beginning of November, the Government was placed in a difficult position by a demand from all civil servants for a increase of pay equal to two months' salary, with the threat of strike in case of refusal. There were good grounds for the demand as the salaries of civil servants were very small, ranging from 5*l.* a month to a maximum of 35*l.* Dr. Ramek, in reply, pointed out that it was impossible for the Government to comply, as the limits of its expenditure were immutably fixed, and to grant the increase demanded would bring the expenditure on the Civil Service up to 20,000,000*l.*, which would only leave about 1,000,000*l.* for other purposes. He stated that if the threat of a strike were carried out, he would resign. After some negotiation, a settlement was reached on November 4 on the basis of a single advance to all officials at the beginning of the year of 28 per cent. of their salary. The increased expenditure was to be met partly by economies in other fields, especially education, and partly by obtaining permission from the League of Nations to draw on the funds under its control. In December the League allocated part of the sum requested, but decided that the rest should be held under the authority of the High Commissioner and given out when required, an arrangement which naturally did not make League control any more popular in Austria.

The Budget proposals of the Government, which were introduced in November, were strongly opposed by the Socialists on the ground that they did not make sufficient provision for unemployment pay. The Government, however, succeeded in getting them through just before the end of the year, and as revenue and expenditure balanced there was every prospect that League of Nations control would end in the coming year. The balancing of the Budget and the stabilisation of the currency seemed definitely to mark Austria's financial recovery. But economically her position was still highly precarious. Thanks to an excellent harvest and the extension of the use of water-power, there had been a considerable reduction in the number of unemployed, and the adverse trade balance was much less than in the previous year. The figures of both, however, were still disquietingly high, and Austrians could not yet claim that they had demonstrated their State to be beyond question what they called "*existenzfähig*."

Along with the Budget, the Government brought forward a Bill for modifying the restrictions on rent, justifying it on the ground that all other countries had already taken a similar step. The Socialists vigorously opposed the Bill on the ground that it would increase the cost of living, and their obstruction prevented it from being passed before the end of the year.

The Government nearly involved itself in serious trouble in the summer by encouraging the Zionists to hold their Congress in Vienna. The anti-Semitic Swastika Party threatened to create disturbances if the Congress were held, but the Government assured the Zionists that it would accord them adequate protection. They duly met at Vienna on August 17, and on the evening of that day the Swastika demonstrators organised a formidable riot, which it required the whole of the Vienna police force to quell. After that the meetings of the Congress were held in peace, but the incident led to bitter recriminations within the Christian-Socialist Party, the echoes of which did not subside for a considerable time.

The smooth course of Austria's foreign relations was twice ruffled momentarily during the year. In view of the assertions freely made in a portion of the European Press that the Communist plot to blow up the Sofia Cathedral in April had been hatched in Vienna, Dr. Mataja, the Foreign Minister, made a speech in which he strongly denounced the Soviet régime, characterising it as the enemy of all culture and religion. The Soviet Delegation in Vienna protested to the Austrian Government, which smoothed matters over by declaring that Dr. Mataja's remarks referred only to the activities of the Communist International in Vienna. A similar incident occurred in September, when the Italian Government protested against a speech made by a Socialist deputy in the National Assembly sharply criticising Italy. The Austrian Government apologised in a formal Note, and the matter was settled amicably.

CHAPTER V.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS — ESTONIA—LATVIA—
LITHUANIA — POLAND — CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RU-
MANIA — YUGOSLAVIA — TURKEY — GREECE—ALBANIA—BUL-
GARIA.

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

IMPORTANT departures in the field of social legislation were made by the Third Congress of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics held in May, in Moscow. In his report to the Congress M. Rykov urged that the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy) should be extended to the villages. The deliberations of the Congress were marked by the adoption of a new watchword: "Look to the countryside," and in the opinion of leading Bolshevik circles this tendency is the most significant feature in Russian life since 1921, when the N.E.P. was introduced as a means of regulating the economic conditions in the towns. The Congress adopted regulations permitting the suspension, when needed, of

the eight-hour day rule for agricultural labourers, and the leasing of additional land for a twelve-year term by special contract with the Government. M. Rykov pointed to the growing unemployment in the villages and the decay of the home industry of the "kustari," whose artistic products were once much appreciated. Thus the number of "kustari" in the Moscow district had sunk, since 1917, from 31,000 to 690, and in the Bogorodsk district from 51,000 to 620. The Congress, in response to his appeal, resolved to remove all obstacles in the way of the free development of these home industries, and the small village traders were likewise granted certain facilities, including exemption from onerous taxation. Another resolution declared that workmen who take over small factories and thus become "employers" should not be excluded from their unions and disfranchised.

At the Congress it was reported that the industrial and agricultural output of the country had reached 70 and 72 per cent. respectively of the pre-war standard. The Commissary of Finance stated that for the first time since the existence of the new régime the Budget (which for 1924-25 had amounted to 2½ milliards) had been balanced without a deficit. The Budget which he introduced for 1925-26 amounted to 8,440 million roubles, the Army and Navy Estimates standing at 6,245 millions. He estimated an Excise revenue of 8,257 millions, double the amount of the revenue in the fiscal year 1924-25. From October 1 the distilling of spirits of 40 per cent. proof was permitted. Officially, the object of this measure was stated to be to prevent the clandestine production of inferior liquor (the so-called "samo-gonka"), but the real object was to increase the Excise revenue. The Soviet Government was thus reverting to the fiscal expedients of Tsarist Russia. At the Communist Congress held in December in Moscow, M. Stalin, the Secretary of the party, declared that they had to choose between "slavery and drunkenness." As the Soviet Union could not obtain a loan from the "capitalistic Western States," she had to find out other ways and means to increase her revenues.

The Trotsky crisis (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER for 1924, pp. 189-190) ended with the removal of this leader from the post of Commissary of War. M. Frunse, who succeeded him on January 30, died on October 31 from the effects of an operation. His successor was M. Voroschilow, a former Commander of Moscow, and an avowed anti-Trotskyite. M. Trotsky returned in May from his exile in the Caucasus, and received great ovations at the Congress. He was appointed Head of the Technical and Scientific Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy, of the Central Electric Trust, and of the Committee of Concessions. The Commissariats for Foreign and Home Trade were put under the single supervision of M. Tziuriupa, one of the lieutenants of M. Rykov. This measure was adopted with the object of giving

a uniform direction to commercial policy. M. Rakovsky and M. Krassin exchanged their ambassadorial posts, the former going to Paris, whilst M. Krassin was appointed diplomatic representative in London.

On September 23 a new Conscription Law was introduced for the whole Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. By this the "working" elements of the population are obliged to serve in the Army from the ages of 19 to 40, while the other classes serve in "working battalions" or pay a military tax. The new law represents a combination of conscription and the militia system. Great attention was devoted to the political education of the Army. On July 29 a new programme for a two-years' term was worked out for training each member of the Army to become a convinced partisan of the Soviet system and agitator on its behalf. The Army consisted, in 1925, according to a statement of M. Frunse at the Congress in Moscow, of 562,000 men, of whom 80 per cent. were Communists. Members of this party were especially numerous among the higher ranks; 85 per cent. of the commanders of Army Corps are Communists.

In Siberia the first Congress of Soviets met on December 2 at Novo Nikolaiewsk. A Siberian Executive Committee and a Council of People's Commissaries were elected, and the first Siberian Soviet Government which was thus constituted took over power from the hands of the Revolutionary Committee of Siberia.

After protracted negotiations a Treaty was concluded with Japan on January 20, by which the latter gave *de jure* recognition to the Soviet Government. The Treaty was signed at Peking by M. Karakhan, the Russian Ambassador in China, and by M. Joshisawa. Japan returned the northern part of Sakhalin to the Union, but it received a concession to exploit 50 per cent. of the oil fields and coke minings on the eastern shore of the island. On February 21 the Treaty was ratified by the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. M. V. Kopp, former diplomatic representative of Soviet Russia in Berlin, went as Ambassador to Tokio. M. Karakhan continued his policy of strengthening the position of the U.S.S.R. in China. Close contact was established between the U.S.S.R. and the revolutionary party of Kuomintang in Canton, and a new Communist university was opened in Moscow specially designed for Chinese students. On January 12 negotiations were begun in Kabul with a view to establishing commercial relations between the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan.

Towards the end of the year an important Treaty was concluded in Paris between M. Tchicherin and the Turkish Foreign Minister, Tefwik Rushdi Bey, by which the U.S.S.R. and Turkey undertook to observe neutrality in case either of them should be attacked by a third Power. Both parties agreed, furthermore,

not to conclude any treaty or convention of a political, financial, or economic character which should be directed against the interests of the other. The Treaty, which was for a term of three years, was regarded in the political world as a counterblast to the Locarno Conference, which was viewed with deep suspicion in leading Bolshevik circles.

The periodic session of the Central Executive Committee (the "ZIK") of the U.S.S.R. was held in March in Tiflis, the capital of the Transcaucasian Soviet Republic, this place being chosen with the object of gaining sympathies in the East. At the Congress of the Soviets great pains had been taken to court favour with the delegates of the Asiatic Soviet Republics. For the first time a representative of a foreign Power was allowed to participate in a Congress of Soviets, in the person of the representative of the Mongolian Republic, who delivered a speech which was considered to foreshadow the adhesion of Mongolia to the U.S.S.R.

Another outstanding event in foreign politics was the conclusion of a two-years' Commercial Treaty with Germany on October 12, which was preceded by a Credit Agreement on October 6.

On the other hand, no diplomatic headway was made in France or Great Britain, or in the United States, which still refuses to recognise the Soviet Government. M. Tchicherin went to Warsaw for the purpose of negotiating an improved *modus vivendi* with Poland, and afterwards to Berlin in order to persuade the Germans not to go to Locarno. The close of the year found M. Tchicherin in Paris. A meeting with Mr. Austen Chamberlain with the object of discussing the Anglo-Russian problem, though announced several times in the Press, never took place. On his way back to Moscow, M. Tchicherin again carried on *pour-parlers* in Berlin, but they proved a failure.

Concessions were granted by the Government of the U.S.S.R. to the Lena Goldfields Company, which received not only the land and the factories formerly owned by it, but also rights for exploiting gold and various ores in other districts, to the British Ayan Corporation Company and to the Harriman Concern.

At the end of December the Fourteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, which is henceforth to be styled Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., was opened. A cleavage immediately showed itself in the party, the majority, under the leadership of M. Stalin, supporting the compromise made with the village population, whereas M. Zinoviev and M. Kamenev, the partners of the "Troika" (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1924, p. 189), upheld the claim of the industrial proletariat to the possession of the preponderating rôle in the State. The decisions of this Congress are bound to have far-reaching results, as the policy of the U.S.S.R. is really laid down at the Congresses of the Communist Party, which is the dominant factor in the State.

ESTONIA

The state of siege which had been introduced at the end of 1924 in consequence of the Communist rising ended on January 8, and peace and order were restored. The Cabinet of M. Jsaakson, which had relied on all parties, met with difficulties during the last session of the Parliament and resigned. On December 15 M. J. Teemants formed a new Cabinet without the Social Democrats, the People's Party, and the National Liberals. The Foreign Minister, M. Pusta, had already resigned in September, owing to disagreements with the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Diet. The portfolio of Foreign Affairs was taken by M. Teemants. Among the legislative acts of the Diet were included Laws on the Rights of Minorities, on Gold Balances, and several Agrarian laws.

Relations with Russia improved markedly. The General Secretary of the League of Nations, Sir Eric Drummond, visited the country on February 24 on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the independence of Estonia. The Chief Commander of the Army, General Laidoner, was appointed Head of the Commission of Enquiry of the League in Iraq. A Treaty of Arbitration was concluded with Germany. The Estonian debts to the United States and Great Britain respectively were consolidated. The Budget for 1926 balanced at 7,725 million marks, the new Government reducing its predecessor's Army estimates by nearly 500 million marks.

LATVIA

In October new elections to the Latvian Parliament (Saeima) took place. A hundred deputies were elected, representing 22 parties; 48 deputies belonged to various bourgeois groups; 37 were Socialists; and 15 were elected by the Minorities. M. J. Tschakste was re-elected President of the Republic, and Dr. P. Kalnin, President of the Parliament for the ensuing term of three years. After protracted negotiations, a Cabinet was formed under the Presidency of M. K. Ulmanis, an agricultural expert who had been the first President of a Cabinet in Latvia and had held this office several times. His Government attached much importance to the development of agriculture, and its programme included import duties on all luxury articles, the retention of the flax monopoly, reduction of the Civil Service, reduction of taxes and abolition of the income tax on agricultural land, and the raising of a loan abroad.

Latvia concluded commercial Treaties with Japan, in Berlin, on July 4; with Belgium, on July 7; and with Italy, on July 26. A provisional commercial Treaty was concluded with Lithuania on December 14. The Saeima ratified the Convention of Amity and Arbitration concluded between Latvia, Estonia, Finland, and Poland, on May 12, and the Convention of Extradition of Criminals between Latvia and Finland, on April 4.

LITHUANIA

On September 1 a Lithuanian-Polish Conference met in Copenhagen with the object of concluding an agreement regarding rafting on the Niemen river. The Polish negotiators put forward a demand that a Polish Consulate should be established in Memel. The Lithuanians objected, declaring that Poland's interests in the matter of rafting could be protected by the Consulate of a third Power to which a Polish official could be attached. Neither side would give way, and no settlement was reached. These pour-parlers led indirectly to the retirement of the Cabinet of Mr. Petrulis, on September 25. Through the mistake of an official of the Foreign Ministry, the instructions of the Cabinet reached the Lithuanian Delegation in Copenhagen too late. This caused an outcry in the country, owing to which the Cabinet had to resign. A new Cabinet was formed under the presidency of Dr. Eistras.

In February two Treaties were concluded with Germany regarding the Memel district, the one on civic option and the other on the transfer of railway materials.

The elections to the Diet (Seimelis) of the Memel district took place on October 19. The German candidates obtained the most votes. The Diet was opened on November 29.

The negotiations with the Holy See which had begun in the preceding year, in order to conclude a Concordat, were broken off in March on the conclusion by the Vatican of a Concordat with Poland by which the ecclesiastical district of Vilna was put under the supremacy of the Polish episcopate. This caused great indignation in Lithuania, and a Note of protest was sent to the Holy See.

Infractions of the Lithuanian Minorities Declaration also occurred during the year. Appeals were made by the injured Minorities to the League of Nations, and the matter came before the Council of the League in June and again in September. The Council expressed the hope that the Lithuanian Government "will succeed in dissipating any apprehensions which may still exist among the Minorities in the country, and in persuading them that the Government is firmly determined to apply the provisions of the Declaration of May 12, 1922."

POLAND

The year 1925 opened inauspiciously with an awkward dispute with the Free City of Danzig over the Polish letter-boxes put up on January 5 in the Free City. The Danzig Senate refused to recognise Poland's right to do this, and the matter was referred to the League of Nations. It was finally settled on May 16 by a decision of the Hague Court of International Justice upholding Poland's right to her own postal organisation in Danzig.

Polish public opinion was profoundly stirred by the proposals of the German Government put forward in February concerning the Western Pact of Mutual Guarantee. The fact that the German proposals in this original form envisaged an attempt at the revision of Poland's western frontier led to popular demonstrations throughout the country. In order to uphold the interests of his country, Count Skrzyński, on his return from a visit to the United States (July 14-August 5), entered into personal discussions with the statesmen of Western Europe—M. Briand, Mr. Chamberlain, and others. He also took an active part in the Conference at Locarno, and on behalf of Poland initialled the series of treaties concluded there. Count Skrzyński's Locarno policy found the necessary support in Poland, where his activities were approved by Parliament on October 21. Soon afterwards Poland gave a practical instance of her goodwill when, on November 1, the Government waived the right conferred by Treaty to expel those inhabitants of former German Poland who opted for German nationality. On December 1 Count Skrzyński represented Poland on the occasion of the formal signing the seven Locarno Treaties.

During the year Poland succeeded in improving still further her relations with all her neighbours except Germany. Even the relations with Danzig improved appreciably when the anti-Polish Senate in that city resigned on June 17, and was replaced on August 19 by one better disposed to Poland. A new attempt was made to bring to a conclusion the abnormal state of affairs existing between Poland and Lithuania owing to that country's refusal to recognise the settlement of Polish frontiers. A Conference between the representatives of Poland and Lithuania was arranged at first to take place at Copenhagen, but was postponed and finally convoked at Lugano on October 10. Unfortunately, the conciliatory efforts of the representatives of Poland were frustrated by the "non possumus" attitude of the Lithuanian delegates, and the Conference broke down on October 25 without having brought any results.

On the other hand, Poland's relations with Soviet Russia underwent a marked improvement accompanied by considerable practical results, such as, for instance, the establishment of postal and telegraphic communication between the two countries (March 9), and railway communication (July 18). An outward sign of the new spirit animating the two neighbouring countries was afforded by M. Tchicherin's three days' visit to Warsaw, where he arrived on September 27. Warsaw was also visited on April 20 by the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, M. Beneš, who, both on this occasion and others during the year, had most friendly conversations with the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The good relations between Poland and the Holy See were finally regulated by a Concordat which was signed in Rome on February 10 and ratified later in the year by both parties.

Finally, Poland's friendly relations with the Baltic Republics were further strengthened by the ratification by the Polish Sejm on July 13 of the Arbitration Convention between Poland, Estonia, Finland, and Latvia.

Commercial relationships were strengthened by the signing of the Treaty of Commerce with the United States on February 9, the Treaty of Friendship and Commercial Convention with Persia on March 15, the Commercial Treaty with Holland, of which the ratifications were exchanged on May 3, and also the Treaty of Commerce with Hungary, ratified on September 9.

In the sphere of internal affairs the year was marked by a successful settlement of various urgent and disturbing questions. Among the principal measures by which this was effected may be mentioned the understanding reached with the Jewish minority on July 4, the proclamation of an autocephalian Orthodox Church of Poland, and the final passing by the Sejm of the Agrarian Reform on December 28. These, in their turn, involved new groupings and combinations in party politics. The whole internal situation, however, was embarrassed by the immense difficulties of an economic and financial order with which Poland found herself confronted in the course of the year. The financial reforms undertaken in the preceding year by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance, M. Grabski, had, indeed, put the national finance on a sound basis, but this had to be paid for by an acute crisis which affected the whole economic life of the country. The stringency of credit caused by lack of capital put a great burden upon the industries of Poland, and in combination with Poland's adoption of the gold standard at the very outset of the financial reforms seriously hampered the competitive power of the country in foreign markets, so that in spite of a loan of 35,000,000 dollars obtained in America (February 2), the unfavourable trade balance led to the efflux of such monetary reserves as had been accumulated in the previous years. This again led to the decline of the Polish zloty currency, and the increasing acuteness of the crisis, with the growth of unemployment, caused great dissatisfaction with the administration of the Prime Minister, M. Grabski. Several attempts at partial reconstruction having failed, the Cabinet, after two years of office, finally resigned on November 13. The President of the Republic called upon the Foreign Minister, Count Skrzyński, to undertake the task of forming a new Government on November 16. After a first unsuccessful attempt, Count Skrzyński obtained the support of a majority in the Parliament, and formed his Cabinet on November 20 by effecting a Coalition of various parties including the Polish Socialist Party.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Continuity of policy, both in the home and the foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic, was secured during 1925 by the

fact that for the third year (since October, 1922) the Government was still carried on by Švehla's Cabinet, which was based upon a Coalition of five Czechoslovak parties, forming a majority in Parliament. The members of the Government also continued to be the leaders of the majority parties, and the few personal changes in the Government which took place in the course of the year (*e.g.*, in the spring Dr. Winter was appointed Minister of Social Welfare in place of G. Habrmann, who retired) did not denote any readjustment of political forces. But the disunion within the Coalition grew even more pronounced in the fifth year of the existing Parliament, and it became more and more difficult for the Prime Minister to achieve a compromise between the interests of parties with opinions and demands so diverse, both in economic and in purely political matters. The delays in legislation caused by these conflicts among the majority parties evoked severe criticism from the Opposition groups, *i.e.*, the Communists, Germans, Magyars, and Slovak Clericals. No single element of the politically disunited Opposition, however, was willing to assume the responsibility of government and replace any of the existing Coalition parties; the progress among the Germans towards active political co-operation had not yet advanced to the point at which any of their groups was ready to abandon its purely negative attitude, and thus the Coalition of the Czechoslovak parties remained the only possible Ministerial combination. The disagreements within the Coalition finally led to the premature dissolution of both Chambers on October 16, 1925, while Parliament had still some months to run.

In internal politics the principal question throughout the year was that of readjusting relations between Church and State, which had been a thorny problem ever since the downfall of the Hapsburg Monarchy. The Government parties were divided on the matter, the Radical groups favouring a separation of Church from State, while the Clerical (People's) Party was anxious to maintain the old conditions favourable to the Catholic Church. The somewhat anti-Socialistic pastoral letter of the Slovak bishops at the end of 1924 nearly brought about a serious crisis in the Government parties, and gave great offence in Socialistic and progressive circles. After long disputes within the Coalition a compromise was finally reached, the Clerical Party agreeing to accept a number of measures for the adjustment of the ecclesiastical question. The most important of these was the one dealing with the arrangement of holidays. This was passed at the end of March; it involved the discontinuance of a number of Church holidays and the establishment of State holidays and Republican anniversaries, among them July 6, commemorating the religious reformer, Jan Hus. This law, however, led the Government into further difficulties. When, for the first time in the present year, the Hus Day was celebrated in accordance with the terms of the

law, and the President of the Republic and members of the Government took part in the enthusiastic celebrations (which constituted a substitute for the 500th anniversary which, during the war, had been suppressed by the Austrian authorities) the Vatican regarded this as an act of hostility, and made it the occasion for a protest and for the ostentatious recall of the Papal Nuncio, Msgr. Marmaggi, from Prague to Rome. The Czechoslovak Government replied to this move by a proclamation vindicating the State sovereignty and recalling the Czechoslovak representative from the Vatican to Prague. The tension which was thus brought about between the Clerical Party, which defended the Papal policy, on the one hand and the remaining parties on the other, again led to a serious crisis, which the Czechoslovak Socialist Party accentuated by the withdrawal of one of its Ministers (Stribrny) from the Government as a mark of protest against the policy of Rome. The Clerical Party continued in the Coalition, but the conflict remained unsettled, both in the domain of home politics and that of diplomacy. Regular relations with the Vatican were not renewed, nor was any progress made in settling the politico-ecclesiastical question.

Difficulties were also caused by the question of agricultural tariffs which had been raised in the previous year but was then postponed to a later date. On this question there was considerable disagreement between the Republican (Agrarian) Party and the Social Democrats, who, instead of Agrarian tariffs, demanded a Bill for the social insurance of persons engaged in undertakings on their own account, since such a measure was essential to secure the success of the law relating to the insurance of workmen which had been passed in the autumn of the previous year. The Social Democrats finally yielded so far as to consent to grant protection to agricultural production in cases where a fall of prices of agricultural products might make it impossible to cover the cost of production, and on this basis the question of tariffs was finally settled. This compromise held the Coalition Parties together, but made the Social Democrats insistent on a new election at an early date.

In spite of the differences among its supporters, the Government succeeded in the first half of the year in drafting an important law for the social insurance of persons engaged in undertakings on their own account, as a complementary measure to the Workmen's Insurance Act of the previous year.

When Parliament met in the autumn, the short session hardly sufficed for the discussion of all the more important outstanding measures in the Coalition programme (the Budget, revision of civil servants' salaries, Government building grant, and excise reform). The change in the electoral system which had been proposed in the spring, and by which the Government desired to remedy the lack of cohesion among the parties in Parliament,

was carried out only to a very small extent. Amid the general weariness of parties, the State Budget for 1926 was quickly passed. On an expenditure of ten milliards of crowns it showed a small surplus (fifteen million crowns), and thus justified, to a considerable extent, the policy of economy adopted in the previous year. In the consolidation of foreign debts, progress was made by the conclusion of an arrangement for the funding of the debts to the U.S.A. (115 million dollars), and of an agreement with England for funding the Czechoslovak debts incurred by the repatriation of the Siberian army. In this connexion it should be added that the purchasing power of the Czechoslovak crown increased slightly during 1925, while its external (international) value remained unchanged. The balance of Czechoslovak foreign trade during 1925 was well on the credit side.

The foreign policy of Czechoslovakia in 1925 was concerned chiefly with consolidating the friendly relations with foreign States which had been already inaugurated in the previous years. The outstanding event of the year was the definitive settlement of relations with Poland. After the removal of the disagreements which had arisen first through the Teschen question and then in connexion with Javorina, the way was open for a friendly agreement on all questions. The series of treaties by which Czechoslovak-Polish relations were now adjusted culminated in an Arbitration Treaty signed by Dr. Beneš at Warsaw on April 23. By this treaty both States undertook in the case of any disagreements which might arise and which might prove impossible to settle by diplomatic means, to submit the matters in dispute to arbitration.

Negotiations with Hungary were not so successful, although progress was made in the preparations for the adjustment of commercial relations. The campaign of the Magyar legitimists and the affair of the forged banknotes towards the end of the year created a certain distrust of Magyar policy among neighbouring States, who continued to regard the continuous co-operation of the Little Entente as the best guarantee for their welfare and progress.

The network of Czechoslovak commercial agreements was extended in 1925 to include either temporarily or definitively a number of new countries—Greece, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Turkey, Bulgaria, Japan, and Belgium. Czechoslovakia was among the Powers which took part in the Locarno Conference. Apart from the general enhancement of European safety and the formation of a new atmosphere of peace, the significance of the Locarno agreement for Czechoslovakia consisted in the fact that all the previous guarantees for the existence and safety of the Republic were preserved (Little Entente Treaty, Treaty with France), and in addition to this a further guarantee was obtained by a new Western and Central European system of security.

A direct gain which the Czechoslovak Republic derived from Locarno was the Czechoslovak-German Arbitration Treaty, which definitively adjusted the relations of Czechoslovakia and Germany.

The Parliamentary elections, which took place on November 15, found no fewer than sixteen parties in the field. The one which returned strongest to the new National Assembly was that of the Czech Agrarians (45 deputies in the Diet, 23 in the Senate). Of the remaining Coalition parties the Czech Clericals gained considerably in comparison with the first election of 1920 (31 deputies and 16 senators), and the Czechoslovak Socialists slightly (28 deputies and 14 senators). Great losses, on the other hand, were suffered by the Czech Social Democrats, who returned to the new Parliament with only 29 deputies (14 senators), and also by the National Democrats (13 deputies and 7 senators).

The Coalition as hitherto existing thus gained only 146 mandates out of a total of 300 (74 out of 150 in the Senate). As other combinations were impracticable, the previous Czechoslovak parties were joined by the Traders' Party, which had gained in the elections, mainly at the expense of the National Democrats (13 deputies, 6 senators). With this accession they formed a majority (159 deputies, who were joined by 1 Polish deputy; 80 senators), and M. Švehla, the leader of the strongest Czech Party, was confronted with the difficult task of forming a new Government. After long negotiations he succeeded, on December 9, in forming a new Cabinet which, like the previous Cabinet, included in its 17 members two non-Parliamentary Ministers (Dr. Engliš for Finance and Dr. Kallay for Slovakia), co-opted in their capacity as experts.

The new Government met Parliament on December 17 with a declaration emphasising its intention to continue the policy of its predecessor. To ensure such continuity, a number of Ministers had been re-appointed from the preceding Cabinet (Dr. Beneš for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Winter for Social Welfare, etc.). The new Coalition was faced by the old Opposition, which was still as disunited as in the previous Parliament. Its most irreconcilable element was the Communists, who returned to the new National Assembly as the second strongest party (41 deputies and 20 senators), and they were joined by the German and Magyar parties who are not so decided in opposition, and by the Slovak Clerical Autonomists (23 deputies and 13 senators), who are not far removed from the left wing of the Government. The German parties themselves have split into two groups, one of which is inclined to co-operation with the Czech elements, and it was this section which was successful at the elections, *viz.*, the German and Magyar Agrarians combined (23 deputies and 12 senators), and the German Christian Socialists (13 deputies and 7 senators). It may therefore be assumed that progress has been made towards the fulfilment of the desire expressed by President Masaryk in

his New Year's message, that the internal consolidation of the Republic might be completed by winning over all its citizens to the idea of a Czechoslovak State.

HUNGARY.

From the point of view of national finance, 1925 was the most prosperous year for Hungary since the end of the war. The reports published by the Commissioner-General of the League of Nations, Mr. J. Smith, on the application of the financial reconstruction scheme of the League showed a surprisingly rapid recovery of the State finances, so much so that on February 12 the Financial Commission of the League authorised Count Bethlen to increase the salary of the civil servants considerably over and above the amount fixed for this purpose in the "reconstruction budget."

The full extent of the upward movement was only revealed when, on June 30, the Budget of the whole financial year (1924-25) was set forth by Mr. Smith in Geneva. According to this report, those State revenues (sugar, salt, tobacco monopoly and customs) which serve as a guarantee for the amortisation and interest of the reconstruction loan of 250 million gold crowns by themselves amounted to 229·5 gold crowns, that is to say, almost as much as the total of the loan itself, and seven times as much as was needed for its amortisation and interest. It was also announced on the same occasion that the 4 million gold crown loan advanced by the Bank of England to the National Bank of Hungary had been repaid in less than a year, and that the gold covering of the Bank had risen during the same period from 55 to 59 per cent., while 182·5 million gold crowns out of the 250 million loan had remained untouched.

In these circumstances, Count Bethlen felt justified in asking the Financial Committee of the League of Nations to liberate 100 million gold crowns out of this sum for productive expenditure. The Rumanian delegate vehemently opposed this project, accusing the Hungarian Government of spending too much on the Army and of falsifying the Budget by concealing under other titles the secret expenditure on propaganda and other purposes. Through the intervention of the chairman, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, an opportunity was immediately given to the Commissioner-General of the League for Hungary and to Count Bethlen to refute these accusations, which they did to the satisfaction of the Council. After this the Committee authorised Count Bethlen to use 30 million gold crowns for productive expenditure, and promised to liberate later another 30 millions, which it eventually did on December 30.

The bounty of Nature seconded the financial efforts of the Government. The 1925 harvest was, on the whole, excellent,

the value of the four principal agricultural products exceeding by 194 million gold crowns that of 1924, and the total value of exportable agricultural products being 385 million gold crowns.

The balancing of the Budget and the expansion of the State revenues could, however, only be achieved through extraordinarily heavy taxation of an already impoverished population. As taxes had to be paid mostly out of capital and not out of income, enormous sums were withdrawn from circulation, and commerce and industry suffered in consequence. One result of this was that the number of bankruptcies during the year was about 2,200, an extraordinarily high figure for a country of 8 million inhabitants. Another consequence was increased unemployment, the average for 1925 being about 265 for every 100 vacant posts.

The Government promised to come to the assistance of industry, commerce, and agriculture by undertaking public works and granting loans out of the Budget surplus and the 60 millions liberated by the League of Nations. These sums were, in themselves, small in comparison with the distress to be relieved, and the Liberal Opposition was not at all sanguine that they would be rightly applied, judging from the fact that the 38 million gold crown loan granted by Parliament on April 3 to agriculture and the 15 million gold crown Governmental loan granted to industry a little later rather helped certain politically powerful large enterprises and individuals than the people at large.

The charge was also repeatedly brought against the Government during this year by the Liberal Opposition that its general commercial policy and the unilateral taxation of the town population are largely responsible for the present state of affairs. On the other hand, the Commissioner-General of the League of Nations and the Council of the League repeatedly pointed out (February, April, and June) that an amelioration of the situation could only be expected if commercial Treaties were concluded with all countries adjoining Hungary. Nevertheless, only two such Treaties were actually ratified during this year—one with Poland (April 3), and the other with Italy (December 15). Repeated efforts were made by the Hungarian Government to come to similar agreements with Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, but the general mistrust felt by these countries (who allege, in excuse, the activity of the irresponsible Hungarian extremists) has prevented their conclusion. The commercial Treaties concluded with Spain (January 8), Greece (June 8), and China (November 10), were of secondary importance.

In other directions also great efforts were made throughout the year by Count Bethlen to strengthen the international position of Hungary. If these efforts were not always crowned with success, it was, according to public opinion in Hungary, because the Premier was inadequately seconded by his Secretary of State

for Foreign Affairs, even after the resignation of M. Szeitovsky from that position and his replacement by M. Walkó (April 3), and still more on account of the subversive activity of the various extremist and Fascist organisations of Hungary. Nevertheless, Hungary carried her point at the financial Conference of the Entente Powers in Paris (January 9), when Rumania's claims for supplementary reparations were rejected on the ground that the Trianon Peace Treaty had granted more Hungarian territory to Rumania than Rumania had a right to on an ethnic basis. On January 23 also, when it protested before the League of Nations against the form of military control exercised by the Entente in the country, Hungary won its case. Many a hard battle was also fought by Count Bethlen and Count Apponyi in Geneva (February, May, June), to ameliorate the situation of the Hungarian minorities living under foreign rule, but they obtained only a partial satisfaction from the side of Rumania in the form of a small indemnity to be paid to the Hungarian landowners whose properties had been confiscated by the Rumanian Government.

This series of diplomatic defeats at the hands of Hungary, as also an alleged agreement made by Hungary with M. Raditch, the Croatian politician, for the dismemberment of Yugoslavia (January 7), greatly incensed the "Little Entente," which gave full vent to its irritation at its Conference in Bucharest (May 9-12). Resolutions were there passed which accused Hungary of endangering the peace of Europe by maintaining secret armaments and carrying on subversive propaganda contrary to the conditions of the Trianon Treaty. The Hungarian Government was also accused of falsifying its Budget for the purpose of escaping the payment of reparations. As, however, none of these assertions could be proved, the international situation of Hungary was not compromised.

The position of Count Bethlen was much more difficult when he had to defend his Government before European public opinion against the accusations of his own compatriots. This was the case at the Conferences of the "Second International," held in Vienna on January 26, and later in the year at Marseilles, both of which passed very strong resolutions against the "reactionary methods" of the Hungarian Government; and the complaints addressed by the Kossuth Party to the "League of Human Rights" of Paris were equally incriminating. But the most uncomfortable time for Count Bethlen was when the question of the "numerus clausus" law (limiting the number of Jews at Hungarian Universities) came before the Council of the League of Nations (December 13). Count Klebelsberg, representing the Hungarian Government, only with great difficulty obtained an adjournment by undertaking to present a satisfactory report on the settlement of this question by the next session of the League.

The "numerus clausus" law was exploited by the "Little Entente" throughout the year as an argument against Hungary's claims for a better treatment of her national minorities. This, however, did not prevent the violently anti-Hungarian Professor Cuza, leader of the Rumanian anti-Semites, from coming to Budapest to discuss an international agreement, directed against the Jews, with the leaders of the Hungarian Fascists and similar organisations. As an outcome of the League of Nations' intervention in what is considered by these last to be an internal affair of Hungary, the extremists of the right wing protested violently in the House of Commons (December 15 and 16) and in the Press, claiming a reinforcement of the law and its extension to the professions to be exercised by the Jews. This and similar declarations of reactionary organisations compromised throughout the year the efforts of Count Bethlen to establish the democratic reputation of his régime, and it was, therefore, greatly regretted by democratic public opinion in the country that the only decoration granted since the war by Hungary to a foreign statesman should have been given to Signor Mussolini.

The direction of home affairs during the year put Count Bethlen's statesmanship to an even severer test than that of foreign policy.

At first, thanks to the abstention of the Liberal Opposition united in the so-called "Democratic Bloc," the laws introduced by the Government were voted one after the other practically without any opposition. These included the "Public Order" law in its new form, limiting the liberty of Press and public meetings (January 12), the creation of a Parliamentary Committee to supervise public expenditure (February 6), the indemnity of 1924 (February 27), the "physical training" law authorising the Government to levy taxes on the profits of horse races and other public sport meetings in order to procure funds for the obligatory physical training of youth under a sort of military discipline, the housing law for promoting building (March 30), and the law for granting loans to agriculture.

Meanwhile, the Parliamentary Committee appointed to report on the new electoral law introduced by the Government finished its deliberations, and, owing to the importance attached to this question by the Liberal Opposition, seven members of the "Democratic Bloc" decided to return to the House of Commons (May 6). This law, which, in the opinion of the Left, placed the suffrage on an even narrower basis than the one to which the present Government owes its power, was branded by the Conservative Count Apponyi as reactionary (May 14), and even Count Andrássy supported the cause of universal and secret suffrage against the Government project.

During the discussions on the Bill, the election of the new town council of Budapest took place, resulting in a considerable

majority for the parties belonging to the "Democratic Bloc" over the so-called "Christian Parties," headed by the well-known Fascist leader Wolff. This victory decided the whole of the "Democratic Bloc," including the Socialists, to participate again in the work of the House of Commons (May 26).

The fight against the electoral project of the Government thenceforth assumed an exceedingly violent form, and party feeling was raised to fever pitch by the sensational declarations of the ex-Minister Beniczky, one of the leaders of the Legitimist Party, concerning the Somogyi-Bacsó murder case. In one of his statements the Regent of Hungary, Admiral Horthy, was accused, in a hardly disguised form, of having participated in, if not having actually ordered, the murder of the two Socialist journalists. Count Bethlen being absent in Geneva, his colleague, M. Vass, protested energetically against the accusation, which was taken up by the whole Socialist Party in a most aggressive manner, while the Nationalist and Extremist Parties organised great public demonstrations in support of Admiral Horthy. The Government revenged itself by suspending the newspaper *Az Újság*, which had published Beniczky's declaration, while Beniczky himself was condemned to two years' imprisonment. These drastic measures, however, only envenomed the Parliamentary atmosphere, and the enraged Socialists, on June 8, introduced a Bill demanding the deposition of Regent Horthy and his replacement by a "State Council" composed of three members. This project was defeated by a combination of the Governmental Party with the extreme Right, although it had the secret approval of the Legitimists.

On his return from Geneva (June 14), Count Bethlen was obliged to yield to the Socialist pressure so far as to promise that the murderers of Somogyi and Bacsó should be brought to justice regardless of their personality and position. By this time, however, feeling was running so high in Parliament that it was only with the greatest difficulty that the 1925-26 Budget could be voted in time (June 27). The extreme Right, after the Communist plot discovered in July 9, demanded the dissolution of the whole Socialist Party, although it proved that it had nothing to do with the seven Communists arrested. The Socialists, on their side, throughout the session kept up a ceaseless agitation against the alleged partiality of the Courts, as proved once more, according to them, by the contrast in the treatment accorded to the Communists with the liberation of the presumed Fascist authors of the Csongrãd bomb outrage (May 26).

In spite of these difficulties, Count Bethlen was yet strong enough to force the electoral law through Parliament. He had, however, more difficulty in keeping in check the continual agitation of the united pro-Albrecht and Fascist-extremist organisations, as these had sympathisers and secret followers in his own

party, who prevented him from proceeding against the extremists and their Press with the same energy as against the Socialist and the Liberal Parties. Yet, according to these last, the followers of Archduke Albrecht had, in November, brought matters to such a pass that a Fascist "putsch," culminating in the declaration of a dictatorship, would have been inevitable if the intrigues of these irresponsible had not been discovered in time by the vigilance of the Liberals and the pro-Otto Legitimists.

Hardly had the panic and excitement caused by their revelations died down when the scandal of the French banknote forgeries again threw everything into commotion (December 18). The country was menaced with new complications, both internal and external, alike on account of the position of the forgers (all of them leaders of the Fascist and pro-Albrecht organisations) and the irredentist patriotic motives invoked by them in their defence. This time, however, Count Bethlen acted with energy, regardless of the personality and influence of the criminals, and initiated a campaign of purification which, it is hoped, will help towards the consolidation of Hungary's position in the coming year.

RUMANIA

The brothers Bratianu, as heads of the Liberal Party, succeeded in maintaining themselves in power throughout 1925. In January, two of the other parties, the National Rumanian Party, led by M. Maniu, and the Nationalist Democratic Party, led by Professor Jorga and M. Argetoianu, effected a fusion, but General Averescu, as head of the People's Party, refused to unite with them for the purpose of turning the Government out. In May the National Party announced that it would act in concert with the Peasants' Party to overthrow the domination of the Liberal Party, and on the 20th of that month a meeting of protest against the Government was attended by 15,000 people. In Parliament itself, the Opposition alternately used obstructionist tactics or absented themselves from the sittings.

To allay popular discontent, the Government, on June 12, introduced a far-reaching Franchise Reform Bill in the Chamber. The new measure instituted secret, direct, and practically universal suffrage, under a system of proportional representation, and made voting compulsory under the penalty of a fine. It also provided for a revision of the electoral registers every year. These democratic concessions were, to some extent, offset by a proposal that a large number of Senators should be not elected, but nominated *ex officio* from various classes of Government employees.

M. Vintila Bratianu, as Minister of Finance, continued his efforts to restore financial stability to the country. Early in the year he visited Paris, London, and America for the purpose of raising a loan, but without success. In May he brought forward

a Bill for prolonging the privileges of the National Bank for twenty years, and for ratifying certain Conventions between this Bank and the State. Both he and the Governor of the Bank asserted that they were pursuing a financial policy which was modelled on that of the Bank of England, and had the approval of that body, and which would bring the currency back to par in ten or fifteen years. The Opposition parties charged M. Bratianu with sacrificing the economic interests of the country to those of the Bank, but he had the support of the Liberal Party, which was dominant in the Chamber. In the autumn Rumania followed the example of a number of other countries by opening negotiations with the United States for funding her War Debt to that country. An agreement was concluded in November fixing the debt at the equivalent of about 9,000,000*l*.

Discontent among the racial minorities did not abate during the year. That the King himself was gravely concerned about the problem was shown by his making some remarks at a function in Transylvania in October to the effect that the feelings of religious and racial minorities ought to be respected. Coming from a monarch who usually exercised great reserve, this observation attracted much attention.

Rumania's relations with foreign countries were not altogether happy during 1925. The tension with Russia over Bessarabia became, if anything, more pronounced. In view of possible trouble in that quarter, a new Army Bill was passed early in the year giving the Government power to mobilise at any moment, and to control all communications and private businesses of any military importance, and establishing a special Council of Defence. Rumania's relations with Russia led to friction with Italy. The Soviet Government, early in March, warned Italy through a Press communique, if she valued Russian friendship, not to ratify the Bessarabian Treaty which had been concluded in 1920 between Rumania and the four Allied Powers (England, France, Italy, and Japan), and which, in effect, assigned Bessarabia to Rumania. Although the Soviet Government soon afterwards stated that the communique containing the warning was not really official, Italy refrained from ratifying the Treaty, and her relations with Rumania, in consequence, became strained.

Rumania's long-standing dispute with Germany, over the redemption of the notes issued by that country during her occupation of Rumania in the war, also took a turn for the worse in this year. Rumania decided, early in the year, to press her claim for redemption, but the German Government would only accede partially to her demands. The Rumanian Government thereupon decided to liquidate German property in Rumania, impose an exceptional customs duty of 26 per cent. *ad volorem* on German goods entering Rumania, and otherwise make economic war on Germany.

The "Little Entente" held its Conference in Bucharest on May 9, 10, and 11, showing that Rumania still possessed some friends. But even with these differences of opinion, arose later in the year over the question of the treatment of minorities.

A sensation was caused towards the end of the year by the action of the Crown Prince Carol in renouncing his title to the Throne in favour of his son Michal. The renunciation was accepted by the Crown Council and Parliament.

THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

The year 1925 showed a marked improvement in the settlement of the internal political situation of the country, although a considerable tension existed for some time between the Government and the Raditch (Croatian Peasant) Party. The Coalition Government, formed by Pasitch and Pribichevitch on November 6, 1924, fixed the elections for February 8, 1925. The electoral campaign, which lasted three months, was very intense, being directed against the Opposition, and more especially against the Raditch Party which, by virtue of the Defence of the Realm Law, was dissolved at the beginning of January, 1925, and declared illegal for having been in touch with the Moscow Peasant International. There followed numerous arrests of the party leaders.

In spite of this, the candidates of the Raditch Party were allowed to stand, as there was an agreement between the Opposition and the party by which it was decided that the Raditch followers should otherwise vote for the Opposition candidates. The election resulted as follows: Government Parties (National bloc), 162; Opposition Parties, 153; Government majority, 11.

The Government Parties in the new Parliament consisted of 141 Radicals and 21 Pribichevitch Democrats; and the Opposition of 67 Raditchists, 37 Davidovitch Democrats, 20 Slovene Clericals, 15 Moslems, 5 Agrarians, 5 Germans, and 3 Montenegrin Federalists.

The first session of the Skupstina was held on March 7. In the meantime, the Verification Committee had to decide as to the validity of the elected candidates. The original intention of the Committee was to annul the mandates of the whole Raditch Party, but this was found to be impossible, and the Committee finally decided that the mandates of the Raditch deputies elected for the first time should be confirmed, and the mandates of Raditch and five interned deputies should be cancelled.

At the meeting of the Skupstina on March 27, Mr. Pavle Raditch, nephew of Stephen Raditch, leader of the Croatian Republican Peasant Party, made a very important statement regarding the new policy of the party. He renounced the Republican ideas of the party, and approved and accepted the monarchical system of the country, and the existing Constitution. This

statement marked the first step in the *rapprochement* with the Radicals. Soon afterwards, in April, a meeting of the representatives of the Croatian Peasant Party, held in Zagreb, endorsed that statement as the new policy of the party.

In the course of May and June, negotiations between representatives of the Radical and Croatian Parties were carried on in Zagreb for an agreement between those parties with a view to collaboration in the Government. These negotiations were protracted owing to the refusal of the Raditchists to enter the Government if Pribichevitch Ministers should also sit in it. An agreement was, however, reached and signed on July 11, by which the Serbo-Croatian Coalition was assured. The Radicals, therefore, decided to rescind the agreement which existed between themselves and the Pribichevitch Democrats, and thus, on July 18, a new Government was formed by Radicals and Raditchists.

The formation of the new Government marked a turn in political events and a reconciliation between Serbs and Croats. Mr. Raditch, who was in prison for six months, was set free at the end of July, and in September was sent as one of the members of the Delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes to the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The Parliamentary recess occupied the month of September, and the Skupstina assembled for the ordinary session on October 20, when several important Bills were passed.

The remainder of the year was occupied with the Parliamentary work of the new Government, and political interest centred on the anticipated reconstruction of the Cabinet, which finally resulted in the entry of Mr. Raditch as Minister of Education, in the place of Mr. Vukichevitch, who tendered his resignation at the end of November.

By this change in the Cabinet, the position of the Government became stronger, but by far the most important event in the domestic policy of the Kingdom was the agreement reached between Serbs and Croats, which greatly strengthened the internal situation.

The external situation was, on the whole, much easier during the year. In February, the relations with Albania were greatly improved through the change in the Albanian Government. Ahmed Bey Zogu showed a more amicable attitude to Serbia, and he settled the question of the St. Naoum monastery in favour of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in return for a slight rectification of the Albanian frontier in the north. (See under Albania.) Relations with Bulgaria remained comparatively unchanged, while with Greece, negotiations were opened in February for the renewal of the alliance. These were continued in May, but without success. The question of the Yugoslav zone in Salonica, the exploitation of the Ghevgheli-Salonica railway, and the special convention regarding the Slav element in Greek

Macedonia were under discussion during those negotiations, but as their solution was considered a necessary preliminary to the renewal of the alliance, no acceptable agreement could be found.

The friendly relations with Italy, which were consolidated by the Nettuno Treaty of July, whereby the outstanding problems between the two countries were settled, were slightly disturbed by the attack of the Fascists on the Slovene newspaper office *Edinost* at Trieste, and the counter-demonstration of students in two Dalmatian towns and in Zagreb, in November. These incidents were, however, amicably settled, and the general friendly relations between the two countries remained unaffected.

A Treaty of Friendship was concluded with Turkey and a Commercial Treaty with Austria. The Turkish Foreign Minister, Rushdi Bey, visited Belgrade in December, and the outstanding questions between the two countries were settled.

Economic progress during the year was likewise maintained. The productivity of the country steadily increased; the exports exceeded the imports; the Budget, which amounted to 12,276 million dinars, was balanced by the State receipts, and the exchange of the dinar was maintained at 275 to the pound.

TURKEY

The new constitution promulgated in 1924 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 211) worked on the whole smoothly during the ensuing year. No political or social changes of magnitude were introduced during 1925. The chief new step taken by the Government in the process of Westernisation was a prohibition of the wearing of the fez, and an order to substitute some European head-dress. The results of the order were not without their comic side, as those who obeyed it were often not particular about the style which they adopted. Many, however, stubbornly refused to discard the fez, and severe penalties were required to enforce on them compliance with the new rule. A law was also passed, to come into force in 1926, abolishing polygamy.

Grave anxiety was caused to the Angora Government by a Kurdish revolt which broke out towards the end of February. Its leader was one Sheikh Said, who had given the Turks trouble before, and its professed object was to restore the Sacred Law of Islam with which the Angora Government had tampered so sacrilegiously. This was an object with which strong sympathy was felt in many quarters in Turkey, including the gendarmery and the army, from which there was a considerable desertion to the insurgents. Adherents of the deposed Sultan and the Caliphate also joined the revolt. The centre of the disturbance was in the region bordering on the Mosul vilayet on the north and north-west, but all the Kurdish vilayets were reported to be more

or less affected. The Government proclaimed martial law over a wide area, but otherwise the Ministry of Fethi Bey showed itself inclined to temporise with the situation. A section of the Chamber, which had the support of the President of the Republic, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, demanded more energetic measures, and through their opposition, on March 2, Fethi Bey was placed in a minority and forced to resign. A new Government was formed by Ismet Pasha, and on March 4 obtained a vote of confidence, along with special powers for dealing with the rebellion, and also with all movements and intrigues, which were alleged to be widespread throughout Turkey, for subverting the Republic.

In virtue of these powers the Government set up two tribunals—one to be sent to Kurdistan endowed with summary powers of life and death; the other, sitting at Angora, to investigate and punish counter-revolutionary activities in Turkey itself. It also made extensive military preparations for suppressing the revolt. These were not completed till near the end of March. The insurgents, however, had already received a severe check at Diarbekr, the garrison of which successfully withstood their assault.

By the beginning of April the Turks had an overwhelming superiority of forces in the field, with the aid of which they rapidly brought the revolt to an end. The insurgents were defeated at Darahni, near the town of Mush, and in the middle of April Sheikh Said and a number of other leaders were captured between Mush and Varto. Along with other prisoners, they were brought before the revolutionary tribunal at Diarbekr, on May 27, and charged with conducting a Nationalist rising. Sheikh Said and forty-seven of his followers were found guilty on June 28 of treachery against the Republic, and were hanged on the next day at Diarbekr. The demobilisation of the army in Kurdistan had already begun, and was soon after completed.

The dispute which had arisen between Turkey and Greece in the previous year on the precise meaning to be given to the word "established" as applied to Greeks resident in Constantinople (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 214) ended in favour of the latter country. On February 21 the Court of International Justice at the Hague, to which the question had been referred, gave an advisory decision that the word "established" as used in this connexion in the Treaty of Lausanne, was intended to have its generally accepted meaning. The effect of this decision was that Turkey would be prevented from ejecting from Constantinople many thousands of an alien race whom she regarded as the emissaries of a foreign Power, and as a potential danger to her stability.

On January 30 the Turkish Government summarily expelled from Constantinople the newly-elected Patriarch Mgr. Constantine, on the ground that he was an "exchangeable" Greek. The

Greek Government, in response to popular clamour, took up his cause, and appealed to the League of Nations on his behalf. Turkey refused to submit the matter to the League's consideration, on the ground that it was one of purely domestic concern, but declared herself willing to recognise a properly elected Patriarch who should not belong to the "exchangeable" category. On March 16 she went a step further, and exempted from the exchange, for purposes of the election, a certain four of the Metropolitans who fell under that disability. The Synod tried to induce Mgr. Constantine to resign, and the Greek Government, finding the League of Nations unwilling to intervene, added its persuasions. Mgr. Constantine, after remaining obstinate for a considerable time, finally resigned on May 19, and arrangements were then made for the Synod to meet in July to fill the vacant office.

Turkey's prospects of recovering peaceably the vilayet of Mosul, on which she had so set her heart, became decidedly fainter in the course of the year, owing to the combined action of the League of Nations and Great Britain. The Commissioners appointed by the League of Nations to report on the disputed frontier between Turkey and Iraq came to Angora early in January, and proceeded thence to Bagdad and Mosul, accompanied by Jevad Pasha as Turkish assessor. The Turks had a strong friend on the Commission in the person of the Hungarian Count Teleki, who saw that nothing was overlooked which could tell in their favour. In spite of this fact, the Report of the Commission, which was issued at Geneva on August 7, was far from answering their expectations. It declared that the best solution of the problem was for the vilayet of Mosul south of the "Brussels line" (the line which, according to the League's decision, had served as the provisional frontier since the Turkish irruption in the previous year) to be joined to Iraq on condition that Great Britain was willing to prolong her mandate over the country for a further period of twenty-five years. Only if Great Britain refused this responsibility did the Commission recommend that the vilayet should revert to Turkey.

On September 3 Tewfik Rushdi Pasha, as Turkish delegate, stated before the Council of the League of Nations the attitude of his Government to the Commission's Report. He first of all charged the British Government with adopting a course of calculated intimidation towards Turkey by holding naval manœuvres in the Eastern Mediterranean, and similar steps, and by sending aeroplanes over the neutral zone in Iraq. Having heard Mr. Amery's pronouncement that the British Government was willing to continue its mandate over Iraq as long as necessary, provided that the British frontier claims were accepted, he proceeded to criticise the findings of the Commission on various grounds, though he thanked it for inserting a statement that "from a legal point of view the disputed territory must be regarded as an

integral part of Turkey until that Power renounces her rights." Taking his stand on this, he argued that Article 22 of the League, governing the granting of mandates, applied only to a territory already removed from its preceding sovereignty, a condition which, by the Commission's own statement, did not apply to the territory in dispute between Turkey and Great Britain. Consequently, he maintained, the League by its own articles was precluded from arbitrating on the frontier of that territory. This point was further elaborated in a long memorandum which the Turkish Delegation on September 9 lodged with the Secretary-General of the League.

On September 19 Mr. Amery asserted before the Council of the League that in the previous September both Britain and Turkey had pledged themselves to accept the Council as an arbitrator in the dispute whose decision would be binding. Rushdi Bey replied that the pledge given by Fethi Bey on that occasion was conditioned by a verbal statement made by Lord Curzon three years before, and, further, that the pledge had not been ratified by the Angora Government, and therefore was not binding. Turkey, he added, was willing to accept the League as mediator, but not as arbitrator.

On September 15 the British delegation at Geneva informed the Council that Turkish troops were forcibly removing the Christian population from the area between the "Brussels line" and the line claimed by Great Britain, and committing other offences. The Turks denied the allegations, and on September 28 the Council commissioned the Estonian General Laidoner to investigate the matter on the spot. General Laidoner, on December 10, presented a report stating that mass deportation, accompanied by violence and outrage, and even massacre, had in fact taken place in the period alleged in the area north of the "Brussels line."

After long hesitation, and only after being assured of its competence by the Hague Tribunal, the Council of the League on December 16 delivered an arbitral award assigning to Iraq the Mosul vilayet south of the "Brussels line," on condition that Great Britain would prolong her mandate over the country for a further twenty-five years, or as long as necessary, and declaring that with this award Turkish sovereignty over the district south of the "Brussels line" automatically came to an end. The Turkish delegation, knowing beforehand what the decision would be, did not attend the meeting. Instead, Rushdi Bey wrote a letter in which he declared that the Turkish Government would not accept the Council's decision, and that the Turkish right to sovereignty over the Mosul vilayet would be maintained in spite of the Council's award. The Turkish Press, too, in spite of a conciliatory speech from Sir A. Chamberlain, showed great hostility to the award, and indulged in some bellicose language. The Government, however, remained silent.

While waiting at Geneva for the decision of the League Council, Rushdi Bey made a flying visit to Paris, and saw there M. Tchicherin, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs. On December 17 he went to Paris again, and on the same day signed a Treaty on behalf of the Turkish Republic with the Russian Soviet Republic. The Treaty provided for nothing more than neutrality between the contracting Powers in case of action against either by a third Power or group of Powers. Nevertheless, it was hailed with great satisfaction in Turkey as a set-off against the Mosul award, and the unity between England and France shown at Geneva.

GREECE

The Government of M. Michalakopoulos, which had been formed in September of the previous year, maintained itself in office altogether for a little more than eight months. It rapidly lost the confidence both of the public and the army, owing to its failure to purify the administration, and its weak handling of foreign affairs. On February 3 the Greek Chamber unanimously rejected ratification of a Protocol which had been signed in the previous September for the protection of the Bulgarian minority in Macedonia. The rejection was due chiefly to a desire to placate Yugoslavia, which had reasons of its own for objecting to the Protocol, and which had brought pressure to bear on Greece by abrogating its existing Treaty of Alliance with that country. The Greek Government immediately set on foot negotiations for concluding a new Treaty of Alliance with its formidable neighbour. Among the demands made by Yugoslavia were Yugoslavian control of the railway from Ghevgeli, in Yugoslav territory, to Salonica; the extension of the Yugoslav zone in the port of Salonica; and recognition by Greece that the Slav population in Greek Macedonia were Serbo-Slavs, and not Bulgar-Slavs. Greece saw in these demands a threat to her territorial integrity, and as neither side would make concessions on these points, the negotiations broke down on June 1.

By this time discontent with the Government was coming to a head. As it retained the confidence of the Chamber, its opponents resorted to methods of violence to procure its downfall. The first attempt of this nature was made by two brothers named Yayades, notorious brigands, who on June 5 landed with about 150 men from the Dodecanese Islands on the island of Samos, and after disarming the garrison and seizing the Post Offices, issued a manifesto demanding the resignation of the Government at Athens. The Government sent troops to the island, which succeeded in restoring order after some days. Meanwhile, however, it was being greatly embarrassed at home by the political activities of an organisation of military officers, who demanded a greater expenditure on war material and the

adoption of a bolder and more uncompromising attitude towards the demands of Yugoslavia in regard to the Ghevgeli railway and Salonica. On June 11 M. Michalakopoulos resigned with his Cabinet, but three days later took office again with the same colleagues, and on June 16 received a vote of confidence from the Chamber. This, however, availed him nothing. On the day before, General Pangalos, the stormy petrel of Greek politics, had issued a bombastic statement in a Republican newspaper threatening the Government with reprisals if it should venture to discipline the offending officers, and giving the Prime Minister ten days in which to vacate office again. As the Government ignored this demand, General Pangalos took steps to enforce compliance. On the morning of June 25, when the ten days expired, Athens awoke to find troops in occupation of important centres in the city. In the forenoon General Pangalos, on behalf of the Army, and Admiral Hajikyriakos, on behalf of the Navy, each sent an ultimatum to the President of the Republic demanding the resignation of the Government by 4 o'clock in the same afternoon, threatening to bombard the President's Palace and the War Office in case of refusal. The Government had no option but to obey, and it resigned immediately. On the next day General Pangalos formed a Cabinet with himself as Prime Minister and Minister of War, and Admiral Hajikyriakos as Minister of Marine and of Foreign Affairs *ad interim*. In a proclamation which he issued to the Greek people, General Pangalos claimed that his action had their support, and he promised that the new Government would give good administration, equality, security, and justice, and that speculators would be subjected to "merciless treatment." The public took the change calmly, and seemed disposed to give the new Government a fair chance without resenting the methods by which it had been imposed on them.

On July 2 General Pangalos strengthened his Cabinet by the inclusion of M. Rentis, a politician of repute who had been a colleague of M. Venizelos at the Paris Peace Conference, and who now took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Admiral Hajikyriakos. Immediately after entering office, M. Rentis made a statement to the Press in which he justified the *coup d'état* on the ground of the incompetence of the National Assembly. That body had been elected in 1923 for the purpose of establishing the Republic and settling the new Constitution. It should have completed its mission and made way for a normal Parliament long before; and as it had not done so, the present Government had seized power in order to set affairs in order and hold the general elections as soon as possible under a system of proportional representation.

The new Government lost little time in getting rid of the National Assembly. On September 29 Admiral Condouriotis, the

provisional President of the Republic, signed the new Constitution, which was promulgated and came into force on the following day, before being ratified by the National Assembly.. According to its provisions, the President was to be elected for a term of five years : the Senate was to consist of 150 members—100 to be elected by Parliamentary electors, 30 by the various Guilds, and 20 by the Chamber and Senate ; and proportional representation was to be introduced. On September 30 the National Assembly was dissolved by a decree of the Government, accompanied by a statement that it had forfeited the confidence of the people, and that the date of the elections for the new Assembly would be announced subsequently.

The indefinite postponement of the elections roused suspicions in many quarters that General Pangalos was aiming at a dictatorship. On this ground he was criticised with great violence in a manifesto published by the Democratic Union, the leader of which was M. Papanastassiou, a former Prime Minister. For his share in the manifesto and as Political Editor of the paper which published it, M. Papanastassiou was sent for trial by court martial, but owing to popular outcry the trial was cancelled on October 5, two days before it should have taken place. On the same day the Government placed the country under martial law, a measure which automatically established a censorship of the Press. Shortly afterwards the Government got rid of a troublesome opponent by having General Plastiras conveyed to Brindisi, without, however, formally banishing him. On the other hand, during November, General Pangalos had several conferences with Party leaders, as a result of which two Royalists were given places in the Cabinet.

In accordance with General Pangalos's threat to "mete out merciless treatment to speculators," the Government soon after its accession to power issued a decree ordaining special processes of law for this crime, including complete secrecy for accusers, summary trial *in camera*, and a maximum penalty of death by hanging. One of the first attempts to put this decree into execution led to somewhat unfortunate results. The Greek Refugee Loan, issued under the auspices of the League of Nations for settling the Greek refugees from Thrace and Asia Minor in Greece, had proved a great success, the London portion, of 7,500,000*l.*, having been subscribed twenty-three times over in the previous December. With this money the work of settling the refugees went on apace, till one day in August the Greek Government ordered the arrest of several high officials of the Refugee Settlement Commission on a charge of peculation of its funds. The arrests led to the immediate cessation of Refugee housing operations in Macedonia, as the President of the Commission denied the right of the Government to bring officials of the Commission within the scope of the special decree. The

Government, in order not to hold up the work of the Commission, gave way early in September, and agreed that the accused officials should not come under the special processes provided in the decree, but should be tried before the regular Courts. This, however, was not made a precedent for others. In November a number of persons were arrested and brought to trial under the new decree. Three were condemned to death by hanging, and General Pangalos insisted on the sentence being carried out on two of them, although their offences had been committed before the issue of the decree, when the legal penalty was not so severe. General Pangalos followed up this exhibition of firmness by issuing two edicts, to take effect on January 31, 1926, providing summary and rigorous penalties for the evasion of taxation.

On July 30, M. Nintchich, the Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs, in an interview which he gave to an Athens newspaper, expressed the desire of Yugoslavia to reopen negotiations with Greece for a Treaty of alliance, and denied that his country had any designs on the territorial integrity of Greece. Negotiations were resumed in the third week of September; on October 9 it was reported that Yugoslavia had consented to the Ghevgeli-Salonica line being worked by a French company, but this was afterwards found to be incorrect, and by the end of the year no agreement had been reached.

The refusal of Greece early in the year to ratify the Protocol with Bulgaria regarding the national minorities led to an estrangement between the two countries which in the autumn came near to producing very serious results. The frontier district near Demirhassar was the scene during the summer of considerable unrest, which culminated on October 19 in an affray between Greeks and Bulgarians in which a Greek officer and three Greek privates lost their lives. Without waiting for an explanation, the Greek Government, on October 21, presented an ultimatum at Sofia, demanding an indemnity of two million francs, an apology, and the punishment of responsible officers. Bulgaria having failed to signify compliance within forty-eight hours, the Greek Third Army Corps advanced with artillery and aeroplanes, and occupied a strip of Bulgarian territory some 20 miles in width and 5 miles in depth, doing a great deal of damage to life and property. The Bulgarian Government, on October 23, appealed to the League of Nations, and the next day the Greek Government formally accepted League intervention, though General Pangalos refused to comply with M. Briand's request to withdraw the Greek troops from the occupied territory. However, on the intervention of Rumania, and in response to further requests from the League, the Greek troops were actually withdrawn on October 29.

The League of Nations with all despatch sent out a Commission with Sir H. Rumbold as President to investigate the affair, and

no further hostilities took place. The Commission, in its report issued on December 3, stated that the affair began as an ordinary frontier incident, which was reported in an exaggerated form to the Greek General Staff, leading it to believe that an attack in force was really contemplated by the Bulgarians. It absolved both parties from premeditation, but found that the Greek Government had occupied Bulgarian territory and so violated the Covenant of the League, but that the Bulgarian Government had not committed a similar offence. In accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, the League of Nations, on December 7, decided that Greece should pay 45,000*l.* compensation to Bulgaria within two months, and that a Conciliation Commission comprising Greek, Bulgar, and neutral officers should be established to keep peace on the frontier. Greece, on December 15, accepted the League's decision, but asked that the indemnity should not be paid in cash but deducted from the reparation payments due to her from Bulgaria under the Treaty of Neuilly, a request which the Council refused.

Great indignation was caused in Greece by the action of Turkey in expelling from Constantinople, at the end of January, the newly elected Œcumenical Patriarch, Mgr. Constantine VI., on the ground that he was an "exchangeable Greek." The Greek Government, which saw in this action a blow to Greek influence in Constantinople, brought the matter before the League of Nations, but that body, finding Turkey strongly against intervention, advised it to settle the matter with Turkey if possible without its aid. The Greek Government accordingly, in order not to jeopardise the whole position of the Patriarchate, advised Mgr. Constantine to resign.

ALBANIA

Albania, in 1925, was once more under the domination of Ahmed Zogu, who had been driven from the country in the middle of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 228). Towards the end of the year he returned with Serbian support, and entered Tirana on December 24. Meeting with no resistance, he took the title of Commander-in-Chief of the Forces and First Minister. On January 19 he convoked the National Assembly, which Fan Noli had declared to be dissolved, proclaimed the Republic (January 21), and had himself elected President for a period of seven years. He caused the new Constitution to be passed, and proclaimed Tirana the capital of Albania (January 31).

The first result of Ahmed Zogu's seizure of power was the disbandment of the Albanian army, which had taken sides against him in July, and its replacement by irregular volunteers from Dibra, who had lent him their support.

The new President made it his chief object to be on good

terms with three Powers—Yugoslavia, Britain, and Italy. He commenced by ceding to Yugoslavia the convent of Saint Naoum (on the lake of Ochrida), although this spot had been recognised as Albanian by the International Frontier Commission, by the Ambassadors' Conference, by the League of Nations, and even by the Hague International Tribunal. The cession was definitely ratified by a joint sitting of the Chamber and the Senate in October. Great Britain—which meant in this case the Anglo-Persian Oil Co.—obtained petroleum concessions which had already been prospected by that body in 1921. Italy provided the capital for the creation of the Albanian National Bank, and a loan of 50 million gold francs, receiving in return petroleum concessions, as did also France.

The Assembly, before its dissolution, proceeded to the election of the Senate, which is composed of 18 members, 12 elected and 6 nominated by the President. In this first instance, the election was carried out by the Assembly instead of the people.

The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies met on June 1. The Chamber ratified the laws regarding the concessions, the Bank and the loan, and the two Houses then adjourned (end of June), meeting again on September 21. A new Government had been formed in place of the one which had resigned (or been dismissed by the President). Milto Tutulan was appointed Minister of Justice, acting at the same time as head of the Cabinet. (According to the Constitution there is no real Premier, this rôle being played by the President of the Republic, although irresponsible.) The Chamber, on reassembling, violently attacked the outgoing Ministers, especially Mufid Libhova, Minister of Finance and Foreign Affairs, who was accused of having misapplied public funds, and made a Bank and loan agreement highly disadvantageous to the country.

In the sphere of foreign affairs, mention may be made of the accusation lodged by Albania before the Council of the League of Nations (December 10) against Greece and the Mixed Commission, of having forcibly deported into Asia Minor Albanians who had no right to be included in the Exchange like Turks. It was alleged that 50,000 Albanians, natives of Macedonia and Epirus, had been sent into Turkey, and that those who remained in Greece were subjected to vexatious and oppressive treatment in order to make them leave their homes. The Council of the League took the depositions of Albania, and decided to retain this question on the agenda.

On October 20 an amnesty was granted to those who had fled from the country before the arrival of Ahmed, and who were supposed to number 400. Many returned; but two political groups (the Extremists and the Moderates) refused to return, and continued their struggle against the existing régime.

BULGARIA

In the early part of the year Bulgaria passed through a stormy period in consequence of the seditious activities of the "common front" formed by the Communists and the Left wing of the Agrarians. These, trading on their long immunity, threw aside all restraint, and embarked on a career of lawlessness which resulted in the murder of several prominent politicians, and in various acts of organised brigandage. The Government retaliated by declaring the Communist Party outlawed (March 19), and passing an Act for the "defence of the realm." These measures proved ineffective to check the violence of the "common front," which soon after culminated in the unsuccessful attempt against King Boris, on April 14, and in the blowing up, two days later, of the cathedral "Sveta Nedelia" in Sofia. About 120 persons, including generals, high officials, women, and children perished in the explosion.

This dastardly outrage, which aroused horror and indignation, not only in Bulgaria but throughout the civilised world, had the effect of rallying all the political parties to the support of the Government in its efforts to root out this nest of dangerous outlaws. Thousands were arrested in all parts of the country, and many even perished in the confusion which followed the explosion. A state of siege, with all its accessories, was proclaimed, and the Courts were occupied throughout the year in trying persons suspected of complicity. Thanks to the severe measures, the public tension was greatly relieved, and in a relatively short time the social and economic life of the country resumed its normal course.

Another grave problem with which the Government had to deal throughout the year was that of the refugees, who continued to arrive daily from Thrace and Macedonia, principally from the regions under the rule of the Greeks. The Government, with its limited resources, did what little it could for them by giving them land and money to build houses and buy agricultural implements. The political organisations and charity societies also came actively to their help, but all these humane efforts were inadequate to meet the urgent needs of these wretched people. There was a danger, too, that if not relieved in time these refugees might fall under the influence of subversive elements, and so constitute a social and political peril for the Balkans.

While the loyal execution of the treaties and the maintenance of correct relations with all Powers was the policy of the Government, certain incidents occurred which prevented the growth of a more friendly feeling between Bulgaria and her immediate neighbours. One of these incidents, which caused considerable embarrassment to the Government, was the refusal, during a certain period, of the Belgrade Government to give visas to Bulgarians. The reason of this vexatious measure was that a Yugoslav

subject who had been arrested in connexion with the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral had afterwards disappeared. The situation was embittered by the complaints made by Belgrade of the crossing of the frontier by bands of "komitadjis." The measure was kept in force for more than a month, but was cancelled in view of the satisfactory reply given by the Bulgarian Government in regard to the man in question, and the measures taken in the frontier districts against suspicious persons. Since then, the beginning of August, the relations between the two Slav countries have been perfectly correct, and goodwill has prevailed on both sides.

A frontier incident at Demir Kapou, on October 19, took an unexpectedly serious turn owing to the action of M. Pangalos, the Greek Premier, who instead of accepting the proposal of Sofia to submit to a mixed commission the question of responsibility for the incident, gave orders to the troops at Salonica to march into Bulgarian territory. The Bulgarian Government gave instructions to the small available military forces at the frontier not to resist the Greek advance, and at the same time submitted the case to the League of Nations. The Council of the League immediately enjoined both Governments to cease all military operations, and appointed an international commission, under the presidency of Sir Horace Rumbold, the British Ambassador at Madrid, to make an inquiry on the spot. The report presented by the commission, and approved unanimously by the Council of the League on December 14, was unfavourable to the Greek contention, and directed that Greece should pay to Bulgaria 30 million leva as indemnity for the violation of Bulgarian territory committed by the Greek troops.

With Rumania Bulgaria's relations were better than with any other of her neighbours, though the question of the sequestration of the properties of Bulgarian subjects in Rumania still awaits settlement.

On October 18 a Treaty of friendship between Turkey and Bulgaria was signed at Angora, along with other conventions referring principally to the situation of the Bulgarian refugees who left Thrace as a result of the Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913. The signing of these arrangements was received at first with satisfaction in the hope that this meant the beginning of more friendly relations between the two countries. But as by these conventions the Turks will not allow the refugees to regain their homes, and will not give them proper compensation for their abandoned properties, the refugees commenced a campaign against the Treaty, and it has not yet been submitted to the approval of Parliament.

The economic and financial situation of Bulgaria did not change greatly during the year. The corn crops were good, but as prices were comparatively low not much could be exported. while

Bulgarian tobacco had to meet keen competition from the Greek and Turkish tobaccos. The poor sales of these two most important articles of consumption led to an adverse trade balance and an insufficient supply of foreign currency in the country, and the Government was obliged to take special measures to encourage the export of these two products. One was to reduce the export taxes to the barest minimum, while expenditure was reduced and all kind of economies effected. A new departure in the economic life of Bulgaria was a reform in the control of the State enterprises, by which the State coal mine of Pernik was put on autonomous basis and commercially reorganised in order to increase production and to lower working expenses.

As the five years' period of commercial restriction imposed by the Treaty of Neuilly expired in August, Bulgaria regained her complete tariff autonomy, and concluded with some of the Powers provisional conventions on the basis of reciprocity and of most-favoured-nation treatment.

The year closed with a Cabinet crisis and the introduction into Parliament of an Amnesty Bill to cover almost all political crimes of the last two years—except seditious activity—such as the revolt of September, 1923, the explosion in the Cathedral, etc. A much better feeling prevailed in political circles at the end of the year, and the danger of seditious risings seemed to be past.

CHAPTER VI.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE BELGIUM—
NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—SPAIN—PORTUGAL—DENMARK
—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND.

BELGIUM.

At the opening of the year, Parliament was approaching the end of its term, and members' minds were preoccupied with the coming elections. The election was followed by a prolonged Cabinet crisis, during which Parliament was more or less passive. The year as a whole, was, consequently, not fruitful in legislative activity.

The most important piece of legislation carried through before the election was an extension of the workmen's pensions with compulsory insurance law to commercial and industrial employés, and members of the liberal professions. The pension is formed by withdrawals from the salary of the employé, along with a contribution from the employer and another from the State. The law of equalisation increasing the salaries of civil servants was extended to magistrates, ministers of religion, and teachers in primary schools. The Rent Act of 1924 was prolonged for a year.

The opposition offered to some of these Bills, as also to the

new taxes and the proposals on the language question caused no small embarrassment to the Government. But the most critical question was that of women's votes in the provinces, which the Catholics wished to introduce (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 224). In spite of the help of some twenty Socialists, they had not succeeded in carrying this through at the time of the revision of the Constitution in 1920, but they had flattered themselves that they would gain their point before the election of 1925. In the preceding year, the Catholics had made a truce with the Liberals to avoid raising thorny questions, but they now disregarded this in the prosecution of their design. The Liberals, on their side, threatened to withdraw their collaboration from the Government, if the Chambers passed such a Bill. Finding his position thus rendered untenable, M. Theunis completed the Government business with all despatch, and obtained a Royal decree dissolving the Chambers on March 7. The elections were fixed for April 5, a month before the constitutional date. The electoral campaign was all the more strenuous for being shortened. The public, however, remained indifferent. The Labour Party made strong efforts to rally to its side the "brain workers," and by the moderation of its language studiously avoided hurting the religious feelings of the Christian Democrats.

The result of the election was to shift the political centre of gravity further to the Left. The Liberals were reduced from 33 to 23 in a House of 187. Thanks to the support of a large number of shopkeepers, small farmers, and intellectuals, the Socialists gained 10 seats. The Communists made their entry into Parliament with 2 deputies. The Catholic Right lost 2 seats—a serious set-back in view of the high hopes it was cherishing. The Flemish Separatists gained 2 seats, thus bringing their numbers up to 6.

The task of forming a Government which should obtain a majority in such a House proved extraordinarily difficult. The King first called on the Socialist leader, M. Vandervelde. This statesman endeavoured to form a Coalition representing all sections of the democratic majority, with the Labour Party as its basis, but the attempt fell through. On the one side the Liberals were determined to remain in opposition; on the other side, the Christian Democrats could not entertain his offer, having pledged themselves to maintain the unity of the Right. M. de Broqueville, one of the leaders of the Right, was then entrusted with the task of forming a Government, but he could not succeed in rallying the Liberals to his standard. M. Van de Vyvere, a former Catholic Minister, came before Parliament with a Ministry composed to a large extent of Right-wing members of the Theunis Cabinet. His programme, as laid down in his opening address, was sufficiently vague not to offend anyone and to give hopes to all. In the name of the Liberal Party, M. Max, the Mayor of Brussels, made a strong attack on the purely Catholic character of the

Government's combination and on the ambiguous terms of its declaration of policy.

The Socialist leader, M. Vandervelde, was equally firm in refusing the confidence of his party to the Van de Vyvere Cabinet, but adroitly gave it to be understood that certain of the Ministers might join a new Cabinet. The Government fell, and it was then M. Max's turn to try. He endeavoured to fill up vacancies from outside Parliament, but without success. The leader of the Catholic Flemish extremists, M. Poulet, thereupon managed to form a democratic Cabinet. But a revolt of the Right, supported by the Press, destroyed the majority which should have supported the Ministry, and M. Poulet was deserted by three of his colleagues. Nevertheless he persevered, and, retaining the majority of his colleagues, at length brought the crisis to an end, after it had lasted two and a half months. The fact that the country could without any ill effects be so long without a Government speaks excellently for the sound sense of the people and the smooth functioning of the administrative machine. The Vice-Presidency of the Council and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs passed to M. Vandervelde, but that of the Interior was taken from the Socialists and, along with National Defence, was given to a non-Parliamentarian of no political complexion. M. Van de Vyvere himself took the portfolio of Agriculture, so that Catholics and Socialists each held five posts. On July 2 the Chamber passed a vote of confidence in the Poulet Ministry with a majority of 86. Towards the end of the same month the old Catholic Right made a final attempt to upset the Government by reminding certain Socialists of their promise of support in the matter of women's votes in the provinces. On July 23 M. Vandervelde replied to them that the Bill which he and his friends had signed had been presented to them for payment after it had lapsed, but he was confident that political equality would come into force at the provincial elections of 1929. A Bill for maintaining the existing system provisionally was then passed with a majority of 84, and the provincial elections in November also resulted in great Socialist gains.

In September, the Catholic episcopate addressed to its followers a pastoral letter condemning Socialism. It was at pains to excuse the compromise involved in forming a joint Catholic-Socialist Government, but, in fact, the letter forced on the Christian Democrats the alternative of either abandoning the Labour Party or breaking definitely with the Catholic Party.

The Catholic Minister of Finance, M. Janssen, launched a plan for stabilising the franc by means of a gold covering of 150 million dollars, of which a third should be borrowed in England and the rest in America. In order to discuss the participation of Great Britain in this scheme, he crossed over to London at the beginning of October, accompanied by the Minister of Agriculture, M. Van de Vyvere, and two of the leading Belgian financiers.

The British and American bankers laid down stringent conditions, the chief of which was that the Belgian Budget should be reduced by 150 million francs ; and he saw himself compelled, with a heavy heart, to accept, although he had already exercised a policy of the strictest economy, and had declared that it was impossible to cut down expenditure further. The basis of the scheme is the repayment to the Banque Nationale by the State, in foreign securities, of 5,680 millions of paper francs advanced to it by the Banque Nationale. The plan was discussed and approved by Parliament in December.

In the early part of the year, ill-feeling against Belgium was rife in the Duchy of Luxemburg owing to the alleged non-observance by the former country of the financial clause of the Treaty of Economic Union. This ill-feeling was the underlying cause of the fall of the Reuter Cabinet and the dissolution of the Chamber in January, the immediate ground being the rejection of the Railway Convention signed on October 14 in execution of the Treaty. In the electoral campaign which followed, violent language was used against Belgium, which was even accused of annexationist designs. The crisis closed with the formation of a Cabinet by M. Prum, leader of the National Party, and negotiations were then opened with Brussels.

On April 3, Belgium signed with Holland a Treaty regulating the régime of the navigable ways in which both countries were interested. In regard to the Scheldt, this Treaty preserves the principle of perpetual liberty for all mercantile vessels. This agreement consequently abrogates the Belgian neutrality dating from 1839, which had already ceased to exist in 1919 for the Powers signatory to the Treaty of Versailles.

In August, a delegation headed by the ex-Premier, M. Theunis, arrived in Washington to negotiate the repayment of the Belgian debt to the United States. Belgium had, it is true, been relieved of its war debt obligations by the Treaty of Versailles. But, as the United States Senate had repudiated the signature of President Wilson to the Treaty, the American loan of 171 million dollars had remained chargeable to Belgium. There is a further debt of 205 million dollars contracted after the war, the obligation to repay which has never been questioned. The Belgian delegation, by an appeal to moral considerations obtained complete remission of the interest on the war loan. Further, the debt itself is to be annulled if Germany continues to carry out the Dawes plan ; if not, Belgium will have to discharge it herself. In regard to the post-war debts, Belgium, in consideration of her unfavourable exchange, is allowed until 1936 a more lenient scale of repayment than that accorded to Great Britain.

M. Vandervelde, as Belgium's representative at the meeting of the League of Nations, assisted at the deliberations of M. Briand and Mr. Chamberlain on the Pact of Guarantee, and later took

part in the examination of the draft drawn up by a committee of jurists. In response to Germany's declaration of September 26, which was accompanied by a verbal note, Belgium stated that she was happy to learn of Germany's unreserved acceptance of the invitation to the Conference at Locarno, but that she could not satisfy Germany regarding the questions raised in the Note of the evacuation of the Cologne zone, of German disarmament, and of Germany's responsibility for the war.

The Pact of Mutual Guarantee signed at London on December 1, as a result of the Locarno Conference, constitutes, along with the Treaty of Versailles and the defensive agreement with France, the international charter of Belgium's sovereignty and independence, being a free act of recognition on the part of Germany of the extension of Belgian territory effected by the Treaty of Versailles.

In the course of the year a commercial *modus vivendi* came into force with Germany, France, and Spain, and a commercial Treaty was concluded with Czechoslovakia. The recognition of the Union of Soviet Republics was considered inopportune for the moment, but negotiations were in progress with a view to the resumption of relations with Russia.

A year which brought Belgium gratifying prospects both of economic stability and political security was clouded at its close by a national calamity caused by the forces of Nature. The floods which occurred in the last week of December caused damage in the agricultural districts of Flanders, and still more in the Walloon industrial districts, to the extent of hundreds of millions of francs.

THE NETHERLANDS

The outstanding political event in 1925 was the election of the Second Chamber on July 1. It created a new balance of parties which led to the downfall of the existing Cabinet and rendered the formation of any Cabinet with a majority exceedingly difficult. Since the Navy Bill crisis (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 235, and 1924, p. 227), the Right Coalition Cabinet had entirely lost its already weakened prestige, while its strongest member, M. Colyn, the Finance Minister, though supported by the Liberals, was regarded with disfavour by the democratic fraction of the Roman Catholics, by the Liberal Democrats (Radicals), and by the Socialists. The two last-named parties in particular disliked his latest financial schemes, *viz.*, the reduction of the income tax, of the surtax on the income tax, and of death duties, with the substitution of a luxury tax in place of the reduced taxes. The Left, as a whole, remained opposed to the raising of the import duties, so that in the First Chamber also the Tariff Bill was passed only by the votes of the Right. The Law became operative as from June 1.

The weakness of the Cabinet was one factor which strongly affected the outcome of the elections. Another was the dissension within the Roman Catholic Party, where the democratic elements had organised themselves separately, so that at one time a split appeared likely. The Roman Catholic Popular Party, which ran its own candidates, secured one seat. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic State Party returned to the Chamber with 30 members only instead of 32. There is no doubt that many Roman Catholic workmen went over to the Radicals and Socialists.

The other members of the Coalition also lost ground. The anti-Revolutionaries, who were handicapped by the unpopularity of their leader, M. Colyn, had their membership reduced from 16 to 11, and the Christian Historicals, although they retained their 11 seats, polled a smaller number of votes. The decline of these parties was also due to increasing discontent amongst the Protestant electorate at the non-fulfilment of Protestant desires, and their alarm at the growing influence of the Roman Catholics. Many orthodox Protestants were greatly perturbed by the fact that the highest political offices, such as the leadership of the Government and of the two Chambers, were constantly held by Roman Catholics, and viewed with anxiety such phenomena as the maintenance of the legation at the Vatican, which during the war had been established as a temporary measure, the Eucharistic Congress held with much pomp in Amsterdam, the festivals at Nymegen in honour of the canonisation of Petrus Canisius and of the establishment of a Roman Catholic University, and the energetic propaganda carried on by the Roman Catholic Church generally. This attitude was reflected in the elections, so that whereas the dissident Calvinists, who were opposed to any Coalition with the Roman Catholics, had, in 1922, obtained only one seat, and that with much difficulty, they now secured two. A group of dissenting Christian Historicals took up a similar attitude, and they also obtained a seat. In this way the Christian Coalition, which had previously held 59 seats, returned to the Chamber with only 54 members, and the Right numbered altogether 58 instead of 60. The percentage of votes for the Coalition did not amount to more than 50·75.

On the other hand, in the Left parties there had been a distinct shifting towards the Left. The Liberals polled fewer votes than in the last election, and lost one seat, so that they were reduced from 9 to 8. The conservative Rural Party lost one of its two seats, and the same happened to the Communist Party, which was weakened by internecine conflicts. The Radical membership, on the other hand, rose from 5 to 7, and the Socialist from 20 to 24. The success of the Radicals and of the Socialists was due partly to the vigorous attack on M. Colyn, and partly to a well-organised campaign in favour of disarmament.

Two days before the elections, on June 29, the Ruys de

Beerenbrouck Cabinet resigned, leaving the Crown an entirely free hand. As the Right Coalition, although weakened, still held the majority, the Queen charged M. Colyn with the formation of a new Cabinet based upon the Coalition Parties. The new Cabinet was formed on July 30. The Anti-revolutionaries were represented in it by M. Colyn, who kept the Finance Department, and by Dr. Rutgers (Education, Arts, and Sciences), who hitherto had been the leader of the party in the Chamber. The Christian Historicals were represented by Dr. Schokking (Department of Justice), who had been leader of his party in the Chamber, and Jonkheer de Geer, an ex-Minister. Of the Roman Catholics, Dr. Koolen, who had hitherto been President of the Chamber, took charge of the Ministry of Labour, Commerce, and Industry, M. Bongaerts, a member of the Chamber, of Public Works, and Major Lambooy, of the General Staff, of the War Department, and temporarily of the Navy Department. The Colonies were entrusted to M. Welter, also a Roman Catholic, a member of the Council of the Netherlands East Indies, who, at the moment when the Cabinet was formed, was still at Batavia. Jonkheer van Karnebeek remained Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Cabinet was received with mixed feelings by the country. Its *personnel* was viewed with approval. The Roman Catholics, however, demurred against the transference of the leadership from the strongest party to the Anti-revolutionaries, and at first their Press, like that of the Christian Historicals, opposed M. Colyn as Premier. The Roman Catholic Democrats also were not pleased with this choice, and the Socialists and Radicals, who looked upon the verdict of the elections as hostile to the policy of M. Colyn, protested against the fact that no endeavour had been made to form a Cabinet from democratic elements of the Right and of the Left.

Dissension soon broke out among the Government Parties. The Christian Historicals and the Roman Catholics put forward rival candidates for the post of President of the Second Chamber, the former their leader, Dr. de Visser, and the Roman Catholics and the anti-Revolutionaries Jonkheer Ruys de Beerenbrouck. The latter was elected with the support of the Socialists.

On the discussion of the Foreign Affairs Budget on November 12, the Coalition fell to pieces. M. Kersten, a dissident anti-Revolutionary, brought forward a proposal to abolish the Netherlands legation at the Vatican. Monseigneur Nolens, the leader of the Roman Catholics, thereupon declared that his party regarded this as a test question, and that, if the amendment were passed, it would have seriously to consider whether it would be able to vote in favour of the Budget, and whether it should not withhold its support from any Cabinet formed from groups to whose activities the closing of the legation was to be attributed. On behalf of the Radicals and the Socialists declarations

were made that although the motion itself left them indifferent, they were not prepared, by their vote, to keep the Coalition in power, as they did not consider this to be in the interests of the country. The Christian Historicals, on their side, supported the amendment, which was consequently passed by 52 votes against 42. Only the anti-Revolutionaries voted with the Roman Catholics. As a result of the vote, the Roman Catholic Ministers declared their intention of resigning, and the Cabinet as a whole thereupon resigned, although the vote was in no sense one of no-confidence.

The Queen then charged Dr. Marchant, the leader of the Liberal Democrats (Radicals), on November 24, with the formation of a Parliamentary Cabinet. Dr. Marchant had published a programme on behalf of his party on which it was expected that co-operation between the democratic Right and Left groups would be possible. This programme included the retention of the legation at the Vatican. The Socialists declared themselves ready to co-operate, but the Roman Catholics declined, stating that they still preferred a Cabinet based upon the three parties of the Right. The fundamental principles of the Socialists, they said, were in flat contradiction to those of the Roman Catholics, who would only be prepared to work with them in case of dire necessity. Dr. Marchant, on December 1, abandoned the attempt to form a Ministry.

Dr. de Visser, the leader of the Christian Historicals, who was entrusted with the same task on December 8, did not succeed any better, since both the Roman Catholics and the Christian Historicals persisted in the standpoint they had taken up. Dr. de Visser thereupon requested and, on December 12 obtained authority to form an "extra-parliamentary" Cabinet. He endeavoured to retain the Colyn Cabinet in office as an independent Cabinet of the Right, but by the end of the year his endeavours had not led to any result, and the chance of success appeared very small. The Coalition of the three parties of the Right, which during nearly thirty years had so greatly influenced the affairs of the country, appeared, at least for the time being, to have broken up.

On the way in which the Government crisis is ultimately solved will no doubt largely depend the fate of the Treaty which was concluded by the Governments at the Hague and Brussels in the spring, and which was meant to be a revision of the 1839 Treaty in accordance with the request made by Belgium during the discussions on the Versailles Treaty. The Netherlands Government, in 1919, had declared their readiness to co-operate in this revision and to meet Belgium's economic requirements. On June 4, 1919, the Powers had decided that no transfer of territorial sovereignty or the establishment of international servitudes was to be contemplated. In 1921 the negotiations were broken off by Belgium, as no agreement could be reached with regard to the

sovereignty of the Wielingen, the mouth of the Western Scheldt in the North Sea along the Belgian coast. In the Treaty, as eventually signed on behalf of the two Governments, this question remained undecided. The Treaty, furthermore, bears a political character only inasmuch as Holland agreed to the abolition of the status of neutrality which had been imposed upon Belgium in 1839, and to the abolition likewise of the interdiction of Antwerp being made a military port. Yet though, in the main, the Treaty is of an economic nature, it is meeting with strong and well-organised opposition on the ground that it imposes many obligations upon Holland which are not adequately compensated by any concessions on the side of Belgium, and that the execution of the Treaty will not only entail heavy expenditure on Holland, but will also expose her to serious indirect disadvantages, owing to the strengthening of Antwerp's position—and this, partly, with Holland's financial support—as against that of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The extensive powers which are to be granted to the new administration of the Western Scheldt are causing apprehensions for the safety of the reclaimed "polders" in Zeeland. There is, further, some fear that the new and more ample connexions by water between Liège, Maestricht, and Antwerp will encourage an economic, and, later on, perhaps, political drift of South Limburg towards Antwerp and Belgium. Supporters of the Treaty look upon these objections partly as exaggerated, partly even as unfounded, and they emphasise the fact that Holland's economic concessions will promote friendly relations between the two countries which will be of benefit to both of them. Negotiations have been opened between the Governments of The Hague and of Brussels in order to examine, and, if possible, meet the objections.

The ratification of the Protocol regarding arbitration clauses in commercial treaties was notified to the League of Nations by Holland. The Arbitration Treaty concluded, on February 15, 1905, with Great Britain, was prolonged for a further period of five years, with the proviso that possible differences which are to be submitted to arbitration are to be brought before the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. A Treaty was concluded with Belgium concerning territorial jurisdiction, bankruptcy, and the authority and execution of juridical decisions, arbitral decisions, and authentic deeds. Between Holland and Switzerland a Conciliation Treaty was signed, as also a Convention regarding aerial navigation. The Convention of October 18, 1907, concerning the legal position of enemy merchantmen at the outbreak of hostilities, was denounced by Great Britain. A commercial Treaty based on the most-favoured-nation clause was concluded with Hungary. With Germany agreements were concluded for amplification and extension of the Commercial Treaty of 1851, also on the basis of the most-favoured-nation treatment,

and for the prolongation by seven years (to 1937) of the revolving credit granted to Germany of 200,000,000 guilders, the rate of interest being reduced from 6 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. A provisional agreement was concluded with Norway regarding aerial navigation, and one with Finland concerning consular officials in the Netherlands East Indies, Surinam, and Curaçao. The provisional agreement with Greece on commerce and navigation was prolonged to March 31, 1926. A Bill was introduced for the purpose of including Holland in the Tangier Convention.

Thanks to the policy of retrenchment of the last few years and the gradual economic recovery of the country, the financial position of Holland at the end of 1925 was favourable. The deficit on the ordinary Budget, which had been estimated at 49 million guilders for 1923, will amount to 14 million only, while that for 1924, estimated at 62 million, will not amount to more than 28.6 million. As to 1925, for which year a deficit of 19.5 million was anticipated, the final account will probably even show a surplus. On April 29, the gold standard was re-established in Holland.

SWITZERLAND.

In 1925 Switzerland concluded a Compulsory Arbitration Treaty with France, similar to the one concluded with Italy in the preceding year. Switzerland has now arbitration Treaties with all her four neighbours. Not content with this, she has entered into Treaties of this kind with a whole number of States, with some of whom she is precluded by her geographical position from ever going to war. This procedure has been much criticised on the ground that such a wholesale production, so to speak, of these Treaties diminishes their value. The British Foreign Office was also sounded by Switzerland with a view to making an arbitration Treaty with the Confederation, but declined, as no danger existed of an armed conflict between Great Britain and Switzerland.

The rejection of the Geneva Protocol was greatly deplored by the sections of the Press in touch with the Political Department (Foreign Office), and also by M. Motta in a speech in the National Council. On the other hand, another section of the Press, especially the journals in touch with the "National Union for the Independence of Switzerland," welcomed the elimination of the Protocol, as they discerned in it the possibility of dangers for the neutrality, and so for the independence of Switzerland. Should the Treaty of Locarno create, as is hoped, a better atmosphere in Europe, it will directly benefit Switzerland by giving her a greater sense of security than she has felt since the destruction of the balance of power in Europe.

The agreement with France to submit the dispute over the Free Zones near Geneva (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 232),

to The Hague International Court, has been ratified by the Swiss Parliament, but not yet by the French. The delay causes annoyance, especially as the French Customs administration has gone on with the erection of massive Customs buildings at the illegally-advanced Customs frontier, as if judgment had already been given in favour of France.

Not without difficulty, the Government has succeeded in officially maintaining good relations with Italy. While the public and the Press have been somewhat disquieted by the talk indulged in by certain quarters about annexation of the Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland, the Political Department has accepted Mussolini's assurance that for Italy there is no Tessin question. The Government was greatly reassured by finding, as the result of a very secret inquiry which it undertook, that certain maps in which the Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland were marked as Italian territory, and which attracted great attention, did not originate in Italy, but were the product of French propaganda. A difficult situation, which might at any moment easily lead to complications, has been created by the fact that numbers of Italian exiles live in Switzerland, and bitterly attack the Fascist régime in the Socialist Press, especially the Ticino *Libera Stampa*, while at the same time numerous Fascist organisations of Italians directed from Rome have been formed all over Switzerland, and most of all in the Ticino Canton, and the Italian consuls often interfere on behalf of their Fascist compatriots against the Opposition Party. The Federal Government, as also the Governments of the Cantons, desire to know only of Italy and Italians, and to take no side in party quarrels. On that account the Federal Council refused an invitation to a Fascist celebration at the Italian Embassy in Berne. When, however, Mussolini himself intervened, and threatened to replace the present ambassador, Garbasso, with a Fascist, the Bundesrat thought it best to give way, and accordingly Deputy Motta attended the celebration, without, however, making a speech.

Switzerland's relations with her two other neighbours, Germany and Austria, have been good. The import prohibitions and trade restrictions which existed both on the German and the Swiss side have been almost entirely removed, while with Austria there has been concluded a commercial Treaty on the most-favoured-nation basis which only awaits ratification.

Switzerland's relations with Russia have not been materially changed, but in practice the entrance prohibition for Russians with Soviet passports is no longer rigidly enforced. When the Soviet Government was invited to send representatives to the preparatory commission for the Disarmament Conference which was to meet in Geneva, the Bundesrat, on December 30, addressed a letter to the Secretary of the League of Nations, in which it again stated that, whatever might be its relations to Russia, no

difficulties would be made by the Swiss authorities if Russian delegates wanted to come to Switzerland, and that in Geneva they would enjoy the same treatment as the delegates of any other State; further, that they should be provided with the same facilities for entering Switzerland and the same privileges and immunities in the fulfilment of their mission, and that all measures should be taken which the Swiss authorities judged necessary for assuring their safety.

In the sphere of internal politics the chief events of the year 1925 were the rejection of the Rothenberg initiative by the people, the insertion of a new clause in the Constitution imposing on the Federation the duty of creating an Old Age and Survivors' Insurance, and the elections to both Houses of the Swiss Parliament.

The Rothenberg initiative was a Socialist attempt to create a direct Federal tax, and so to take a long step towards the unification of the Swiss State. The initiative demanded that by a law of the Federation 250 million francs should be taken from the proceeds of the extraordinary War Tax, and made into a fund for the Old Age, Survivors', and Invalidity Insurance. In spite of its humanitarian motive, the initiative was rejected by the people on May 24 with a majority of over 100,000 votes. Only the Socialists and the Left wing of the Radicals supported it. The Federal revenues are normally, as is natural in a Federation, raised by indirect taxes (customs and monopolies, railways and posts). The war tax, which serves for the amortisation of the mobilisation loans, was expressly created as an extraordinary tax. Had the initiative been adopted, the tax would have had to be collected for at least another ten years, and would have become a permanent impost.

The Rothenberg initiative impressed upon the Government and Parliament the necessity of settling the social insurance question, which has been on the *tapis* for some thirty years, and has figured on nearly all party programmes during that period. On December 6 the electorate and the Estates (Stände) adopted by a majority of over 200,000 Article 34 (4) of the Constitution, ordaining the creation by the Federation of an Old Age and Survivors' Insurance, but not yet of an Invalidity Insurance, which can only come after the insurance law itself has been drafted.

Parliament having run its three years' course, a new election took place on October 25. The result was a gain for the Social Democrats. In the National Assembly the 198 seats were distributed as follows (the last Parliament's figures in brackets): Catholic-Conservative, 42 (44); Peasants, Crafts, and Citizens' Party, 31 (35); Liberal-Conservatives, 7 (10); Radical Democratic Party, 59 (58); Socialist Party, 4 (3); Evangelical People's Party, 1 (1); Social Democrats, 49 (43); Communists, 3 (2); Independents, 2.

The new Parliament (consisting of the Nationalrat and the Standerrat) chose for the period of its existence the same Bundesrat (the members of which do not sit in Parliament) as its predecessor. Two of these Federal Councillors belong to the Catholic-Conservative Party, the other five to the Radical-Democratic Party. The other two big parties have, so far, refrained from nominating a Federal Councillor from their ranks.

Progress was made during the year with the compilation of a Federal Criminal Code, as also with that of a military criminal code. A combination of peasants' representatives and Socialists in Parliament secured the passing of a corn monopoly law, which, however, as involving an alteration in the Constitution, has to be laid before the people and the Estates; this will be done in 1926.

The favourable economic situation which had characterised 1924 continued till the middle of the succeeding year: then a change took place. The British import duties created a crisis in the textile industry at the end of June, especially in the manufacture of silk ribbons. The number of unemployed, after falling from 11,419 at the end of 1924 to 7,189 at the end of May, rose at the end of July to 9,751. The increase of the German customs duties at the end of September, and even more the general economic crisis in Germany, caused a general slump on the labour market, which affected particularly the metal and machinery industries, so that the number of unemployed at the end of the year was 17,027. On the other hand, the year was a good one for agriculture, hotel-keeping, and building.

In the financial world credit was plentiful, chiefly owing to the influx of foreign, especially French, capital. In 1925 Switzerland had the lowest private discount rate known. The National Bank had to take steps to prevent the Swiss franc from rising above par.

Imports for the year totalled 2,634,157,730 francs, and exports 2,038,743,446 francs. The national revenue for 1924 was 282,865,222 francs, and expenditure 304,471,505 francs. The Budget for 1925-26 estimates revenue at 298,814,057 francs and expenditure at 307,974,254 francs, leaving a deficit of 9,160,197 francs.

The number of emigrants to overseas countries during the year was 4,334 (against 4,140 in 1924); there was, besides, a considerable emigration to European countries, especially France. The consolidated Federal Debt at the end of 1925 was 2,086,635,000 francs, against 2,200,505,000 francs in 1924. On August 1, 1925, the 5 per cent. loan of 20 million dollars raised in the United States in 1923 was repaid.

The fact that the Locarno Treaties were negotiated on Swiss soil was taken, in some quarters, as a strong reason why Switzerland should make a gesture to the world in the direction of disarmament, and accordingly, when the Budget (which had been

drafted before Locarno) was brought forward in the Assembly towards the close of the year, a number of deputies of the Left supported a proposal to reduce the Army estimates from 88 to 52 million francs. The majority, however, did not consider that the time would be ripe for such a step till the effects of Locarno had begun to show themselves.

SPAIN.

The year opened auspiciously with a national celebration of King Alfonso's name day that was unique in Spanish history. On January 23, the Alcaldes or Mayors of every municipality in Spain, to the number of 9,000, marched past the Royal Palace in Madrid amid immense enthusiasm. The event, besides being a remarkable demonstration of loyalty to the Crown, was significant of the awakening of the nation to a new sense of citizenship ; and the successful organisation of this picturesque and popular manifestation promised to give new strength to the Military Government.

It was quickly followed, however, by ill news from Africa. By his triumph over Raisuli on January 27, Abd-el-Krim gained control of practically the whole of Northern Morocco, and the threatening situation over the water was enough to paralyse any effort at reorganisation in the Peninsula. The departure of the President of the Military Directory for Tetuan was marked by renewed activity on the part of the politicians, who seized the opportunity of the unveiling of a monument to the ex-Prime Minister Dato to reaffirm their constitutional claims. The promulgation, on March 20, of the new Provincial Statute, by which the Directory hoped to achieve further progress in reforming the Administration, had the immediate effect of arousing Catalan opposition, inasmuch as it entailed the dissolution of the autonomous body of the Mancomunidad of Catalonia. The Provincial Statute, like the Municipal Statute of 1924, has proved valuable, rather as a painstaking and thorough review of local administration in the forty-nine provinces of Spain, than as a definite scheme of national reorganisation ; for, as long as the Cortes are closed, neither Statute can be regarded as having received the assent of the nation.

But, if political measures were received with indifference, schemes for the economic development of the country met with greater success. On March 28, an elaborate programme of new railway construction was published, while the more silent work of improvement of the existing lines went on apace. Irrigation, a national problem second in importance only to the provision of transport facilities, was further extended by the opening, in April, of large works in the Province of Alicante, and important works in the neighbouring Province of Murcia were taken in hand.

The former are intended to promote the cultivation of cotton, which the Government has been actively encouraging throughout Andalusia. On the other hand, the importation of 60,000 tons of foreign wheat, authorised by the Government on April 14 upon mistaken estimates of existing supplies and harvest prospects, was a blow to the farming interests.

As a sign of confidence in the political attitude of the nation the Directory. on May 17, the King's thirty-ninth birthday, abolished martial law. The more important constitutional guarantees, however, were left suspended and, owing to the strictness of the censorship, public opinion remained as silent as before. Discontent was fanned from abroad by clandestine propaganda circulated from hand to hand, and a feeling of insecurity was created by the rumours of a Catalan bomb plot against the King, who had gone on his annual visit to Barcelona on May 26. An attempt was, indeed, made to murder him and his suite by wrecking the Royal train on its return journey to Madrid.

With the advent of summer the scene of political interest shifted from Spain to Africa, and, as in former years, the Moroccan problem henceforth engrossed the attention of both Government and nation. The situation in Morocco, however, presented a marked change. Emboldened by his success in gaining control of the Western part of the Spanish zone, Abd-el-Krim had launched a determined attack upon the French Protectorate, and by the middle of May had penetrated, over a 60-mile front, to a depth of 20 miles. A series of French reverses were to bring his hosts within striking distance of Fez, the fall of which appeared to be imminent throughout June and July.

The common danger was met by France and Spain at last forming a common front. Collaboration by the two Powers, which had been broached by M. Malvy on his visit to Madrid towards the end of May, was the subject of a Franco-Spanish Conference, which met on June 17. This Conference may be said to be the outstanding political event of the year. Ever since the Franco-Spanish Agreement of 1912, a spirit of rivalry had grown up between the two Powers over Morocco and, though the policy of collaboration with France was supported by responsible Spanish politicians and ably represented by the delegates now appointed by the Government, national feeling in Spain was none too ready to accept it. After protracted deliberations an Agreement was reached on July 26, whereby the two Powers undertook to enforce a strict blockade of the Rif, to present common terms of peace to Abd-el-Krim, and to engage, to a certain extent, in military and naval co-operation. The plans for such co-operation were discussed at a meeting in Ceuta, on July 28, of Marshal Pétain and the Marquis de Estella, who had left Spain for Tetuan early in June. Nor was it long before these plans were to be carried out. Throughout the month of

August troops and a fleet of transports were massed at Malaga, in readiness for operations on the opposite coast. On August 21 a final Conférence took place at Algeciras between the French and Spanish leaders, and the latter then left for Madrid, where the King attended from San Sebastian to preside over important meetings of the Directory. At these meetings the momentous decision was definitely taken to disembark on the Moorish coast, as soon as the progress of the French forces in the South should warrant it.

Finally, on the morning of September 8, after several feint landings on previous days and preceded by an intense bombardment by Spanish and French warships, a successful landing was made on the outskirts of Alhucemas Bay. The operation, which had been discussed ever since 1911, but always condemned as too hazardous an enterprise, proved relatively easy. When the sharp attack at Tetuan, by which Abd-el-Krim had sought to forestall the blow, had been repulsed and more Colonial troops set free, success became assured. There followed a fortnight of intermittent fighting, rendered the more arduous by the precarious situation of the forces, cut off as they were from supplies of ammunition, food, and water. But by September 23 the heights overlooking Alhucemas Bay had been carried, and on October 1 the welcome news was received that Ajdir, the rebel capital, was in flames.

For the first time in 250 years, Spanish soldiers trod the sands of Alhucemas Bay in triumph; on October 10, a national holiday was proclaimed, and detachments of the Army in Africa received a rousing welcome in Madrid. On October 11, the Marquis de Estella himself arrived, and the celebrations were continued over the following day, the "Festival of the Race," or anniversary of the discovery of America.

With the fall of Ajdir, a heavy blow had been dealt to the prestige of Abd-el-Krim; but, though the gunfire of the French forces could be heard from Alhucemas, the autumn rains prevented any linking up of the Spanish and French fronts. Military operations practically ceased, to give way, in Morocco and Spain, to political action. In the Peninsula, the very success of the President of the Military Directory had stirred up his opponents. The discovery, on November 10, of a plot against the President and the King led to numerous arrests of officers and civilians. Rumours of a widespread conspiracy to overthrow the Directory and the Monarchy were current during the month, and on December 2, shortly after the renewed return of the Marquis de Estella to Spain, a change in the Government took place. The Military Directory was dissolved and a semi-civilian Government, under the Marquis de Estella as Prime Minister, proclaimed. This transition Government, it was hoped, would pave the way in peace to a restoration of normal constitutional conditions.

New Trade Agreements were concluded with Belgium, Greece, the Philippines, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Finland, and Canada, while existing Agreements were renewed with the United States and Japan. At the end of the year a Commercial Treaty with Germany was under negotiation, after a rupture and a short but sharp tariff war. Budgetary reform was again postponed, and the deficit due to the war in Morocco continued at the same figure of 500,000,000 pesetas. Depression in the textile industry and in coal-mining lasted throughout the year; to relieve the former, Catalan manufacturers had, in January, received a Government grant of $7\frac{1}{2}$ million pesetas. The universal economic crisis was aggravated in Spain by a banking crisis. With the failure, in January, of the "Crédito de la Union Minera," of Bilbao, there began a series of bankruptcies, principally in the north of Spain (Vigo, Pamplona), which shook the whole credit system of the country. A bumper harvest in the main crops proved, however, a solid source of wealth in a country whose interests are mainly agricultural.

PORTUGAL.

The year was rather one of continual underground revolutionary tactics than of any great revolutionary outbreak. Only two revolutions actually occurred, in April and July. The Government of Senhor Vitorino Guimarães, who had succeeded the Radical Democrat, Senhor Domingues dos Santos, in February, was faced in March by an easily frustrated rising, but on April 18 a more serious military revolt was led by Naval Captain Filomeno da Camara and Lieut.-Colonel Raul Esteves. Martial law was declared, and the movement was suppressed after a heavy cannonade, which resulted in twelve deaths, including two women. Several foreign correspondents were subsequently arrested. The President of the Republic presented his resignation to Parliament a week later, but was induced to reconsider his decision.

In June an attempted Radical revolution and general strike proved a complete failure. Revolutionary agents experienced increasing difficulty in bringing their men up to the scratch. At the end of June the Guimarães Cabinet fell, and the new Government, presided over by Senhor Silva, was defeated in the Chamber three weeks later. The President of the Republic refused to dissolve Parliament.

At midnight on July 18 another revolution broke out. It purported to be a second edition of the revolution of April, but was of mixed composition, the revolting troops on shore being of more Conservative inclination than the Radical marines of the *Vasco da Gama*, which bombarded the city. The revolt was easily quelled, but the Government resigned a few days later. After a crisis lasting sixteen days, Senhor Domingos Pereira

formed a Democrat-Independent Ministry. It was noticed that the retiring Democrat Premier failed to attend at Belem Palace to take leave of the President of the Republic, whose resolve to resign had now become unalterable.

Parliament had been so taken up with political questions that it had found no time to discuss or vote the last two Budgets ; it had not even voted supplies necessary for the current year, and votes on account for the last four months of 1925 had to be authorised by decree. The General Election was held on November 8, and resulted in a Democrat victory. The situation had been rendered more difficult by the split in the Democrat Party, and by the fact that the Nationalists, who were supported by the Democrats in the election, were bitterly hostile to the President of the Republic. Senhor Teixeira Gomes' resignation was presented to the new Parliament a month later (December 10).

Financially, the year was not more favourable than 1924, the only redeeming feature being the greater stability of the foreign exchange. The deficit was roughly calculated at 350,000 contos (a little over three million sterling), but no clear statement was obtainable, and the increase of paper money went on unchecked. "We are on the brink of bankruptcy," wrote Dr. Brito Camacho in August, "and the situation is worse than in 1892, since it may imperil our colonial possessions." Later in the year a protest against continual maladministration was received from the foremost colonists of Mozambique, and the grim problem of the colonies began to attract increased attention in Portugal. At the beginning of December it transpired that the capital of the Angola Bank, founded in 1924 during the premiership of Senhor Guimarães, was composed of forged notes, made in England. Over half a million sterling of these notes of 500 escudos were called in by the Bank of Portugal in a few days.

The year ended gloomily, with discontent and serious financial crisis in the colonies, and the Angola Bank scandal, political unrest, and the prospect of a new revolution at home. There was one ray of light in the darkness, for the return of Dr. Bernardino Machado to Belem Palace, from which he had been forcibly ejected by a revolution in December, 1917, was received with smiles by the whole nation. Surprised by the news that he had been again elected President (December 11), the venerable Republican, now in his seventy-fifth year, considered that no one, especially in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, had a right to refuse the burden. Senhor Teixeira Gomes had attempted to apply a spirit of compromise to Lisbon politics, and was met on all hands by a spirit of fanaticism, blackmail, and intrigue ; the new President was himself a party man, and thus had a greater chance of being understood, and of achieving greater success than his predecessor.

DENMARK.

In spite of possessing a majority of only two or three in the Lower House and being in a minority in the Upper House, the Stauning Cabinet, by its adroit handling of crucial questions, steered clear of ministerial crises during 1925. A tendency towards new party groupings manifested itself during the year, but had not yet produced any results at its close.

The year was notable for the most serious labour conflict which Denmark has so far experienced, due to the failure of employers and employed in the manufacturing industries to renew the annual agreements which governed their relations. After vain efforts had been made by the Official Mediator, and later—at the instance of the King—by the Prime Minister, to avert a breach, on March 19 about 30,000 men struck, and another 30,000 were locked out. The conflict, when it was at its worst, affected about 100,000 workers, or one-third of organised Danish labour. It lasted till June 18, and represented a loss of about four million working days, nor was it ended before it had begun seriously to threaten Denmark's main economic artery—the exportation of agricultural produce. Little disorder attended the conflict. The greatest difficulty was experienced with the unskilled workers, who under the guidance of an energetic leader, Hr. Lyngsie, long rejected the conciliatory efforts of the Government, and finally withdrew from the central organisation, which aims at comprising all workers, the Co-operating Trades Unions—a step which may have serious political consequences.

Another factor which adversely affected the country's commercial prosperity was the rise in the Danish exchange. At the end of the previous year the Government had instituted a certain co-operation between the State and the National Bank, by means of which it was expected that the krone would first be stabilised at a rate of 5·74 to one dollar (parity 3·75), and thereafter gradually rise to 5·32 by the end of 1926. More than this was not at that time aimed at, and, in fact, many voices were raised against any attempt to improve the exchange. The principal object was to secure a stable krone as far as possible, and to avoid the violent fluctuations in the rate of exchange which had been embarrassing to trade. Owing to the credit restriction policy which had long been practised by the National Bank, the Act, once passed, rapidly began to work in the desired direction, and, in fact, at a much quicker pace than was expected. In May, 1925, the krone already had an average rate which corresponded to what it had been hoped to attain by the end of 1926, while by December, 1925, the average rate was 4·03 krone to the dollar.

The National Bank meanwhile continued its policy of credit restriction, but was able to reduce its discount rate, first from 7 to 6 per cent. (August 24), and later (September 7) from 6 to

5½ per cent. The Government and the Legislature made no attempt to stem the rise of the krone, and in December, 1925, passed an Act on similar lines to the Act of December, 1924, with the object of keeping the krone firmly at about the level it had then attained until prices should have adjusted themselves. Danish trade, on the whole, came tolerably well through the crisis, while the National Bank was able to reduce the note circulation by about 40 million kroner, the surplus of imports over exports was brought down from 212 million kroner in 1924 to 130 millions in 1925.

Apart from labour and currency questions, the organisation of the national defence was the principal problem in Danish politics. The proposal of the Stauning Cabinet in the autumn of 1924 to abolish the Army and Navy and to replace them with a corps of police of 7,000 men and a few small inspection ships, was never expected by anyone to pass through Parliament in its original shape. A considerable amount of work was, in the first place, necessary, to bring about a basis of agreement between the Government Party and the Radical Liberals, who usually co-operated with it to form the Government's majority. This task occupied a Committee of the Lower House during the whole of the session in 1924-25. A compromise was finally reached to the effect that, broadly speaking, for the land defence force twice as many men were to be called up as originally proposed by the Government, and the force was to be equipped with light artillery and flying material; a considerable increase of the naval service was also proposed. Finally, it was proposed that the Act, after being passed by Parliament, should be submitted to a referendum before it came into force. The Government drew up a Bill on the lines indicated by the compromise, this, after a first reading, was again referred to a Committee.

In the sphere of foreign affairs the year was uneventful. Commercial intercourse was established with Russia, based on the recognition of the Soviet Government. Denmark's provisional commercial Treaties with Czechoslovakia and Greece were prolonged for short periods; with Siam a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation was concluded on September 1; an agreement was arrived at with France concerning the legalisation of certificates of origin, and Denmark became a co-signatory of the Anti-Smuggling Convention signed in Helsingfors on August 19. Of agreements other than those for trade may be mentioned those made with Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Switzerland, to establish Conciliation Boards to deal with disputes which cannot be settled through the ordinary diplomatic channels. All the northern countries have established these Conciliation Boards with each other. The Boards consist of five members, two chosen by each country and the fifth chosen by the two countries concerned conjointly. In addition, preliminary steps were taken for

the conclusion of Arbitration Treaties between Denmark and the three northern countries, Sweden, Norway, and Finland, and also with Germany.

SWEDEN.

Sweden was governed throughout 1925 by the Social Democratic Ministry—the third in succession—which was formed after the Second Chamber Election in the autumn of 1924. This Ministry, however, underwent substantial reconstruction, owing to the death of two of its leading members—of M. Branting, the Premier, on February 24 [see Obituaries], and of M. Thorson, the Finance Minister, two months later. The Ministry had already been reconstructed once when it became manifest that Branting's illness under the most favourable conditions would prove of long duration. On his retirement from the premiership he had been succeeded by M. Rickard Sandler, until then Minister of Commerce.

The Government thus reconstituted came to grips at once with the problem which for many years had dominated Swedish politics—the reorganisation of the national defence in such a way as, while preserving its efficiency, to bring its cost into accord with the financial resources of the country. The Government's proposals were placed before the Riksdag before the end of February, and on May 25 they were ratified with a number of amendments which did not alter their character in any essential particular. By the new system thus introduced, the army was reduced from six to four army corps, together with an independent brigade and the troops of Övre (Upper) Norrland and Gotland. The number of regiments was diminished considerably, and the period of military training for the great mass of those called up for service was reduced from 165 to 140 days. The navy, also, was subjected to a reorganisation, but on a less comprehensive scale. Finally, an independent air force was constituted for the navy and for the army in common.

This new organisation of defence involves an expenditure of about 107,000,000 kroner per annum, *i.e.*, about 31,000,000 less than previously. The political parties responsible for this measure consider that this is as much as the country can afford to spend on armaments without detriment to other important national interests. Nor was there any demand for a further reduction, as there would have been a few years earlier. The reception of the measure by the public brought out the significant fact that the Swedish working classes, as represented by the Social Democratic Party, have broken away completely and entirely from the sentimental pacificism which expresses itself in opposition to the establishment of national defence, and have accepted the idea that the country must be put in a position to defend itself. Such opposition as was offered to the Government was based on diver-

gences of view, partly as to what is essential to effective defence, and partly as to the strength and value of the world's peace movements as safeguards. It came chiefly from the Conservative Party, which regarded the measure as weakening Sweden's powers of defence unduly. The Conservative leader in the Second Chamber accordingly declared that the party intends to work for a comprehensive revision of the measure.

The Riksdag, besides thus solving the problem of national defence, enacted a number of other measures in the field of domestic politics. One of these was a Trust Bill providing facilities for instituting investigations into the business methods of trusts and cartels. A proposal made by the Right, in connexion with this Bill, to place trade unions and other workmen's associations on the same footing as the trusts, was not passed by the Riksdag. By a revision of the so-called *Ensittarelagen*, from 30,000 to 35,000 holders of farmsteads have been put in a position to purchase their holdings even in face of opposition from their landlords. To protect the owners of cultivated or cultivable land, a Bill was passed preventing in certain circumstances the purchase of such land by public companies.

Bolshevism which has never been strong in Sweden lost ground still further during the year. Of the two sections into which the Communist Party was split in 1924, only one remained faithful to Moscow, and the other decided to join the Social Democratic Party, accepting its programme unconditionally.

Economically the year showed an improvement on its predecessors. There were no serious troubles in the labour market, and employment conditions were good. Exports increased, and as the volume of imports remained almost unchanged, the balance of trade was favourable. Trade relations with foreign countries were further developed by the conclusion or ratification of a number of commercial and shipping agreements, as, for instance, with Poland, Siam, Spain, and Czechoslovakia, as well as by preliminary negotiations for a Commercial Treaty with Germany. Financially, too, the year was one of continued stabilisation, Swedish currency remaining remarkably steady. The Budget for the financial year July, 1925—June, 1926, balanced at 7,288,000,000 kroner. Expenditure during the previous year of 6,218,000,000 kroner was more than covered by revenue of 6,302,000,000, so that there was no need of new or increased taxation.

In the international sphere, Sweden energetically pursued her traditional policy of working for peace and goodwill between peoples. In pursuance of this object she sought to democratise the League of Nations (to whose Council she was again elected as a member), by urging the adoption of the rotation system for the election of the occupants of the non-permanent seats on the Council, a demand which was supported with

remarkable unanimity by Swedish public opinion. The leader of the Right in the First Chamber even went so far as to demand in the course of the debate on the Address that Sweden, in order to signify emphatically the strength of her feeling on this point, should resign her seat on the Council after she had filled it for three years. Such a suggestion, however, would scarcely be popular in Sweden, where it is held that those members of the Council who have occupied their seats longest should retire first.

At the sixth meeting of the Assembly the Swedish Government submitted a proposal which aimed at the realisation of the principle of arbitration agreed upon in the Geneva Protocol, and she further showed her attachment to this principle by the Treaties which she concluded in the course of the year with Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Norway. The Treaties with the two former Powers are at once conciliation and arbitration Treaties, and aim at a peaceful settlement of all conceivable disputes between the signatory countries. The Treaty between Sweden and Norway provides for the full and unreserved settlement of all disputes between the two parties, not excluding even questions which according to international law lie within the sole competence of either of these States. Negotiations in regard to similar Treaties with Denmark and England are in progress.

The system of Conciliation Treaties, which since 1924 had linked Sweden to her northern neighbours, was extended in 1925 to embrace Estonia and Latvia and Lithuania.

NORWAY.

When the Storting was opened by the King on January 19, the Speech from the Throne declared that the restoration of the State and municipal finances was the most important political question of the hour. The Estimates for the new financial year amounted to 427,000,000 kroner, a decrease of 6,330,000 as compared with the previous year.

The Storting elected as President Mr. Ivar Lykke, the Conservative leader. Mr. Wolden, of the Radical Left, was elected Vice-President.

In the debate on the Speech from the Throne, a Communist motion of want of confidence was defeated by an overwhelming majority, and although commanding only about a fifth of the votes of the Storting (34 deputies out of a total of 150), the Radical Government succeeded in maintaining its position throughout the year. This was largely due to the skill and political authority of the Premier, Mr. J. L. Mowinckel, whose reputation was enhanced by the way in which he represented Norway at the sixth Assembly of the League of Nations.

On March 6, the Odelsting adopted, by 64 to 41 votes, the Government Bill for an increase of the restaurant tax, not before the Premier had threatened to resign if the Bill were rejected.

A few days later it was also passed by the Lagting. The new law, which took effect on April 1, imposes a tax of 10 per cent. on all food, and beverages consumed in restaurants.

On May 29 the Government suffered a defeat in the Odelsting on a relatively unimportant matter—a proposal to abolish the franking privilege of the municipalities, which was rejected by 56 to 51 votes. The Premier declared that the Government would await the result of the vote in the other House before deciding its course of action. In the Lagting the Bill was carried by the President's casting vote. It was then sent back to the Odelsting, which decided to give way. The Bill was, consequently, passed, and the Government remained in power.

In July a Government crisis was narrowly averted for the third time. The Government, in order to balance the Budget, invited the Storting to increase the income tax by 10 per cent. Strong opposition being offered by the Conservative and Agrarian Parties, the Government, after protracted negotiations, consented to an increase of 5 instead of 10 per cent., the balance to be obtained by an increase of the tobacco duty and a further cutting down of expenditure. This proposal was carried in the Storting by a small majority, three members of the Agrarian Party voting with the Radical Left and the Labour Parties in support of the Government.

Opposition to the League of Nations is gradually dwindling in Norway. In the debate in the Storting on March 17 on the Government's request for 308,000 kroner as Norway's share of the League's expenses, only the Communists declared themselves hostile to Norway's adherence to the League. The grant was passed by a very large majority. It is significant that the Socialists, who previously were pronounced adversaries of the League, have changed their opinion, and voted for the Government proposal.

A proposal of the Communist Party calling on the Government to submit to the Storting a Bill for complete disarmament, was rejected on April 3, securing only 30 votes. Another Communist proposal, that a referendum should be taken on the disarmament question, was also rejected by a large majority, only the Labour Parties voting in favour of it. Outside Labour circles there is in Norway very little sympathy for disarmament, the general opinion being that Norway should take no isolated step in this matter, but co-operate with the other European Powers under the auspices of the League of Nations. The Storting was prorogued by the King on July 18.

In the municipal elections, which took place in October in the country districts, and in December in the boroughs, the bourgeois parties maintained their lead all over the country, the Communists suffering a crushing defeat. Except at Bergen and Trondhjem, where they are still an important minority, they

have practically ceased to exist. In Oslo, the capital, they were all but wiped out, and only narrowly succeeded in obtaining one representative on the municipal council. The Labour Party has now practically regained its old position, although the elections proved that the small Social Democratic group is not wholly dead. In Utsire, a small village in Western Norway, the election had the surprising result that only one man was elected, all the other municipal councillors—eleven in number—being women. The former Mayor's wife was elected Mayor, she being the first of her sex to fill such a position in Norway.

Norway assumed sovereignty over Svalbard (Spitsbergen) with a simple ceremony at Longyear City, on August 14. The Minister of Justice, Mr. Paal Berg, presided, and read a proclamation from the Norwegian Government. The Svalbard Treaty, signed by the great European Powers, the mining law, and the Norwegian law on the administration of the islands came into force simultaneously. The papers gave great prominence to the event, emphasising the importance of this extension of Norwegian territory. The Norwegian envoy at Paris, Mr. Wedel Jarlsberg, who was largely instrumental in bringing about the Svalbard Treaty, was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Olav, with chain. As Governor ("sysselmann") of Norway's new Arctic possession the Government appointed Mr. I. G. Bassøe, who had been head of a department in the Ministry of Commerce since 1916.

On the initiative of the Norwegian Government, negotiations were opened at Oslo in November between Norwegian and Swedish delegates with a view to the conclusion of an unconditional arbitration Treaty. Complete agreement having been reached, a Treaty was signed on November 25 by which Norway and Sweden pledge themselves to refer all disputes without any exception to the permanent international court at the Hague. Negotiations for an arbitration Treaty of the same character with Denmark and Finland were opened in December, but had not been concluded by the end of the year.

In December a new commercial Treaty was signed with the Russian Soviet Republic, replacing the temporary Treaty of 1921. A new shipping Treaty with Finland was also signed. The negotiations with Great Britain regarding the Norwegian territorial limit led to no result, the Norwegian fishing population strongly opposing the British proposal for changing the Norwegian territorial limit from four to three miles.

At the International Labour Conference at Geneva in May, Norway was given a seat on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. The Government appointed Mr. Lars Oftedal, Minister of Social Affairs, Norwegian delegate, with Mr. Th. G. Thorsen, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Social Affairs, as deputy delegate.

In the sphere of industry the year was calm. No strikes occurred ; in all industries employers and workers agreed to the introduction of new wages tariffs. Economically, the most interesting feature of the year was the sensational rise of the Norwegian krone, as a result of the skilful exchange policy of the Bank of Norway. Although gratifying as a testimony to the economic improvement of the country and the increased confidence it inspired abroad, the rise of the krone at the same time caused serious difficulties to the export industries, so that unemployment increased during the last months of the year.

Although 1925 was a difficult year for the shipping of Norway as of all other countries, the Norwegian merchant fleet was considerably increased, and is now bigger than the fleets of Denmark and Sweden together.

A review of Norwegian activity in 1925 would be incomplete without mentioning Roald Amundsen's Arctic flight and the *Maud's* return after forty months' voyage amid the ice of the Polar Sea. Captain Amundsen and his companions were given a Royal welcome on their arrival at Oslo on July 5. The King conferred decorations on the members of the expedition, and the Storting decided to double the annuity which was granted Mr. Amundsen after his return from the South Pole in 1911, making it 12,000 kroner in all.

FINLAND

In the internal affairs of the country, the outstanding event of the year was the election of the new President, on February 16. Dr. Lauri Kristian Relander, a Democrat of the Right Wing and a Republican, was chosen by the votes of the Agrarian Union, the Finnish Coalition Party, and the Swedish Party, to be President for the ensuing term of six years, from March 1, 1925 to March 1, 1931. The new President, who was born in 1883, is a scientific agriculturist, and was twice chosen by the Agrarian Party as their representative in the Diet. He was Speaker of the Diet in 1919, and in the following year became Governor of the Province of Viipuri (Viborg).

At a Conference that met at Helsingfors on January 16 the Foreign Ministers of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Poland discussed a number of questions affecting their common interests, including the pacific settlement of international disputes and disarmament. The delegates unanimously decided to recommend to their respective Governments a permanent co-operation directed towards the realisation of the principles embodied in the Protocol drawn up at the first meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and they also attained unanimity with regard to the procedure to be adopted in arbitrations on disputes arising between the countries represented at the Conference.

Early in the year the Diet sanctioned the raising of one or more

bond loans in foreign currency to a nominal amount not exceeding the equivalent of 800,000,000 Finnish marks, which was to be used chiefly for building a power station at the Imatra Rapids, and for granting credits for colonisation purposes. On March 17 an Agreement was signed with a syndicate of American banks, whereby the latter undertook to procure for the Government of Finland a loan of ten million dollars, for 25 years, at 7 per cent. interest.

A Cabinet crisis was precipitated in March by the action of the Diet in rejecting a proposal of the Government to amend the Electoral Laws of 1906 in order to provide for the representation in the Diet of political parties in a manner corresponding with the number of votes cast in their favour. On the invitation of the President, Professor Antti Tulenheimo formed a new Government composed of members of the Coalition and Agrarian Parties and of non-party politicians. Mr. K. G. Idman became Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. H. M. Relander, Minister of Finance. The new Government, which entered office on March 31, could count upon the support of only 41 per cent. of the votes in the Diet. On April 3 the Diet suspended its session till September 1.

On May 21 the President of the Finnish Republic visited Estonia, where he was given a cordial reception by all sections of the people. The visit—the first paid to a foreign country by the Head of the Finnish State since the foundation of the Republic—was acclaimed in Estonia and Finland as an outward sign of amity between two peoples connected by ties of blood and common interests. On June 19-21 the President paid an official visit to Sweden as the guest of the King and Queen. The warmth and splendour of the welcome accorded to the President by the Swedish Court and people likewise gave general satisfaction in Finland. On August 21 the King of Sweden, accompanied by his consort and one of the royal princes, returned the visit by coming to Helsingfors. This was the first occasion on which a Swedish sovereign visited Finland since the separation of the two countries in 1809.

On September 1 the Diet formally re-assembled for the purpose of receiving the Government's estimates for revenue and expenditure for 1926, adjourning almost immediately till October 20, when the ordinary autumn session began. In the course of the session the Government submitted a proposal for a new currency law, and new regulations for the Bank of Finland. Both measures were passed by December 12, when the Diet closed its autumn session. The refusal of the Diet to sanction the expenditure required by the Government's programme of naval construction led to a second Cabinet crisis; on December 10 Professor Antti Tulenheimo's Government resigned. By the end of the year a new Government was formed by Mr. Kyösti Kallio,

with the support of the Coalition and Agrarian Parties. Professor E. N. Setälä became Minister for Foreign Affairs and Mr. Jarvinen, Minister of Finance. There was general regret in Parliamentary circles that the Social Democrats adhered to their policy of declining the responsibility of taking part in the formation of a Government, since as long as this policy continued all Governments would rest on an unstable foundation.

During the year commercial Treaties were made and ratified with U.S.A., Poland, Latvia, and Spain; Conventions were concluded with Soviet Russia in regard to railway traffic between the two countries and to the exercise of control in the ex-territorial waters of the Gulf of Finland; and arbitration Treaties were concluded with Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA: PERSIA — AFGHANISTAN — IRAQ — PALESTINE — SYRIA — ARABIA — INDIA.

PERSIA

THE year 1925 witnessed the culmination of the career of the most remarkable figure produced by Persia in the present generation, Riza Khan Pahlevi, known for some years as the Sardar Sepah. From the time that, in 1921, he had, at the head of his Cossacks, brought about the *coup d'état* which caused the dismissal of the Sipahdar Azam, this unlettered soldier had been the dominant force in Persian politics, making and unmaking Ministries at his will. Thanks to his reorganisation of the army and his successful military exploits, his prestige steadily rose till his attempt to establish a Republic, in March, 1924 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 249). This brought him into conflict with the clergy, to whom he deemed it prudent to defer, and his influence suffered a set-back in consequence. But a pilgrimage to the Holy Places of Iraq and a successful campaign in the latter part of the year, in which he reduced the Sheikh of Mohammerah to subjection, restored him to popular favour, and when he returned to Teheran on the first day of 1925, he was received with demonstrations such as had never been made in honour of any Shah.

The supreme command at this time belonged to the Valiahd, the Shah's brother, who was acting as Regent during the Shah's absence in Europe, but Riza Khan, to secure himself the greatest possible freedom of action, persuaded the Mejliss shortly afterwards to appoint him "chief of all the defence forces of the country." In this position he continued his work of pacifying the outlying parts. Early in the year the Turcomans in the north had risen in rebellion owing to the arrest by the Persians of the Sardar of Bujnurd, their chief town, north-west of Meshed. In

the hostilities which followed, the Persians at first suffered reverses, but in May they sent strong reinforcements, and after some severe fighting they took Samalquam, the rebel stronghold, in the middle of July. The Sardar Muazzaz of Bujnurd and six of his adherents were publicly hanged at Meshed on July 22. Concurrently, early in June, there was trouble in Persian Baluchistan, but the disaffected elements were pacified with a promise to redress their grievances. On July 24 some 400 Arabs attacked Mohammerah, the Sheikh of which, Sir Khazel Khen, had been arrested two months previously, and looted the bazaar, but a few days later the Persian troops attacked and took the Sheikh's palace, and the disturbances were not renewed.

While Riza Khan was consolidating his position, the Shah remained in France, and showed no signs of returning to his dominions. The agitation against him was revived, and messages from the provinces clamouring for his deposition poured in upon the Mejliss and individual deputies during the summer. The Mejliss made repeated requests to him to return, and at length he intimated his intention of doing so in October. The publication of this message in the local Press on September 21 led to strange proceedings in Teheran. Riza Khan, on hearing the news, had expressed overwhelming joy and professed to be looking forward to meeting his Majesty, but this did not prevent demonstrations being organised in his favour and against the Shah. It turned out, however, that the Shah had more adherents in Teheran than was thought, and these for a few days demonstrated with much greater effect. The poor harvest was made an excuse for "bread riots" on September 22 and 23, and on the latter day some 200 of the demonstrators forced their way into the Soviet Legation, demanding "bast" (refuge), and clamouring for the return of the Shah and cheap bread. On the next day a procession, headed by women and children, penetrated into the Session Chamber of the Mejliss and mauled some of the Deputies, but a more formidable procession was dispersed by the military before it had done much damage. On the same day some more "pro-Shah" demonstrators took refuge in the Soviet Legation. This was regarded as strange, because hitherto the Soviet Government had been opposed to the Shah, and had supported Riza Khan, though its original friendship for him had considerably cooled.

On October 27 the Minister for Public Works explained in the Mejliss that there had been difficulties in regard to supplies owing to the bad harvest and lack of transport, but orders had been given to the bakers to carry on and there was no question of any deficiency. In spite, however, of the Government's orders, not only the bakers but the entire bazaars had closed their shops and held meetings and demonstrations, so that the Government had had to intervene and arrest some of the demonstrators.

The Shah failed to carry out his promise to leave Paris for Persia on October 2, and by the end of the month the agitation against him came to a head, having in the meanwhile led to the resignation of the Speaker of the Mejliss, Motamen-el-Mulk. On October 29 a debate began in the Assembly on the demand for a change in the Government made in the provinces, especially by the large landowners, and at the session of October 31, 80 Deputies out of the 85 present voted for the changes. The Shah was declared deposed and the Kajar dynasty at an end, after having ruled just over 130 years, and Riza Khan was nominated temporarily as the ruler of Persia, pending a decision of the National Assembly. The Valiahd left Teheran for Bagdad, and the new régime was recognised by the foreign representatives at Teheran. Riza Khan proclaimed an amnesty for political offenders, and preparations were set on foot for electing a Constituent Assembly.

The elections took place without incident, and the new Mejliss met on December 6. Its decision was a foregone conclusion. On December 13, by 257 votes to 3 it elected Riza Khan Shah of Persia, and made the Crown of Darius hereditary in his family, limiting the succession to sons born of a Persian mother. The new Shah was enthroned with acclamation on December 16. He appointed the Zoka-el-Mulk, who had been his colleague in the last four Cabinets, as his Prime Minister, with Mirza Hassan Khan Mushir as Foreign Minister.

The control of the national finances remained during the year in the hands of the American adviser, Dr. Millspaugh. A report issued by him in the autumn stated that foreign trade was increasing and that the accounts for 1923-24 showed a credit balance of about 150,000*l.*; and he expressed his conviction that "in view of the encouraging economic situation, the order and security which exist throughout the country, and the absence of international complications, the present condition of Persia is very satisfactory."

AFGHANISTAN.

In the early part of 1925 the Ameer took severe measures to prevent a recrudescence of the rebellion among the Khost tribes which had given him so much trouble in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 250). Early in February two shopkeepers in Kabul, members of the Ahmadia community of Moslems, and followers of the Quadian Mullah who had been executed in the previous summer for fomenting the rebellion, were sentenced to death by stoning for apostasy, and the sentence was carried out with great barbarity in the presence of Afghan officials. In the course of the same month there was a general dragooning of the revolted tribes. According to the Afghan newspapers, in two weeks all the Mangal villages were occupied, 3,500 houses were bombarded and burnt, 1,575 rebels were killed and wounded,

460 women and children died of cold and hunger during their flight in the snow, and 6,000 head of cattle and an immense booty were captured. The returning troops made a triumphal entry into Jelalabad, where flowers were showered on them by the Ameer and his mother. On May 25, sixty Khost rebels, mainly Ghilzais, were shot by order of the Ameer.

In the early summer an "incident" occurred which for a time disturbed the relations between Afghanistan and Italy. An Italian engineer resident in Kabul named Dario Piperno had been condemned to death by the Afghan Court for killing a policeman who was trying to arrest him for some offence. On the Italian Government offering to pay "blood money" for him, he was promised his release, but after the blood-money had been duly paid, he was executed on June 2. Signor Mussolini at once made a formal protest against the execution, and handed a Note to the Afghan Minister in Rome, demanding that the Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs should call in person on the Italian Minister in Kabul to express his regret at the incident, while a company of Afghan soldiers was to salute the Italian flag. He further demanded the payment of an indemnity of 7,000*l.*, in addition to the restoration of the blood-money. The Afghan Government procrastinated so long with its reply as to exhaust the patience of the Italian Government, and a rupture of diplomatic relations was imminent when, on August 17, a telegram reached Rome stating that the Afghan Government had agreed to come to terms. It was announced the next day that the Afghan Foreign Minister had presented the apologies of his Government to the Italian Minister at Kabul, and had handed over 6,000*l.* as indemnity and as repayment of the blood-money. Good relations between the two countries were thereupon resumed.

The Soviet Government during the year continued to make sedulous efforts to extend Russian influence in Afghanistan. Early in the year negotiations were commenced for a Russo-Afghan Trade Convention, and there was a steady infiltration of Russians prospecting for oil round Herat and in Afghan Turkestan. The Afghan Government looked with disfavour on this activity, and it became genuinely alarmed at Russian designs when, near the end of December, Russian troops occupied an island in the Oxus at Darkad, which had always been regarded as Afghan territory, overpowering two Afghan posts by which it was held.

The Ameer, after the Khost rebellion, did not prosecute further his reforming designs, and left the country in its traditional state. He devoted his energies to increasing its military power, having fifty young Afghans trained as airmen, and importing aeroplanes from Russia and large quantities of ammunition through India.

IRAQ.

The history of Iraq was overshadowed throughout the year by the question of the Northern boundary. The year opened with the question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq referred to a commission of the League of Nations. Its report was not published until August, and was then unfortunately to a large extent inconclusive. Its main findings were (a) that until a decision had been reached the district in dispute is legally an integral part of Turkey ; (b) that the population concerned, as a whole, preferred Iraqiian to Turkish sovereignty, but that if the British mandate were abandoned the population would probably prefer Turkish rule ; and (c) provided that the British mandate were extended for a period of twenty-five years, the whole of the district south of the " Brussels line " should be allotted to Iraq. Otherwise the boundary should be drawn along the Lesser Zab, leaving the town of Mosul to Turkey. The report was considered by the Council of the League in September, and a clear cut difference between the British and Turkish representatives there soon displayed itself. The outstanding statement on the British side was that Great Britain would be prepared to accept an extension of the period of the mandate beyond the three years which it had still to run, but would not commit itself to twenty-five years. Finally, the British representative avowed the intention of his Government to observe the decision of the Council of the League, whatever it might be. The Turkish representative, however, very pointedly omitted to follow his example, and ultimately the British representative felt himself absolved from his undertaking. In this difficulty the League Council avoided the issue by deciding to refer the question of its competency in the matter to the International Court at the Hague. This Court decided unanimously that the Council was competent to give a binding and final decision of the boundary question. Following this the Council decided at its December session that the " Brussels line " should be the boundary between the two states, provided, however, that within six months Great Britain accepted responsibility for the guardianship of Iraq for another period of twenty-five years, or until Iraq be qualified for admission to the League, if that be a shorter period. The terms were accepted by the British Government, which was invited to submit the draft of a new Treaty within six months, and at the same time to outline the special measures it proposed to adopt with regard to the local administration of the Kurds within Iraqiian territory.

While the question of the frontier was being considered by the Council of the League, the Turks began to harass and deport the Christian inhabitants of the district between the " Brussels line " and the line further north which the British had indicated as a desirable boundary. The attention of the Council of the

League was immediately called to this action, and at the request of the British representative a commission was sent to the district to investigate the charges. The report of this Commission justified most, if not all, of the charges that had been made against the Turks.

For a few days in May there was fighting in the neighbourhood of Suleimanie, Sheikh Mahmud's country, but it was not of a serious character. The Kurds, who attacked Iraquian forces, are supposed to have acted under Turkish influence. At the beginning of the year there had been a couple of Wahabi raids, which had been dispersed by British air forces.

A Parliament was due at the beginning of the year, and preparations for the elections were continued almost until the last moment, when they were postponed, a step rendered necessary by an electoral roll that was found to be about three times as large as the population of which it should form a part. This phenomenon is to be attributed to gross exaggeration by the tribal sheikhs of the numbers of their members, so that when the elections came they would be able to obtain a similarly undue proportion of deputies.

In June the Cabinet went out of office in consequence of internal dissensions, and Abdul Muhsin Beg, the retiring Minister of the Interior, who had previously been Prime Minister, was appointed to that office.

PALESTINE.

The historian of Palestine finds even less to say of the year 1925 than of its predecessor. The first High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, retired in July, and was succeeded by Field-Marshal Lord Plumer, but despite expectations that may have been aroused in certain quarters, the change of occupants of that office meant no change in policy. If there was any change it took the form of a tightening up of the administration. Jewish development in Palestine—industrial, agricultural, economic, and cultural—proceeded apace, a standard of measurement being a fivefold increase in Jewish immigration as compared with two years previously. The growing prosperity of the country as a whole, and consequent growth in revenue, enabled the Government to reduce by 20 per cent. the tithe which pressed so heavily on the agricultural population, which is of course overwhelmingly Arab, and at the same time end the year with a handsome surplus.

The principal event in the Jewish history of Palestine was the opening of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem by Lord Balfour on April 1. Governments, universities, and academic bodies from all parts of the world were represented on this occasion, but the Arab population of Palestine, almost to a man, abstained from the celebrations. Apart from the opening of the University, which is neither national, racial, nor religious, but open to

members of all peoples, races, and religions, the presence of the author of the Balfour Declaration served as an extreme irritant to the Arabs as a body. After the opening of the University, Lord Balfour toured the country, expressing his pleasure at the evidence of Jewish progress and development which he found in all parts. Despite many threats, no untoward incident attended his visit. It was only when he had left Palestine for Syria that manifestations against him took shape, but these manifestations were shrewdly suspected at the time, and subsequent events confirmed the suspicions, to be more anti-French than anti-Balfour.

In April the Secretary of State for the Colonies visited Palestine, and, as usual, Arab spokesmen took advantage of the occasion to air the supposed grievances of their countrymen. Mr. Amery, however, gave them no encouragement, nor did a later deputation with a similar object get any satisfaction from an interview with Lord Plumer, the new High Commissioner. Continual rebuffs must have their effect on the most determined, especially when none of their woeful prophecies ever attain fulfilment. To this continuous series of disappointments is probably to be attributed a noticeable weakening of the intransigence of the most stalwart of the Arab leaders, and competent observers would not be surprised at offers of co-operation in the near future from those who have hitherto led the opposition to the Government of Palestine.

Transjordan was even more devoid of history than Palestine. The hostilities in Syria, and especially the Hauran, caused a little anxiety regarding the Northern Frontier, but this anxiety was all anticipation. In the south a definite step was taken for the inclusion of the districts of Maan and Akaba in the British mandated territory. Ex-King Hussein, and some of his friends, protested somewhat vehemently against this attribution of territory, on the ground that these districts formed a part of the Hedjazian territories; but these protests passed practically unheeded, and a formal drawing of the frontier awaits only the stabilisation of the Kingdom of the Hedjaz or its successors.

SYRIA.

During the latter half of the year practically the whole of Syria was in a state of revolt against the French rule, or perhaps it would be more correct to say against the manner in which the French exercised it. The trouble commenced among the Druses in the Hauran, but after the initial successes of the rebels it spread throughout Syria, and even penetrated into the State of Lebanon. At the end of the year the situation seemed a little easier and there were rumours in the air, apparently not all baseless, of an early cessation of hostilities. Before that period had arrived, however, the French met with considerable difficulty,

not in keeping control of the country—that was lost at an early stage of the revolt—but in holding the few larger towns and the railway lines. At times they lost control of both Hama and Damascus, while the railways were repeatedly cut and the troops detailed for guarding the line were confined to the railway stations.

The year opened with the arrival of a new High Commissioner, General Sarrail, who, before its close, was recalled almost with ignominy. He immediately removed from office the French Governor of the Lebanon in order, as it was explained, to replace him by a Lebanese; but as the Council of Representatives in the Lebanon refused to accept his nominee without even a pretence of consideration as they were ordered to do, the High Commissioner dissolved the Council and appointed another Frenchman as Governor. The Lebanese, the most Francophil of the population of the Mandatory territory, were thus at once estranged from General Sarrail's rule, and his decision, contrary to precedent, to have no official relations with the heads of the Maronite Church, France's principal support in the past, still further decreased the confidence of the Christian part of the population.

However, for the time being, nothing untoward happened. The occasion of a visit to Damascus in April by Lord Balfour, after the opening of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, led to ugly manifestations which were suspected at the time by the more intelligent observers to be anti-French as much, if not more than, anti-Zionist, and as a consequence Lord Balfour was forced to bring his visit to Syria to an immediate close. After his departure complete calm appeared to be restored, although in July there were some casualties among the civil population of Beyrout on the occasion of a riot following representations by them to the governing authorities against the high rents. Almost immediately afterwards the Druses of the Hauran broke out in revolt.

The direct cause of the revolt was the methods of the French officials, and in particular of the Governor of the Hauran, who had introduced those to which he had been accustomed in Senegal. Deputations sent to Beyrout to protest were refused a hearing. The Druses persisted in their protests, and at length a deputation was invited to Damascus to state their case. On arrival it was promptly imprisoned. This proved to be the spark that was to set the whole of Syria on fire, for immediately on the arrival of the news in the Jebel Druse, the whole population rose, captured the Acting-Governor, and besieged the French garrison in the fort of Sueida, the chief town of the district. Sueida itself was occupied by the Druses. A relieving column was ambushed and destroyed, and a second and stronger column lost all its munitions and supplies and had to fight its way back to its base. A state of unrest at first manifesting itself in so-called brigandage soon

arose throughout Syria. Many of the roads became unsafe, and attacks on motor cars were of daily occurrence. Before the end of August the Druses made a movement in the direction of Damascus, but were repulsed. Certain Bedouin tribes joined the insurgents, and among other exploits captured the town of Deir-es-Zor, on the Euphrates, with its garrison. The French, on their part, began to bring reinforcements to Syria.

Despite the reassuring announcements of the High Commissioner for Syria and the French Government, the situation passed from bad to worse. The excitement in Damascus increased, and was not allayed by the open preparations of the French for the defence of the city against the enemy within as well as without. Syrian National leaders, who had taken refuge among the Druses, proclaimed a Syrian National Government. The tide of refugees from the east of Syria began to flow. French troops relieved the garrison of Sueida, but immediately withdrew, and for the remainder of the year the Hauran was entirely in the hands of the insurgents. Shortly before the relief and abandonment of Sueida, Hama, one of the principal towns in the north, was raided by Bedouins, the response to whom by the French was the bombardment of the city.

These events occurred in September. The principal event of October was the entry into Damascus of a small band of Druses and the simultaneous rising of a small party of the inhabitants. It was said that this was induced by the capture of a few Damascenes, who were peacefully working in the gardens around the city, and their execution as rebels by the French. The French seem to have entirely lost their heads. Their nationals were withdrawn from the centre of Damascus, but no notice given to the other Europeans of the French intentions. Tanks and armoured cars were then sent through the bazaars firing right and left. As this manifestation did not seem to quell the disturbance, the French then turned their guns on the city and sent bombing aeroplanes over it. For thirty-six hours the city was bombarded, and whole districts destroyed. Among other buildings the Azm Palace with its priceless museum was reduced to dust and ashes and a great portion of the historic Street called Straight laid in ruins. The number of deaths—men, women, and children—will never be known; estimates vary from 250 to 3,000. To the fate of the non-French Europeans extraordinary callousness was shown. That no harm befell them is to be attributed to the exertions of the British Consul, Mr. Smart, who, in conjunction with Moslem Notables, equally deserving of praise, took successful measures for their security. In France the bombardment of Damascus was the last straw in the burden of General Sarraill's failure. He was almost immediately recalled, and a civil High Commissioner, M. Henri de Jouvenel, appointed in his place. M. de Jouvenel showed himself conciliatory where his predecessor

had been intransigent, and although the war was still in course at the end of the year, peace seemed almost within sight.

Before the atmosphere had modified, however, the revolt spread throughout Syria. The Druse Army left the Hauran, marching westwards, occupied the district of Merj Ayun, in the south of Syria, and even penetrated into the Lebanon. Apart from Damascus, the French troops were concentrated in the Lebanon proper, and in Beyrout and its neighbourhood. The remainder of the country was virtually abandoned. Among the other mistakes of the French was the partial arming of the Christians of the Lebanon, very indifferent soldiers, whose effect was mainly to enrage and excite their non-Christian neighbours in whom the French failed to display similar confidence.

The end of the year saw the pressing back of the Druses towards the Hauran, and at the same time the announcement by the High Commissioner that he proposed to grant constitutions to the different States of the Mandatory Territory as they became pacified. The removal from office of the Turkish President of the State of Syria, Subhy Barakat Bey, gave much satisfaction to the Damascenes.

ARABIA.

Throughout almost the entire length of the eastern shore of the Red Sea the year 1925 was one of warfare. It opened with the new King of the Hedjaz practically confined to the two towns of Medina and Jeddah, and his enemy Ibn Saud, sworn to drive the entire Hashimite family from Arabia, preparing to translate his threat into reality. Until the end of the year the fighting between the two armies was for the most part desultory, and without any noticeable result. But in the last weeks Medina fell, almost without a blow, to the Wahabites, and Ali, recognising the situation as hopeless, abdicated, leaving the remnants of his kingdom to his victorious rival. At one time King Ali and also his father appealed to the British Government to intervene and stay the hand of Ibn Saud. But as the latter was averse from any such intervention, the British Government took no steps in the matter. An earlier attempt at intervention by the Indian Caliphate Committee met with no greater success, the Hedjaz Government declining to consider its proposals.

Ex-King Hussein had settled, temporarily at any rate, at Akaba on his abdication. There was reason to believe that he was using his position there to recruit in the districts of Akaba and Maan (which were claimed as part of Transjordan, and later formally annexed to that state), forces for his son's assistance in the Hedjaz. The British Government thereupon stepped in and suggested that Hussein should leave Akaba. The ex-King seemed somewhat disinclined to take this step, and some pressure by the British Government was found necessary before he departed for Cyprus.

In the south of Arabia also there was much unrest and fighting in the course of the year. The previous year had closed amid hostilities between the Idrisi Emir and the Imam Yehya of Sanaa, with the fate of Hodeida in jeopardy. When the new year opened the fortunes of the former appeared to be on the wane. The head sheikh, Ibn Tawak, of the Beni Abs, was reported to have gone over to the Imam's standard, and nearly all the tribes in the Tehama, which had hitherto supported the Idrisi Emir, as changing their allegiance. At the end of March the port of Hodeida fell to the army of the Imam Yehya. His successes continued throughout the year, but before it had closed a British Mission had appeared under Sir Gilbert Clayton, with the apparent intention of arranging terms of peace, if possible. This Mission had previously visited Ibn Saud, and had succeeded in fixing a satisfactory boundary between his dominions and those of Iraq and Transjordan.

INDIA.

During the year the struggle between the Government and the non-co-operators continued, but there were several signs of a better spirit and atmosphere. Economic conditions and trade showed a marked improvement.

On January 22, Sir Basil Blackett, Finance Member, made an important announcement on Indian currency problems. As regards the demand for the immediate stabilisation of the rupee, he said that Government considered it more important to keep prices from violent fluctuations rather than to try to keep the rupee in terms of gold. He claimed that since 1920 efforts to prevent undue price fluctuations had been successful and India had escaped a larger part of the violent fall in gold prices occurring in the last few years. Indian currency was one of the few remaining sane and sound in an insane and disordered world : and India had not suffered in consequence of the absence of a fixed ratio of gold to the rupee. Later in the year the appointment of a Royal Commission, with The Rt. Hon. E. Hilton Young, D.S.O., M.P., as Chairman, to consider the question of exchange and currency, was announced.

The Budget revealed an unexpectedly large surplus of Rs. 4 crores (2,665,000*l.* approximately) in 1924-25. Economy and three good monsoons in succession had produced favourable conditions for the reconstruction of the country's finances ; the relatively flourishing condition of trade had contributed to the buoyancy of the revenue and no new taxation was necessary. The final figures for 1923-24 showed a surplus of Rs. 239 lakhs (1,593,000*l.*) against an estimate of Rs. 206 lakhs (1,373,000*l.*). It was estimated that the figures for 1925-26 would be : revenue, Rs. 133 crores (89,120,000*l.*) ; expenditure, Rs. 130 crores (86,960,000*l.*).

In the Budget debates the Legislative Assembly carried a motion for the reduction of the salt tax, which was, however, restored by the Council of State. The abolition of the cotton excise duty was urged, and, following a strike of mill hands in Bombay, in consequence of a reduction of wages, and on consideration of the representations made by the owners, the duty was temporarily suspended towards the end of the year.

A bounty on steel manufactured in India during the twelve months ended September 30, 1925, at the rate of Rs. 20 (26s. 8d.) per ton, subject to certain conditions, was unanimously agreed to by the Assembly on January 26, on the ground that the policy of protection had broken down owing to the heavy drop in the price of Continental, particularly Belgian, steel. A specific duty of anna (1d.) per lb. on certain kinds of imported paper was substituted for the *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent.

With effect from April 1, there came into force for five years a systematic scheme for the amortisation or avoidance of the public debt of the Government of India, by which a minimum sum of Rs. 4 crores (3,000,000l.) will be provided each year for the purpose of redemption.

The Legislative Session at Delhi commenced on January 30, when Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith succeeded Sir Montagu Butler as President of the Council of State. Legislation engaged by far the greatest share of the Assembly's attention. The most important enactments passed were: The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, certified by the Governor-General; two Indian Merchant Shipping Amendment Acts (one dealing with the Haj pilgrim traffic); the Indian Soldiers' Litigation Act; the Cotton-Ginning and Pressing Factories Act, for the better regulation of cotton-ginning; the Paper Currency Amendment Act, giving the Government power to increase the paper currency up to Rs. 100 crores against the backing of securities held in reserve; two Income Tax Amendment Acts, the first dealing with the levying of super-tax; the Cotton Cess (Amendment) Act; and the Legislative Assembly (President's salary) Act, fixing the President's salary at Rs. 4,000 per mensem. Among subjects discussed in the Legislative Assembly were the following: Question of the establishment of a Legislative Assembly for Ajmer-Merwara (Feb. 24); the creation of a Supreme Court in India (Feb. 17); the Bengal Ordinance (Jan. 28); the re-transfer of Sylhet and Cachar to Bengal (Jan. 23); Indians in Tanganyika (Feb. 12); the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst (Feb. 19); the grant of a bounty to Tata's steel industry (Jan. 26); prohibition (Feb. 5); the public debt (Feb. 17); exchange and currency (Jan. 23); and various constitutional issues arising in connexion with the demands for grants and the Budget.

The Council of State discussed the following questions: North-West Frontier Inquiry Committee (March 16); scholarships for

Indian art students (Jan. 28) ; improper cinema films (Jan. 22) ; University Training Corps (Jan. 22 and Feb. 11) ; Mohammedan representation in the Services (March 3) ; Railway Advisory Committees (Feb. 25) ; interest payable to Mohammedan depositors (March 16) ; the Narora dam and the religious questions connected therewith (Feb. 16) ; the mineral resources of Chota Nagpur (Feb. 17) ; improvement of water-ways (Feb. 25) ; and opium (March 4).

The Indian Legislature reassembled on August 20. The most important subjects discussed in the Legislative Assembly were : the composition of the Currency Commission, above-mentioned (Aug. 25) ; the re-transfer of Sylhet and Cachar to Bengal (Sept. 2) ; prohibition (Sept. 2) ; recruitment of the Indian Medical Service (Sept. 2) ; electoral Rules (Sept. 2 and 16) ; the Reforms Inquiry Committee (Sept. 7 and 8) ; protection to the paper industry (Sept. 10, 14) ; the steel bounty (Sept. 15) ; separation of railway accounts and audit (Sept. 15) ; demands for supplementary grants (Sept. 15) ; cotton excise duty (Sept. 16) ; bounties upon wagons (Sept. 17) ; franchise for women (Sept. 17)

The Council of State discussed the following questions : Restriction of opium cultivation (Sept. 1) ; cotton mill industry (Sept. 3) ; steel bounty (Sept. 3 and 9) ; Indianisation of High Commissioner's staff (Sept. 8) ; franchise for women (Sept. 9) ; Indians in South Africa (Sept. 10) ; Reforms Inquiry Committee (Sept. 11, 12) ; transferred subjects (Sept. 15) ; and railway freight on coal (Sept. 15).

The most important Acts passed during the session were : The Sikh Gurdwaras (Supplementary) Act ; the Bamboo Paper Industry (Protection) Act ; the Carriage of Goods by Seas Act, and the Cotton Transport (Amendment) Act.

The economic position of India and the delay in the disposal of civil suits were investigated by Committees appointed by Government. Towards the end of the year it was foreshadowed that the conditions of agricultural and rural economy would also be investigated.

In March the " Muddiman " Committee, appointed to consider the question of a constitutional advance, issued its report. A majority considered that the Constitution had not been in force long enough to enable an opinion to be formed in regard to its success ; the minority contested this view and said that nothing but the disappearance of dyarchy and the substitution for it of provincial autonomy would pacify the Government's critics. Some relaxation of the Secretary of State's control was advocated by the majority. On April 10, the Viceroy sailed for England to confer with the Secretary of State, and, on his return to India, announced the Home Government's decision that the views of the majority would be accepted and that the time for an inquiry on the lines advocated by the minority had not yet arrived.

Lord Birkenhead invited, however, the Indian leaders "to produce a Constitution which would carry behind it a fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India." The Indian National Convention issued the draft of a Bill, for the establishment of a "Commonwealth of India," and towards the end of the Parliamentary Session a Bill on these lines was formally introduced in the Imperial Parliament by Mr. Lansbury, M.P.

The struggle in Bengal between the Government and the Swarajists was continued by the rejection of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill by the Legislative Council. The Bill was designed to give effect to the "Bengal Ordinance" promulgated by the Viceroy on October 25, 1924, for the suppression of terrorism in Bengal. Thereupon the Governor, Lord Lytton, "certified" the Bill. The vote on account of the salaries of the Bengal Ministers was rejected by the Bengal Legislative Council on March 23; the two Ministers resigned and the Governor took over the administration of the transferred subjects. Later, cuts were made in the Budget, but the items were restored in full by the Government. Afterwards the more moderate sections of the Bengal Swarajists were successful to some extent in opposing the extremist leader, Mr. Das, but the Government of India and the Secretary of State had no alternative but to suspend "dyarchy" in Bengal. Mr. Das died suddenly on June 16 (see Obituaries), at a moment when he seemed to have recognised that the policy he had long advocated had become impracticable, and just after he had made an offer to the Government tantamount to the conditional abandonment of non-co-operation. Mr. Sen Gupta Das, his lieutenant, was elected to the leadership of the Swarajists, and thereupon uncompromisingly declared war against the policy which he believed to have been decided upon by Government following the consultations at home between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy.

In July, Mr. Patel, Swarajist, was elected President of the Legislative Assembly in the place of Sir Alexander Whyte. An uncompromising and violent protestant against the British Raj, he, nevertheless, declared after his election, that he ceased from that moment to belong to any party, and, in the service of India, was prepared to accept co-operation and to plead its cause. This declaration had a great influence tending to sway opinion among non-co-operators towards abandonment of consistent obstruction and to the adoption of a more reasonable attitude.

In the Central Provinces members from the Marathi-speaking districts revolted against the Swarajist policy of obstruction to the Government. The Swarajists decided not to accept office as Ministers of Government.

On January 13 a well-known Moslem of Bombay, Mr. Abdulqudir Bawla, was shot dead whilst motoring along the ridge of Malabar Hill, Bombay, in company with a former dancing girl

of the Court of Indore. Several high officials of the Indore State were arrested, and, after trial, three of them were convicted and hanged, and others were sentenced to transportation for life, for their complicity in the affair.

On January 17 the Viceroy launched an appeal for funds to provide money for the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association. The Government appointed a Committee, in February, to consider the steps to be taken to constitute the Indian Territorial Force an efficient second line of reserve to the Regular Army. The first railway electrification scheme in India was inaugurated on February 3, by the opening of the electric railway on the harbour branch of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway from the Victoria terminus in Bombay to Kurla. On November 2 the Khyber Railway, extending from Jamrud to the cantonment at Landi Kotal, was opened. The Mettur-Cauvery project, for the irrigation of 300,000 acres, which is expected to cost more than 4,000,000*l.*, was inaugurated in July.

Foreign relations, particularly with Afghanistan, remained good. On the North-West frontier the operations of the Royal Air Force in Waziristan were crowned with success, and the Mahsud recalcitrants submitted and accepted in full the terms of the Government; there was an improvement in the general situation in Waziristan and a progressive reduction in the cost of the forces employed. The Home Cabinet approved, in principle, the institution of a civil air service between Egypt and India.

In the Punjab an attempt was made to solve the problem of the Sikh Gurdwara controversy by the passing of the Sikh Shrines Management Bill, designed to transfer the shrines from the care of the Mahants to that of representatives of the Sikh congregation. In July, Government announced the amnesty of most of the Sikh prisoners imprisoned after the disturbances of the previous year.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FAR EAST: CHINA—JAPAN—THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

CHINA.

THE history of China in the year 1925 falls sharply into two parts, divided by the events of May 30, known as the "Shanghai shootings." The events of that day and of the days following so profoundly affected the national outlook, and also the relations of China with the Powers, that they may be said to have ushered in a new era.

When the year opened, Tuan Chi-jui, the Chief Executive of the Provisional Government in Peking just recently recognised by the Powers, was endeavouring, in a state of unstable equilibrium,

to hold the balance between the rival Generals, Feng Yu-hsiang and Chang Tso-lin. Much was hoped from the Reorganisation Conference called "for the solution of the complicated situation and the discussion of constructive plans," which was to decide immediate military and financial questions and to arrange for the calling of a second People's Conference. From the first, however, it appears to have aroused very little enthusiasm, even among those military and other delegates who attended; and finally it became more and more impotent, through the secession, first of the whole of the Fengtien delegation and, later, of the South-Western delegates.

China lost one of her most famous sons by the death, on March 12, 1925, of Sun Yat Sen, leader of the Kuomintang Party, who had been the first President of the Chinese Republic [see under Obituaries]. He had been in poor health for many months, but had endeavoured to the last to reconstruct the Reorganisation Conference. The Provisional Chief Executive, Tuan Chi-jui, though belonging to a party opposed to the Kuomintang, issued a mandate in praise of the dead leader in which it was stated that: "He brought the Revolution of 1911 to a successful end, and yet disclaimed power and position. Notwithstanding this, he continued to work for the welfare of the people and the country with energy and wisdom that won him the admiration of the whole nation."

From the point of view of China's foreign relations, the most important events of the early part of the year were the meeting of the League of Nations Opium Conference, the passing of the China Indemnity (Application) Act, and the signing of the Franco-Chinese Agreement, which concluded the Gold Franc controversy.

The League of Nations Opium Conference at Geneva, which had adjourned on December 13, 1924, without reaching any conclusion, resumed on January 12, 1925. On February 7 the American and Chinese Delegations withdrew, in protest, after the American representative, the Hon. Stephen Porter, had accused Great Britain of a breach of faith in neglecting to carry out the Hague Convention. Lord Cecil, on behalf of Great Britain and India, had resisted the American proposal for the prohibition of prepared opium in fifteen or eighteen years' time, suggesting instead that the British Empire would only agree to the complete suppression of prepared opium in the British possessions in the Far East fifteen years after it had been decided by a Commission that China was not growing opium for smuggling purposes.

On June 30, 1925, the China Indemnity (Application) Act, 1925, became law. This provides for the future use of 400,000*l.* a year, the British quota of the Boxer Indemnity of 67½ millions which the British Cabinet decided, in December, 1922, to devote

to "purposes beneficial to the mutual interests of England and China."

The signing of the Franco-Chinese Agreement at Peking on April 12 brought to an end the dispute regarding the payment of the French quota of the Boxer Indemnity in gold francs. This controversy had been the cause of repeated Cabinet crises in China and was, moreover, responsible for France's refusal to ratify the Nine-Power Customs Tariff Treaty signed at Washington on February 6, 1922. The dispute being settled, France agreed to sign the Treaty, the Powers all deposited their ratifications at Washington (on August 5), and the obstacle to the Tariff Conference provided for in the Treaty was removed.

On May 30 a procession of Chinese workers and students, demonstrating as a protest against the killing of a Chinese workman by a Japanese foreman of a cotton mill, came into conflict with the police in the Shanghai International Settlement. Nine Chinese were killed and many others wounded. On the following day there was a further encounter, when four Chinese were killed, and several wounded. On June 3 and 4, British, American, and Japanese cruisers were brought to Shanghai, troops were landed, and, in the street-fighting which followed, some twenty Chinese were killed and a number wounded. There were no casualties among the foreigners.

The troubles of May 30 marked the culminating point of great unrest among the industrial workers of Shanghai. The Shanghai International Settlement has grown with immense rapidity into an industrial centre on Western lines. But, although the great modern machine-run factories employ their thousands of Chinese workers, there is an entire absence of protective factory legislation, and only the beginnings of Trade Union organisation. Modernised China of the Treaty Ports indeed resembles industrial England of a hundred and more years ago, when the little pauper apprentices were employed in the Lancashire mills under conditions which are now well known. The Peking Government had issued, in March, 1923, Provisional Factory Regulations; and, taking these as a basis, the self-governing Foreign Settlement, the Shanghai Municipal Council, appointed a Child Labour Commission, which reported in July, 1924. The Commission found extremely bad conditions of employment and, in particular, that children of all ages were employed in the cotton mills on twelve-hour day and night shifts, and in the silk filatures under conditions which the Commission described as "indefensible." The figures contained in an Appendix to the Report suggested that a greater proportion of children were employed in the foreign-owned than in the Chinese mills. The Commission also revealed that the standards of payment in employment as a whole were, in a great many cases, below the cost of living. The Shanghai Municipal Council proposed certain reforms, such as the prohibition of the

employment of children under ten in factories and industrial undertakings ; and in April, 1925, a special meeting of ratepayers qualified to vote in the International Settlement (*i.e.*, the foreign ratepayers) was convened in order to pass the necessary bye-law. There was, however, a great deal of lobbying against the proposed protective legislation, and the meeting failed for lack of a quorum. It was convened again on June 2, and once more failed, there being 177 votes short of the quorum of 902 (one-third of the qualified ratepayers) required, 725 persons only being present to vote.

Meanwhile, disputes as to wages and trade union organisation and discontent with conditions led to a number of strikes of increasing scope and importance. In the course of a strike at a Japanese cotton mill, the Japanese foreman (who, as is usual, carried arms), fired on and killed a Chinese worker. It was in protest against this that the great demonstrations were held, which resulted in the conflict between Chinese students and workers on the one hand, and foreign police and marines from foreign warships on the other.

The shooting of the Chinese students and strikers led to a general strike in Shanghai, followed later by an attempt to boycott British and Japanese goods. Although the original strife occurred in a Japanese mill, the fact that in the demonstration on May 30 a British police-officer had given the order to the Municipal Sikh police to "shoot to kill," concentrated hostility against the British. The trouble spread to other places. On June 11, conflict having arisen out of a dispute between the China Navigation Company and its workers at Hankow, British and other foreign naval forces were landed, machine-guns were brought into action, and eight Chinese persons were killed and about a dozen wounded.

On June 23, at Canton, thousands of students, workers and citizens paraded along the Bund to Shakee, which is separated by a wide canal from the island of Shameen, the Anglo-French Concession, in protest against the Shanghai shootings, and firing ensued. British and French marines fired machine-guns from the British Concession, killing 52 and wounding 117 Chinese. A French merchant was killed and four other foreigners injured.

The area of antagonism was widened as a result of these events, and the strikes and boycotts of British and Japanese goods were extended to many Treaty Ports, and, further, to the Crown Colony of Hong Kong, which, as the great depot of Chinese trade, has suffered most from these disturbances of its economic life. It was noted also that, for the time being, there was a tendency towards the staying of strife between the hitherto warring Chinese elements and the hardening of a united national feeling.

Meanwhile, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai

had formulated thirteen demands, with an intimation that the affair of the shooting of Chinese citizens could not be liquidated until these had been complied with by the Powers concerned. The diplomatic representatives of the Treaty Powers at Peking thereupon appointed a Commission of diplomatic officers which proceeded to Shanghai with the object of co-operating with a Commission appointed by the Chinese Government to investigate the matter. Co-operation failed because the Chinese Commissioners used the opportunity to bring up the whole question of China's international status, and it was alleged that they had put forward impossible demands, *e.g.*, the abolition of extra-territorial rights and the revision of "Unequal" treaties. The diplomatists made an inquiry of their own and, on their return to Peking, they presented a unanimous report to the Diplomatic Body. This report censured the American Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council, recommended the dismissal of the Commissioner of the Shanghai Police, and the bringing to trial of the Inspector who had issued the order "shoot to kill," on May 30. The two latter were of English nationality.

On the request of the British Consul-General at Shanghai, who telegraphed to the British Foreign Secretary, the report of the Diplomatic Body was not published, and the Shanghai Municipal Council was not required to act on its recommendations. Its contents, however, began to leak out through the French and Japanese newspapers in July. The fact that the recommendations were not acted on accerbated feeling in Shanghai, particularly as the Shanghai Mixed Court, presided over by a Chinese judge and the American Vice-Consul as Assessor, sitting on June 11 and the following days, had declared the Chinese students charged with violence in connexion with the demonstrations of May 30 not guilty. The incident of the appeal of the British Consul-General to the British Foreign Minister also destroyed the unanimity of the Treaty Powers' diplomatic representatives in Peking.

Meanwhile the strikes at Shanghai and Hong Kong continued, and so adversely affected British trade that Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister, decided that a further inquiry must be held into the affair of the shootings by a British, a Japanese, and an American judge, together with a Chinese judge, if the Chinese Government would appoint one. The Chinese, however, took the view that the necessary inquiries had been made by the Diplomatic Commission and the Chinese Commission, as also by the Shanghai Mixed Court; and that a Commission consisting of judges could only act in the same way as the other Commissions and cover the same ground at a later date, which would render the result of the later inquiry less reliable than the earlier. In consequence, the Chinese Government declined the invitation to appoint a member of the Judicial Commission.

The International Judicial Commission, consisting of Mr. Suga (Japanese), Sir Henry Gollan (British), and Mr. Justice Finley Johnson (American), commenced its inquiry on October 7. No Chinese responded to the request to give evidence before the Commission. Each of the three judges drew up a separate report. The British and Japanese judges agreed in exonerating the Shanghai Municipal Council of any blame for the shootings. The American judge differed from his colleagues, finding that the police were guilty of a lack of humaneness, and condemning the inaction of the Shanghai Commissioner of Police.

The judges' reports were not published until December 23, 1925. Although the American judge was in the minority, the Shanghai Municipal Council accepted the resignations of Police Commissioner McEwen and of Police Inspector Everson. The Municipal Council further tendered the sum of 75,000 dollars to the Chinese Government by way of compensation for the Chinese who had been killed or wounded during the disturbances. The Chinese Government, however, returned the cheque on the ground that, in view of the large number of victims, the amount was quite inadequate.

On October 26, 1925, the Chinese Customs Tariff Conference opened in Peking, and, on that day a gigantic demonstration was organised consisting of nearly 60,000 students and professors to back up the Chinese Government in a stand for Tariff Autonomy. Thirteen Powers, including China, were represented. The objects of the Conference, as laid down in Mr. Austen Chamberlain's instructions to the delegates, dated September 18, 1925, were to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of "likin" and the fulfilment of the other relevant conditions laid down in the Treaties specified and to determine the conditions on which a Customs surtax up to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on ordinary goods and 5 per cent. on luxuries might be levied as an interim measure pending the complete abolition of "likin."

It became clear that China would be satisfied with nothing short of Tariff Autonomy; and, on November 17, Dr. C. T. Wang, the chief Chinese delegate, declaring that it would be dangerous for him to run counter to the strong popular feeling, threatened to resign if the Powers persisted in attaching strings to the Chinese demand for tariff freedom. On the following day the Conference agreed that China should have perfect freedom to fix her own Customs Tariff and that this Tariff Autonomy should take effect as from January 1, 1929. China, on her side, agreed to abolish "likin" as from that date, but subsequently the Chinese delegates made it clear that they considered that the grant of Tariff Autonomy as being unconditional.

At the end of July, 1925, America proposed the holding of a Conference on extra-territoriality in China under the terms of Resolution 15 of the Washington Conference adopted on Decem-

ber 10, 1921, providing for a Commission of Inquiry into the practice of extra-territorial jurisdiction in China, to report to the signatory Powers. The Commission though finally convened for December 18, was eventually postponed, and had not met when the year closed.

Civil war broke out towards the end of the year and severe fighting took place in the northern provinces of Chihli and Fengtien. One of Marshal Chang Tso-lin's commanders, General Kuo Sung-ling, revolted, and, after some minor successes, including the capture, on December 21, of Hsinminfu, was finally defeated and, according to a despatch from Mukden, dated December 25, executed, together with his wife.

General opinion among foreigners as well as Chinese looked for the complete defeat of Chang Tso-lin, who himself in anticipation had announced his retirement from politics. His unexpected rally and triumph over Kuo was attributed by the Chinese vernacular Press to the timely assistance of Japanese troops in Chinese uniforms, together with aeroplanes and other munitions.

At the same time, on December 24, General Feng Yu-hsiang's troops captured Tientsin, defeating the forces of General Li Ching-lin. General Li Ching-lin took refuge in the Japanese Concession and his army retreated southwards, looting and plundering mercilessly on their way. Chang Tso-lin despatched ten field-guns and 3,000,000 bullets to his assistance, but it was too late.

The political difficulties had a very adverse effect on the China trade, there being a very heavy decrease in British exports to China. The largest drop was in the export of cotton piece goods of all kinds, which fell from 12,621,174*l.* in 1924 to 7,492,162*l.* in 1925, and worsted tissues, which decreased from 1,060,780*l.* to 602,513*l.* in the same period. It may, however, be noted that the British share of Chinese trade was decreasing, and the Japanese share increasing prior to the troubles of this year. In 1921 each of these countries supplied 43 per cent. of China's imports. In 1922 and 1923 Great Britain supplied 40 per cent. and 35 per cent. respectively of China's imports, while Japan had captured 47 per cent. and 53 per cent. respectively of her import trade.

Probably the severest effects of the loss of trade in 1925 have been felt in Hong Kong, the great *entrepôt* of trade in the East. After the Shameen troubles of June 23, a boycott of Hong Kong was proclaimed, and for the last six months of 1925 the island was blockaded from the land side so effectively that the British community was said to be largely reduced to idleness. The British Government, to prevent financial ruin, gave facilities to enable the Straits Settlements Government and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank to advance a loan of 3,000,000*l.* to the Hong Kong Government.

The Kuomintang Party which recovered power in Canton, after defeating the Yunnanese troops in the summer, and gradually extended its influence to the neighbouring provinces of Kwangsi and the island of Hainan, allowed ships to load and unload at Canton only on condition that they had not previously called at Hong Kong. Unofficial attempts made by the merchant community of Hong Kong to reach an understanding with the authorities in Canton, with a view to bringing to an end the anti-British boycott which was threatening to throttle the life out of Great Britain's great Crown Colony in the Far East, led to no results ; and the year closed in an atmosphere of pessimism as regards trading prospects and uncertainty as to the future of the relations of China with the Powers.

JAPAN

The year 1925 was characterised by a further determined effort on the part of the Government to reduce expenditure and postpone such undertakings as were likely to affect adversely the policy of national economy. In his speech at the opening of the Diet on January 22, the Prime Minister, Viscount Kato, dwelt at considerable length on this topic. After alluding to the proposed reduction of divisions in the Army, consonant with the requirements of national defence, and to the issue of new arms, he announced that the estimates for State expenditure had been cut down to the extent of some 26,000,000*l.*, that the financial programme for the fiscal year 1925 had been framed on the basis of the curtailed expenditure, and that no loan would be floated on the open market. He continued : " These measures have greatly strengthened our financial position, and also much relieved the pressure of State finance on the ordinary economic life. The Government have also instructed the local authorities to take similar financial measures, thus reducing the budgets of local self-governing bodies for 1925 by about 10,000,000 yen compared with the year 1924. Further, the Government will make careful investigations in regard to a readjustment of the taxation system in the near future. In the fiscal year 1926 the share of the State treasury in the expenses of compulsory education will be increased to lighten the burdens of the self-governing bodies."

With regard to future legislation, the Prime Minister announced that, believing the time was now ripe for the adoption of universal suffrage, a Bill would be introduced in the present Session of the Diet for the revision of the Electoral Law for members of the Lower House. Investigations regarding a modification of the constitution of the Upper House were also being made, with a view to perfecting the Constitutional Government, and as soon as definite plans had been drawn up, they would be submitted for the future consideration of the Diet.

The Foreign Minister, Baron Shidehara, addressing the Diet on the same occasion, prefaced the usual review of Japan's foreign relations with the remark that the present tendency in international affairs was to reject selfishness, to condemn aggression, and settle all questions by understanding and co-operation. The true interests of a nation could be secured only when they were in keeping with the rightful position of other nations on a fair and equitable basis. Upon this faith the Government took their stand and proposed to regulate their relations with all foreign countries.

As regards China, the policy of respecting China's position whilst safeguarding that of Japan, and non-interference in Chinese domestic affairs, as laid down by the Government in the previous summer, had been strictly followed, and, moreover, he desired to reiterate the oft-repeated declaration of the Japanese Government that they had no aggressive or territorial designs in Manchuria or in any other part of China. Japan had absolutely refrained from supplying any party in China with arms, munitions, or loans that might be utilised for the purpose of continuing hostilities. The Chinese people must be left free to order their own national life in their own way. In no case could Japan accept any plan to place the Chinese railways and administrative organs under international control, and they were satisfied that no such project was under contemplation by any foreign Government.

Dealing with Russo-Japanese relations, Baron Shidehara had the satisfaction of alluding to the settlement, after protracted negotiations, of important problems, some involving serious difficulties, between Japan and the Soviet Government by the signature of a basic convention and supplementary documents between the two countries on the night of January 20. [For the text of this Treaty, see under Public Documents.] The Minister pointed out that the Government had fully realised that Russia and Japan, having many common interests, were bound to maintain relations of amity. Therefore, if all pending questions were not settled before the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, unpleasant disputes would immediately follow. Nothing had been further from the thoughts of the Government than the idea of bargaining away the recognition of the Soviet Government in return for oil and coal concessions. They had simply tried to forestall and eliminate the sources of future trouble. By the Convention concluded long outstanding questions had been satisfactorily settled.

With regard to the United States of America, it was evident that Japan should live on terms of cordial friendship with that country and co-operate with her in the great mission of promoting the peace and security of the Pacific regions of the world. The Government were confident that these views were shared by the vast majority of the American people. The discriminating clause

against the Japanese in the Immigration Act of 1924 was regretted by the Government of Japan, and the question still remained unsettled. In view of the fact that law cannot be modified except by law, and that under the constitutional system of the United States the Legislature is entirely independent of the Executive, it was obvious that further discussion between the two Governments would not, in itself, serve any useful purpose. What was really important was that the American people should, in the final analysis, understand the Japanese point of view, and there was no doubt that the love of justice which kindled American independence, still inspired the minds of the American people, and would eventually be fully demonstrated.

The guiding principle of the Government's foreign policy, the Foreign Minister concluded, was to safeguard and promote Japan's legitimate rights and interests with due regard to those of other nations, and to advance international co-operation instead of international antagonism.

The Basic Convention between Japan and Russia, alluded to above by the Foreign Minister, came into force on February 26 and was promulgated the following day. The evacuation of the Japanese garrison from North Saghalien was carried out punctually to the date stipulated in the Convention. Further, an Annexed Note to the Convention contained the "expression of sincere regrets for the Nikolaievsk incident of 1920," thus settling, in a manner satisfactory to both sides, a controversy which had been a severe thorn in the flesh of successive Japanese Governments for practically five years.

As announced by the Prime Minister, a Manhood Suffrage Bill was duly introduced by the Government on February 21, and almost immediately entered on the Committee stage. It was adopted by the Lower House on March 2, and after the Government had successfully resisted an attempt by the House of Peers to incorporate an amendment disenfranchising partially dependent voters, was finally passed by the Upper House on March 30, and promulgated on May 5. The Manhood Suffrage Law will become operative at the next General Election, and it is calculated that the electorate will thereby be increased by some 10,000,000 voters. Under the new law every male over 25 years of age enjoys the franchise, provided that he has been domiciled continuously at least one year in any city, town, or village, and is not in receipt of public or private relief. Males over 30 years of age are eligible for election, except in case of a special condition providing against such election. Officials connected with electoral business are ineligible during the period of their service, and peers are excluded from both the franchise and the right to stand for the Lower House. All Government officials while in office are ineligible for election, except Cabinet Ministers, the Chief Secretary to the Cabinet, the President of the Bureau of Legis-

lation, Parliamentary Under-Secretaries and Councillors and Private Secretaries.

On February 20 a Government measure entitled the Peace Preservation Bill was introduced in the Diet by the Minister of Home Affairs, who declared that the enactment was necessitated by the serious growth of subversive activities, especially in labour circles. The measure was referred to Committee, and was passed by the Lower House by 248 votes to 18 on March 7, and by the Upper House on March 20. Article I. of the new law, which was promulgated on May 5, reads: "Persons who organise a society with the object of changing the *Kokutai* (the formation of Japanese Government and society that recognises the throne as the centre of the existence of Japan as a nation), or of repudiating the system of the private ownership of property, and those who join such a society knowing its nature, shall be liable to a sentence of penal servitude or imprisonment without labour for not more than ten years."

Soon after the close of the Diet Session on March 31, Mr. K. Takahashi, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, announced his intention of retiring from the leadership of the Seiyukai Party in favour of Baron G. Tanaka. This announcement proved to be the prelude to a party manœuvre of considerable importance, whereby the three Seiyukai members of the Cabinet hoped to split the Coalition with the Kenseikai majority and, with the compliance of the Seiyuhonto Party in the Diet, secure the formation of a Seiyukai Government, with Baron Tanaka as its chief. By July the situation had further developed, and a deadlock occurred in the Cabinet on July 18 over the question of the revision of internal taxation. The climax was reached on July 31 when the taxation proposals were again brought up for discussion. These proposals included the raising of the limit for exemption from income tax, the abolition of cotton and transit taxes, the imposition of new taxes on toilet goods and medicines, and the revision of the Customs duties. The Minister of Justice and the Minister of Industry and Commerce, both members of the Seiyukai, walked out of the meeting, and in face of this demonstration, the Cabinet immediately resigned. The expected adjustment between the Seiyukai and the Seiyuhonto Parties, however, was not realised, and the suggestion to form a Seiyukai Ministry was not received favourably in political circles. As a result, the Prince Regent requested Viscount Kato to remain in office and form a new Cabinet.

The reconstruction was effected by August 1, and involved the exclusion of the Seiyukai members, the new Cabinet being constituted as follows :—

Prime Minister	-	-	-	-	Viscount Takaaki Kato, G.C.M.G.
Minister for Home Affairs	-	-	-	-	Mr. Reijiro Wakatsuki.
Minister for Foreign Affairs	-	-	-	-	Baron Kijuro Shidehara, K.B.E.

Minister of Finance	-	-	-	Mr. Yuko Hamaguchi.
Minister of War	-	-	-	Lt.-General Kazushige Ugaki.
Minister of Navy	-	-	-	Admiral Hyo Takarabe.
Minister of Justice	-	-	-	Mr. Yoku Yagi.
Minister of Education	-	-	-	Mr. Ryohei Okada.
Minister of Agriculture and Forestry	-	-	-	Mr. Seiji Hayami.
Minister of Commerce and Industry	-	-	-	Mr. Chokuon Kataoka.
Minister of Communications	-	-	-	Mr. Kenzo Adachi.
Minister of Railways	-	-	-	Mr. Mitsugu Sengoku.

The reception of the invitation from the Chinese Government to attend a Tariff Conference in October for the purpose of considering proposals for alterations in the Chinese Customs Tariff did not evoke any important political reaction in Japan. On September 1 the Government published the text of their acceptance, declaring their pleasure in participating in the Conference and their readiness to discuss conjointly with other interested Powers any reasonable proposals which China might submit regarding the Customs Tariff. This declaration was, on the whole, received with general public approval, although the Government attitude of strict non-interference in subsequent events in China evoked some criticism from the Opposition Parties, to the effect that the China policy of the Cabinet was feeble. In October, when a new civil war broke out in China, the Japanese Government at first confined themselves to watching events closely, especially as by the middle of November the situation had not become worse in the three Eastern Provinces, in spite of the fact that the forces of General Sun Chuang-fang had caused the Fengtien army to evacuate Shanghai. The Government, therefore, recalled those men of the Japanese garrison in Manchuria whose term of active service had expired, in accordance with the usual procedure. Subsequently, on November 24, General Kuo Sung-ling began to march against his former chief, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, who, after first making a stand at Lienshan, behind the Manchurian frontier, then began a retreat towards the Liaoho, where it appeared likely that a desperate conflict might take place. The Japanese Government, therefore, apprehending that the situation might rapidly develop into engagements in the Manchurian railway zone, caused the Commander of the Japanese garrison in Manchuria to warn the chiefs of both opposing forces that he would not countenance damage or possible danger to the hundreds of thousands of Japanese residents in Manchuria, especially in view of the great amount of capital invested in that region by the Government and the people of Japan and their vital interests and valuable rights. By December 15 it seemed likely that a conflict might take place at any moment between the forces of Marshal Chang and General Kuo in the open Port of Yingkow. The Japanese garrison in Manchuria had, therefore, now to keep special watch over a zone extending from Yingkow in the south, to Tiehling in the north, a task which was practically impossible, in view of its reduced strength. Actual fighting in

the railway zone, or the looting and terrorising of open towns by uncontrolled remnants of a defeated army, were potential factors of the situation: the Japanese Government, therefore, decided to bring the Manchurian garrison up to its normal strength at once, that is to say, to about 7,000 men, although 15,000 men may be maintained there under the Treaty of Portsmouth. After the decisive battle on the Liaoho, the general situation quieted down, and no further fighting took place, so that the additional Japanese troops were promptly recalled and all emergency measures ceased. These precautionary measures on the part of the Japanese Government were misconstrued at the time as a design to strengthen the Fengtien army, and the warning which the Japanese commander addressed to the opposing armies before Yingkow was misrepresented as an act directed solely against General Kuo's operations. Both these assumptions were ultimately recognised as groundless.

Several outstanding events in the life of the Imperial family took place during the year. On May 10 the Emperor and Empress of Japan celebrated their silver wedding, the national rejoicings in honour of the event lasting several days. On December 6 the Crown Princess of Japan gave birth to a daughter, upon whom the name of Shigeko Terunomiya (signifying "prosperity and brightness") was conferred with full Court ceremonial on December 12. On May 24 Prince Chichibu, the second son of the Emperor, sailed from Japan in order to spend two years in England to complete his studies. On July 7 the Prince reached London, being received on his arrival by the Duke of York, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and others.

On September 16 Prince George landed at Yokohama from H.M.S. *Hawkins* for a three days' visit to Japan, and immediately proceeded to Tokio, where he was welcomed by Prince Takamatsu, the third son of the Emperor. Prince George was made a Knight of the Order of the Chrysanthemum.

On February 9, in accordance with the terms of the Washington Naval Disarmament Treaty, the disposal of a number of battle-ships was completed. The *Aki*, *Satsuma*, *Hizen*, and *Tosa* were sunk at sea; the *Ikoma*, *Ibuki*, *Kashima*, *Kurama*, *Katori*, and *Armagi* were completely broken up; and the *Settsu* was turned over for target practice. The *Asahi* and *Shikishima* were rendered unfit for fighting service, as was also the *Mikasa*. The latter, which was the flagship of Admiral Togo in the Russo-Japanese War at the battle of the Tsushima Strait, although destined for scrapping, was preserved as a national relic, after due arrangement with the other Powers concerned in the Treaty.

For the first time in her history, Japan inaugurated the exchange, in 1925, of Ambassadors with Turkey, and towards the end of the year cordial messages were exchanged between Viscount Kato and Mr. Bruce, on the occasion of the appointment of

Mr. I. M. Tokugawa, son of Prince Tokugawa, as Japanese Consul-General in Australia.

Two catastrophes occurred in the course of the year, the first being an earthquake which visited the northern part of the Prefecture of Hyogo at 11 A.M. on May 23. The area seriously affected, however, was only that between the towns of Toyooka and Hamazaka, a distance of 30 miles. In the former town, with a population of 9,118, 100 persons were killed and injured, partly by earthquake and partly by the fire which followed, nearly 2,000 houses being burnt down. Kinosaki, with a population of 3,601, was practically destroyed by fire, but there were few casualties. Another small town, Kumihamma, lost 500 houses by fire. Osaka suffered no casualties or material damage and the economic effect of the earthquake was infinitesimal, as the district affected contained no important industries.

On September 18 fire broke out in the Japanese Diet, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives both being destroyed. The buildings, which were of wood, each covered an area of some 5,000 square feet, and stood opposite the Hibiya Park.

NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

For the Netherlands East Indies the most important event in 1925 was the passing, by the States-General in Holland, of the "Law regarding the Statute of Government of the Netherlands East Indies" for replacing the former "Regulation" for the same purpose, this having been necessitated by the revision of the Dutch Constitution which, *inter alia*, opened a wider prospect of autonomy to the Netherlands East Indies (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1922, p. 267, and 1923, p. 276). The original proposals have been considerably amended. It is expressly laid down that not only will the Central Government of the Kingdom retain control, but that the Governor-General will carry out the administration of the Netherlands East Indies with due regard to the suggestions of the Government in Holland. The People's Council (Volksraad) will remain chiefly a consultative body, but it will still have a not inconsiderable voice in legislation. For practical reasons its participation will, as a rule, be carried out by a college of delegates to be elected by the Council from among its members under the system of proportional representation. The legislative powers of the Council of India will be abolished. The People's Council will henceforth include at least 30 Dutch subjects who are also Hollanders; 25 Dutch subjects who are non-Hollanders of native origin, and at most 5, but not less than 3, non-Hollanders of foreign origin. Of these 20, 5 and 3 respectively will be elected, and the others will be appointed by the Governor-General. The Governor-General will assume his functions in a public assembly of the People's Council. To this Council is granted the right

of putting questions. The Budget will be settled by the People's Council in conjunction with the Governor-General, and the Dutch States-General will decide only upon the entire Chapters (Sections) of the Budget. Only in case of lack of agreement between the People's Council and the Governor-General will the Netherlands Parliament have the right to intervene. The Crown and the States-General will possess the right of veto on all ordinances. All matters concerning treaties and agreements with foreign Powers, and in general all rights and duties originating from international law and those regarding the defence of the territory of the Netherlands East Indies, since they affect the Kingdom as a whole, will remain under the control of the Crown or of the States-General. The new law comes into force as from January 1, 1926, and it is anticipated that by the end of the year it will have been carried into effect completely.

The People's Council, in its autumn session, passed a revision of communal law, by which the influence of the native element is somewhat extended. The census suffrage was maintained; the elector will have to prove his ability to read and write, and must have reached the age of 23. Female suffrage was not adopted. It was declared desirable to introduce proportional representation also for the communal councils.

The policy of decentralisation was continued, *inter alia*, by the institution of a province of West Java with a Governor at its head, and of eighteen regency councils within the territory of that province.

The campaign against communistic and other subversive agitations was carried on with vigour. Powers were conferred on the Government to restrict the right of assembly of particular societies, either for special regions, or for the whole of the Netherlands East Indies.

The problem of naval defence remained in abeyance in view of the intention of the newly-appointed administration in Holland to create a separate Indian Navy, and to restrict the Navy in Holland to coastal defence as a part of the general defence of the country.

A dispute arose with the United States regarding the sovereignty of the island of Mianges. The Governments of The Hague and Washington agreed to refer this question to arbitration.

The financial situation of the Netherlands East Indies, by the end of 1925, thanks to vigorous retrenchment and the favourable returns from the agricultural estates, was satisfactory. The results of 1924 were, for the Ordinary Budget, over 109½ millions, and for the Extraordinary Budget, 19 million guilders, better than estimated, the entire service showing a surplus of over 45 million guilders. For 1925 a surplus of over 1,000,000 guilders was estimated on the Ordinary Budget, and it is anticipated that it will actually amount to over 28,000,000. The estimated deficit

on the entire Budget of nearly 49 millions will, therefore, be reduced to about 24 millions.

CHAPTER IX.

AFRICA : THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—THE NATIVE TERRITORIES
—SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE—RHODESIA—MOZAMBIQUE AND
ANGOLA—BELGIAN CONGO—MOROCCO—EGYPT.

SOUTH AFRICA

DURING the year 1925 the Union of South Africa enjoyed a period of comparative industrial peace. Without strikes or serious labour disputes to impede its activities the Government was enabled to concentrate attention upon an avalanche of legislative proposals heaped upon it as a result of the creation of the Nationalist-Labour pact.

Many of the proposed Bills were of a highly contentious character. The main object of the Nationality and Flag Bill was to meet the desirability of defining South African nationality for League of Nations purposes, thereby removing certain anomalies and irregularities existing more particularly in the Transvaal. It was laid down in the old South African Republican law that persons born between 1894 and 1900 of non-burgher parents should be regarded as strangers. Many inhabitants of the Transvaal who look upon themselves as burghers and who are registered voters do not possess naturalisation rights as thus defined, and the new measure was to remedy this anomaly on the lines of the Act passed for the South-West Protectorate (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 278). The adoption of the measure would have perpetuated the principle that a British subject was not necessarily, as such, a burgher of South Africa, and it would have therefore created a distinct South African nationality. The Bill promised to be keenly debated, but on July 21, four days before Parliament was prorogued, Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, moved its discharge.

The House of Assembly met on February 13. Early in the session the House adopted by 71 votes to 47 a motion by Mr. Barlow, one of the representatives of Labour, praying His Majesty the King to refrain in future from bestowing titles upon his subjects residing in South Africa and its mandated territories.

A fierce controversy, the reverberations of which were felt in distant parts of the Empire, was stirred up by the introduction of a Bill embodying the Asiatic policy of the Government. The measure started on the assumption that an Indian was an alien in the country, the Government contention being that no solution of the Asiatic problem would prove satisfactory unless it resulted in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population. This

it was sought to bring about by the application of pressure to supplement the inducement to Indians to leave the Union. To a certain extent the Bill followed the principle of the measure introduced by the late Government (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 272), but its scope was widened in the direction of giving effect to the recommendations of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission. It embraced resident and commercial segregation, landownership (especially in Natal), and proposed to amend the Immigrants' Regulation Act with the object of ending the influx of Indians, especially women.

The Bill was read a first time before the House rose, and although no further development with reference to it took place during the session the publication of the Government's intention aroused the whole of the Indian population of the Union to determined opposition and immediate action. Dr. Malan, in introducing the measure, was careful to observe that it had been framed with a desire to regard Indian susceptibilities, but the Indian community was instantly unanimous in denunciation. The president of the Natal Indian Association called a deputation to wait upon the Premier, and declared that if this failed, personal representations would be made to the Indian Government. The Bill was condemned as a violation of pledges and promises to safeguard the vested rights of Indians, and as an attempt to force a large number to leave without the ameliorating factor of compensation.

These views were given expression in a cable sent to Simla, a few days later, urging the Indian Government to voice its attitude towards the Bill. In the Legislative Assembly at Simla on September 13, Mr. Bhore announced, on behalf of the Government, that negotiations were in progress with the Union Government for a round-table conference. On November 24 a deputation representing the South African Indian Congress sailed from Durban for India. About the same time a deputation left India for South Africa. The South African deputation, headed by Dr. Abdurrahman, was received by the Viceroy on December 19. Lord Reading assured the deputation that whatever other political differences existed there was unanimity in India with regard to the position of Indians in Africa. The Indian Government watched carefully for anti-Asiatic legislation, and reserved the right to take appropriate action in the event of the Union Government refusing to listen to its representations. At the Indian National Congress at Cawnpore, on December 26, a resolution was adopted on the proposition of Mr. Gandhi, assuring South African Indians of support, and suggesting arbitration or a round-table conference for the settlement of the position, failing which the British Government should be asked to instruct the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa to withhold assent to the Reservation Areas Bill.

But not only had the Government to face the extremely difficult task of placating Indian feeling both within and without the Union. It had also to satisfy the native population that an attempt would not be made to lower the status hitherto accorded it. The note of alarm was sounded by the Premier in a speech at Smithfield on November 13, when he broadly outlined his native policy. This provided, among other things, for the extinction of the native franchise in the Cape, and the creation of the right of natives domiciled in the Union to elect seven Europeans to represent them in the House of Assembly. It was further contemplated to invoke the law of 1913 to give the natives additional land; and under the law of 1920 native councils similar to those in the Transkei were to be established. These proposals, it was feared, would divide Parliament not on party but on territorial lines. In order to avoid any such possibility, General Smuts proposed that the whole native question be referred to a new native commission.

Apart from its legislative achievements, the Parliamentary session was chiefly noteworthy for the development of a conflict between the Senate and the Legislative Assembly. At one period it threatened to involve the country in a serious constitutional crisis. The trouble arose out of the Colour Bar Bill. This measure proposed to amend the Mines and Works Act by legalising the colour bar by refusing, in specified provinces, certificates of proficiency in any occupation to natives or Asiatics. Broadly, the Bill would have had the effect of legalising a practice on the Rand which the Supreme Court of the Transvaal had declared to be illegal. It was keenly criticised, and only passed its third reading by 44 votes to 31, the narrowest majority of the session. A fortnight later the Senate rejected it by 17 votes to 13. The feeling thus engendered was intensified by the Senate's action over the Electoral Bill. During the committee stage of this measure the Second Chamber deleted two clauses, the first of which required voters in the Cape Province possessing both wage and residential qualifications to register in the constituency of residence; the second imposed restrictions on the public Press in dealing with election news.

Thereupon Dr. Malan conveyed a message from the House of Assembly requesting the Senate to reconsider its decision, declaring that the situation demonstrated in the clearest manner the impossibility of a system which made the Assembly subject to the veto right of a caucus of the Opposition. The Senate reaffirmed its decision to reject the clauses. A heated controversy ensued. General Smuts, as Leader of the Opposition, maintained that the Senate had acted within its constitutional rights. With this view the Premier was broadly in agreement—the admission undoubtedly materially assisted in averting a dramatic development—but he blamed the Opposition for having packed the Senate with strong partisans.

South Africa was not represented at the deliberations which preceded the signing of the Geneva Protocol, but the discussions were followed by politicians and public with the closest attention. The Government's reason for abstaining from participation in the proceedings was that South Africa was not prepared to add to her obligations under the League Covenant. This attitude was explained by General Hertzog in a letter to the Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone, which was laid on the table of the House of Assembly on June 20.

Sir Edgar Walton, who returned to South Africa upon relinquishing the High Commissionership in London, was succeeded in office by Mr. J. S. Smit. Sir Frederic de Waal, Administrator of the Cape Province, retired from public life, and Mr. A. P. J. Fourie was appointed by the Government to fill the vacancy. In the Administratorship of the South-West Protectorate, Mr. Hofmeyr was succeeded by Mr. A. J. Werth.

The Prince of Wales made a very complete tour of South Africa in the early part of the year, following a visit to West Africa. The University of the Witwatersrand conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. By the tribesmen of the native reservations in Cape Province he was christened Langa Layakanya (Shining Sun). He also extensively toured Southern and Northern Rhodesia, visiting the grave of Rhodes on the Matopos, the Zimbabwe ruins, and the Victoria Falls. Broken Hill marked the northern limit of the tour.

THE NATIVE TERRITORIES

Negotiations for the inclusion of Swaziland and Bechuanaland in the Union (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 275), were continued during 1925, but no definite conclusion was reached, although there were interchanges of views between various deputations from the native territories and representatives of the Government. The future of Bechuanaland became a matter of greater public interest as a result of the death of Chief Sekgoma, the son and successor of Khama, whose heir was his four-year-old son.

Tshkedi, a son of Khama, is acting as Regent of the Bamangwato, during the minority of the infant son of Sekgoma.

In reply to questions in the House of Commons, on November 30, Mr. Amery stated that Parliament would be consulted before any steps were taken to transfer the Protectorate to the Union, and that the Government did not contemplate any such transfer in the near future.

As regards Swaziland, a similar condition of uncertainty existed concerning the future administrative system. According to Mr. Ormsby-Gore (replying in the House of Commons in behalf of the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, on November 30),

the Government of South Africa has not asked the Imperial Government to consent to the transfer of Swaziland to the Union. He assured the House that there would be an opportunity for discussing any such request before definite assent was given to it.

General Hertzog, in the House of Assembly, on March 25, explained the attitude of the Union Government towards incorporation proposals. He said he could not take any action in the matter until he was convinced that Bechuanaland and Swaziland desired incorporation. Personally, he believed the people of the latter territory desired to be included in the Union; but with regard to Bechuanaland there were difficulties which rendered inadvisable any move in the matter.

SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE

The Bill setting up a new Constitution for the South-West Protectorate (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 277), was published early in July and passed by the House of Assembly a few days later. Briefly, it provided for the government of the territory by an Executive of eight members, including the Administrator. Three members were to be nominated, one being a public servant representing the Department of Native Affairs, while the other four were to be elected by the Legislative Assembly. In addition to this latter body there was to be an Advisory Council. Certain subjects, such as railways and harbours, customs, posts, defence, mines, minerals, were reserved for the Union Government as the mandatory power. Other subjects, including police, education, and land settlement, were reserved for a specified time. The German language was to be recognised in the Assembly as well as in the Courts. The draft Constitution should remain in force for three years without amendment, after which the Government may introduce alterations at the request of at least two-thirds of the Assembly.

As a consequence of trouble with the Rehoboths, martial law was proclaimed in certain areas and burgher commandoes were raised for the purpose of reinforcing the police. The revolt, however, was quelled without bloodshed. In the House of Assembly, on April 3, the Premier explained the genesis of the trouble. The Rehoboths, he said, claimed to be independent and not subject to the laws of the territory. They had advanced these claims in a petition to the League of Nations, but notwithstanding the fact that they were adversely reported upon the tribesmen persisted in adopting a defiant attitude. Mr. Hofmeyr, the then Administrator, at once went to the scene of the trouble. The rebel Rehoboths were well armed and organised, and undoubtedly intended to resist by force but for the surprisingly rapid concentration of the police.

The Rehoboth outbreak was referred to by Dr. Nansen at the

Council meetings of the League of Nations in September, during a discussion on the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission. Mr. Smit, High Commissioner for the Union Government in London, made a statement in behalf of his Government, and pointed out that under the new law the Protectorate now possessed a measure of autonomy. He also stated that the results of the inquiry which the Union Government had instituted into the causes of the Rehoboth affair would be communicated to the League in due course.

RHODESIA

Considerable progress was made during the year with the work of consolidating the interests of Southern Rhodesia, changes in the administration of public affairs having been necessary under the new Constitution (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 277). When the Legislative Assembly met at Salisbury on April 27, Sir J. R. Chancellor, the Governor, reported that not only had the revenue sufficed to meet expenditure, but that the trade of the territory showed a substantial increase as compared with the preceding year. A Commission was appointed to report upon the policy and practicability of setting aside certain specified areas in which natives alone would be allowed to acquire land, the corollary being the exclusion of natives from acquiring land in other areas.

The Government also had under consideration the projected railway between Wankie and Walfish Bay, a project which has been before the public of Rhodesia and the Union for some years. The Minister of Agriculture informed the House that in reply to an inquiry from the Government, the Union authorities had stated that they were not at present prepared to take action with a view to the building of the railway in question. The Imperial Government had also been approached with regard to a flying survey through Bechuanaland, but no reply had been received up to that time, and the inference was that the Imperial Government did not favour the construction of such a line at the present time.

MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA.

No agreement had been reached upon the much-discussed question of the renewed Convention between the Union and Mozambique. Senator de Melo, Consul-General for Portugal in South Africa, left Cape Town for Lisbon in March upon what was regarded as a diplomatic mission connected with these negotiations. Before sailing he expressed the hope that a speedy settlement of the differences between the two Governments would be reached. Senhor Coutinho, High Commissioner for Mozambique, upon the same occasion, said he thought that a commercial Treaty with the Union to replace the *modus vivendi* would be of appreciable

advantage to both countries. Rumours regarding the possibility of the sale of Mozambique were emphatically repudiated.

In October, General Hertzog, accompanied by the Union Ministers of Finance, Railways, Agriculture, and Labour, visited Lourenço Marques for the purpose of discussing the proposed new Convention between the Union and Mozambique. These deliberations were stated to have proceeded satisfactorily, and to have facilitated their continuation at a later date in Pretoria.

Financial stringency and political dissension complicated the task of administering the colony of Angola. Measures were taken by the High Commissioner, Senhor Rego Chaves, to preserve the supremacy of Portuguese interests and to prevent foreigners gaining economic control of the colony. In some quarters the fear was expressed that unless the invasion of foreign goods was repelled, Portugal ran grave risk of having her territorial rights wrested from her.

It was announced in October that, following the recommendation of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, the Portuguese Government had informed the Secretary-General of the League that they had opened direct negotiations with the Union Government for the signature of an agreement regarding the delimitation of the Angola frontier. This question, which has long been in dispute, had previously been negotiated by Portugal with the Imperial Government.

BELGIAN CONGO.

During this year, as in the preceding one, public interest in the colony continued to grow. Among the events which kept it in the public eye were the voyage up the Congo of H.R.H. Prince Leopold, who left in April; the Brussels-Kinshasa flight accomplished by Lieutenant Thieffry; the participation of the Congo in the international commercial fair at Lausanne in July; the holding of a colonial exhibition at Ostend in September; and the creation, at the Colonial Institute of Antwerp, of a faculty to prepare students for a colonial commercial career.

Speaking before the Chamber of Deputies on July 22, M. Carton, the Minister for the Colonies, declared himself in favour of the electrification, as soon as possible, of the Congo railway, on condition that it would not cause a diminution in the number of natives employed on the construction of the new line Matadi-Leopoldville. The idea of electrifying the line was due to the high cost of coal, and the uncertainty of its supply in case of a world crisis. A committee of experts nominated by the Minister last year gave in its report in September, recommending the immediate electrification of the railway and the harnessing of the M'Pozo Falls.

In the month of August a religious fanatic named Mwansela

and his followers, who practised a kind of baptism, in the course of their reunions at Sakania in the Katanga, drowned about fifty natives, and killed several members of the police who came to make an inquiry. The authorities thereupon called out the troops, and punished the offenders with great rigour. On the other side, traces of Bolshevik propaganda inciting the natives to revolt against the Europeans were discovered among the port workers at Matadi. Energetic steps were taken to prevent the mischief spreading, and several arrests were made.

The Government, in 1925, purchased more than a million francs' worth of remedies for sleepy sickness, which is everywhere becoming less prevalent. Germany supplied it with 500,000 francs' worth of "205 Bayer" on account of reparations in kind. It procured also a new kind of serum, the "tryparsamide" discovered by the Rockefeller Foundation, which gives the best results so far obtained. A Society for Combating Malaria was also founded at Stanley Pool.

The Ruanda-Urundi Government Bill was before the Chamber on July 28. The ex-Minister of the Colonies, M. Franck, urged the maintenance of the policy of indirect administration by which the native chiefs would be kept as authorities in these territories, under the control of Belgian advisers. M. Carton pointed out that the interests of the new territory were identical with those of the old, and emphasised the advantages attaching to a single legislation and administration, which, in addition, was the system contemplated and authorised by the League of Nations. He further cited the example set by Great Britain in placing under the administration of Nigeria and the Gold Coast the parts of Togo and the Cameroons mandated to her. The Government measure was adopted by 112 votes to 7 with three abstentions. Germany immediately protested by telegram to the League of Nations against what she called a disguised annexation. In October, however, M. Halewijck, the Belgian representative, declared at Geneva that Belgium intended to exercise her mandate according to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and to conform to the letter and spirit of this mandate.

MOROCCO.

During 1925 Morocco continued to be the theatre of military operations on a considerable scale. The Berber chieftain, Abd-el-Krim, after first taking the offensive, not only against Spain but also against France, was, towards the end of the summer, forced to act on the defensive against a simultaneous attack by both Powers. The campaign lasted from early in the year till the beginning of the rainy season in October. The fighting, as was inevitable from the rugged nature of the country was mostly of a guerrilla character, but the number of men in

the field was very large, and a few important engagements took place.

During January the Marquis de Estella, who was still in command of the Spanish forces, completed the fortifications of the "Primo di Rivera" line, which had been commenced a few months earlier. This was a line of blockhouses running mainly south-west from a point on the Mediterranean near Tetuan to the border of the French Protectorate, a little south-east of Alcazar. The Spanish forces were concentrated behind this line; but the area cut off by it (including the Tangier zone) was not entirely in the occupation of the Spaniards, as the Anjera tribe in the northern corner, near Ceuta, which had revolted in November, defied all the Spanish efforts to reduce it to subjection. The Spanish line, too, was frequently assaulted by the Moors, but it held firm against all their attacks.

Abd-el-Krim, on his side, was faced with a rival in the person of Raisuli, who was trying to win back the Jabala tribes to allegiance to Spain. Fortune, however, continued to smile on the Rif leader. On January 25 his adherents attacked Raisuli's forces outside the latter's fortress at Tazrut, and after severe fighting defeated them. Two days later they captured Tazrut, and Raisuli surrendered to Abd-el-Krim. The effect of this success was to confirm the Jabala tribes in their adherence to the latter, and to inflame the Mohammedan population with eagerness for a holy war. Raisuli was taken to Abd-el-Krim's headquarters at Ajdir, where he died early in May [see Obituaries]. After the downfall of Raisuli great meetings of tribesmen were held at Ajdir, at which a plan of campaign was decided on for the approaching spring and summer. In the meantime desultory operations took place near the Spanish lines; on February 12 the Moors captured the outpost of Saasa, near Laraiche, with its garrison, but the Spaniards scored a greater success by recapturing, on March 30, Alcazar Seguir from the revolting Anjera.

As a result of the deliberations held at Ajdir, the tribesmen decided to concentrate their chief efforts on driving the French out of the Upper Wergha Valley, a fertile strip in the northern part of the French zone, from which the Rif tribes used to derive supplies and which had been occupied by the French for the first time in May of the previous year. To leave himself a freer hand for this operation, Abd-el-Krim, in the middle of March, made tentative overtures to the Spaniards, but without result. During March and April his troops gradually collected along the northern border of the French Protectorate, on the French side of the border, but beyond the French lines. At the same time, small bands of Rifis penetrated behind the French lines, and stirred up disaffection among the tribes in the French zone. The French, who had taken up a strong position on Mount Tarmat and connected it by a good road with Fez, for a time were

able to disregard the Rifi movements. But when, in the middle of April, villages were burned and friendly chiefs attacked in the territory of the Beni Zerual tribe, fifty miles from Fez, they saw that more energetic measures were necessary. By the end of April the situation was judged to be so serious that all the available French and Moorish troops were hurried to the northern frontier, and four battalions were sent across from Algeria.

From this point the French were at war with Abd-el-Krim no less definitely than the Spaniards. The Rifi chief made no secret of his intention to take Fez if possible, and overthrow French domination in Morocco, relying on the co-operation of revolting tribes behind the French lines. To prevent such a catastrophe, the French entered upon military operations with vigour. At the beginning of May they had in action on the whole front eighteen battalions of infantry, six squadrons of cavalry, and twelve batteries of artillery. These forces operated in three columns, one on the west, north-west of Fez, under General Colombat, one in the centre, near Tissa, twenty-five miles north-east of Fez, under Colonel Freydenburg, and one on the east, to the north of Taza, under General Cambay. There were about 4,000 Rifis in the field, while another 4,000 were in reserve inside the Spanish zone near the frontier.

The immediate task of the French was to relieve a number of outposts which were surrounded by the enemy. Some of these were very short of water, and were supplied with ice dropped from aeroplanes. The Rifis made a stiff resistance, but were gradually forced back on all three fronts, and by the end of the first week in May the line of the Wergha had been practically re-established, and the threat to Fez was removed.

Early in May reinforcements arrived from France, and the French, having successfully repulsed the Rif offensive, commenced a counter-offensive.

On May 13, after vigorous fighting, the enemy were driven from the summit of Mount Biban, and a strong French line was established from that point to Kalaat-es-Sless, an important point on the road to Fez. Towards the end of May the Rifis, after having been quiescent for a time, again began to attack in force. On May 25 they made a vigorous assault on Mount Biban, which was only repulsed after seven hours' sharp fighting and with a French loss of 150 killed and 300 wounded. During June the tribesmen made determined efforts to open up a road to Fez, but without success. By the end of June the French had completed the reorganisation of the northern line, withdrawing from a number of small posts north of the Wergha, and concentrating in a few larger ones, of which the chief were at Biban, Tasurat, and Kiffare. Nevertheless, during the whole of July and part of August the Rifi pressure was kept up, and anxiety was frequently felt for the safety of Fez.

Being engaged against the same enemy, France and Spain, in spite of mutual jealousies and differences of aim and method, could not help being drawn into a certain measure of co-operation. The first step in this direction was taken on June 17, when representatives of the two countries met in Conference to discuss measures for suppressing contraband, which was actively carried on through Tangier and along the coast. The Conference was in session till July 25, and laid the basis for Franco-Spanish co-operation, not only in blockading the coast and policing the Tangier frontier, but also in the spheres of political and military action. Terms were laid down on which peace would be granted to Abd-el-Krim if he applied for them, and permission was given to the French troops to pursue the enemy into the Spanish zone and attack him there in conjunction with Spanish forces. The Conference also tried to persuade England to join in the work of preventing contraband from reaching the Rifis, but Mr. Chamberlain refused to go outside the Tangier Convention.

About the middle of July the French Protectorate Government notified Abd-el-Krim semi-officially that the peace terms agreed upon at the Madrid Conference were at his disposal if he desired to consult them. The Rif leader, in return, sent two letters to his agents in Tangier, with instructions to communicate the contents to the French authorities there. In the first of these letters he insisted that Tangier should be the seat of any negotiations, in the second he stated that he was willing to negotiate provided that the independence of the Rif were assured beforehand.

The French took no notice of his overtures, but the Marquis de Estella invited his emissaries to Tetuan. On their arrival there, he received them with great courtesy, and explained to them the Spanish peace terms, the chief of which were that Abd-el-Krim should recognise the sovereignty of the Sultan and the Khalifa of the Spanish zone. To this offer the Rifi chief vouchsafed no reply, but on August 15 he addressed an open letter to the French Chamber of Deputies charging Marshal Lyautey with having forced him into war with France, and appealing to France to grant to the Rif peace and independence.

The French Government had by this time made up its mind that the Rifi resistance must be crushed by force of arms if necessary, and prepared to send out large reinforcements to Morocco, at the same time nominating General Naulin to the chief military command there. This appointment involved an important change in the status of Marshal Lyautey, who, while retaining the nominal title of Commander-in-Chief in Morocco, was, in practice, deprived of all control of the operations against the Rifis and their supporters. In order to smooth over any difficulties that might arise, Marshal Pétain, the Commander-in-Chief of the French Army, went himself to Morocco towards the end of July, and he was in the country for a great part of the next two months super-

vising the preparations for a great French attack. Marshal Lyautey did not take kindly to the new arrangement, and a few weeks later, at the end of September, resigned, and left Morocco amid deep manifestations of emotion and affection on the part of the population, both European and native. He was succeeded by M. Steeg, the Governor of Algeria.

French reinforcements began to arrive in Morocco about the end of July, and soon turned the tide of war. Early in August the Rif forces were thrust back at several points, and by the middle of the month they had ceased to attack, and, instead, began to entrench themselves in preparation for withstanding a French offensive. Marshal Pétain having secured the initiative, was not precipitate in using it. For nearly a month there was a lull in the fighting, while he completed his preparations for a vigorous attack. On August 21 Marshal Pétain, on his way back to Morocco, received the Marquis de Estella on board the steamer "Marshal Lyautey" outside Algeciras, and concerted with him measures for a simultaneous attack on the Rif from two sides. By this time the Spaniards had about 75,000 troops in the country, mostly European, while the French army was rapidly being brought up to a total strength of 160,000, of which the great majority were native troops.

The Franco-Spanish offensive opened on September 2, with a bombardment by the Spanish fleet for forty-eight hours of the coast to the south and east of Alhucemas, which had been strongly fortified by Abd-el-Krim. This was preliminary to an endeavour to land a Spanish force at a point on the bay. A first attempt ended in failure, but on September 8 some fifty Spanish warships from Ceuta arrived at Alhucemas Bay, and joined the French and other Spanish warships which were already there, and under cover of these a landing of some 12,000 troops was successfully effected on September 9, at Morro Nuevo, about five miles from Ajdir, Abd-el-Krim's capital.

The Spanish landing was the signal for the opening of the French offensive, as a preliminary to which Sheshuan had been bombarded by a force of forty aeroplanes on September 5. On September 11 the French forces advanced on a front of thirty-seven miles between Ain Acha and Fezel Beli. The enemy did not offer a strong resistance, and the French restored the line from which they had retired in the spring. This was followed, on September 16, by an assault on the Biban *massif*, which, after hard fighting, was cleared of the enemy. These successes resulted in the submission of considerable sections of the Beni Zeruál tribe, in whose territory the fighting took place. At this point the French paused until the Spaniards should have carried out the next step in their programme. The Spanish camp at Cebadilla was, during this time, in considerable danger, being hard pressed by the Moors further inland, but on September 23

they commenced to move forward, and, after severe fighting, on September 30 gained a position commanding Ajdir¹. The Rifis thereupon set fire to the town and withdrew from it, and the Spaniards subsequently advanced and occupied the site. A few days later French cavalry from the south and Spanish cavalry from the east joined hands at Syah, in the east of the Spanish zone.

The French and Spanish successes were followed by the submission of a number of revolted tribes which had been previously wavering, but, on the whole, the *moral* of Abd-el-Krim's followers did not suffer as much as was anticipated. The Moors subjected Tetuan to shell fire, without doing any damage to speak of, and showed themselves defiant all along the front. The rainy season had now commenced, and put operations on a large scale out of the question. After a little more desultory fighting the Spanish and French troops went into winter quarters, leaving the Rifis still unsubdued and with spirit unbroken.

On November 2 General Sanjurjo was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish forces in Morocco, in place of the Marquis de Estella.

On November 9 the Spaniards proclaimed a new Khalifa of Spanish Morocco in the person of Muley Mehedi, who was invested by the Marquis de Estella with the Collar of the Order of Carlos III. The tribes, however, were not to be won back to their allegiance to Spain, which they detested on account of its cruel methods of waging war. The French, during the last two months of the year, used diplomatic methods with more effect, and induced some important tribes in their zone to return to their allegiance.

In the course of the year considerable sympathy was manifested in England with Abd-el-Krim in his struggle for independence, which, in fact, attracted world-wide attention, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain found it necessary in the summer to deny officially that England was rendering him any assistance. In the last week of the year an Englishman, Captain Gordon Canning, arrived in Paris as the official emissary of Abd-el-Krim with proposals for peace, but the French Government refused to receive him.

Tangier.—The new status of Tangier, laid down by the Convention of 1923 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 289), was formally introduced on June 1 with an imposing ceremony in the Mendubia (the official residence of the *Mendub.* or Sultan's representative). Of the eight Powers concerned with the status of Tangier, three—the United States, Italy, and Portugal—were not represented. The public of Tangier took small interest in the affair; it had already learnt from experience that little improvement in its conditions was likely to result from the new régime, which imposed on it a crushing financial burden without making any

return. Before the month was out, an agitation was on foot among the mercantile and industrial population to secure a revision of the Convention, with a view chiefly to reducing the cost of the administration.

Another cause of anxiety to Tangier was its proximity to the sphere of military operations between the native tribes and the Spaniards. Native troops in the service of the Spaniards more than once violated the frontier of the international zone, and refugees fleeing from Abd-el-Krim crowded into the city. The French and Spaniards, on various occasions, desired to land troops at Tangier for the interior, but England refused permission.

EGYPT.

The year opened with Parliament dissolved and a Government in power whose support by the people and the electorate was in doubt. Zaghloul, who had been hurled suddenly from the pinnacle of power at a moment at which he might reasonably have considered himself secure for a long period, was certainly not reconciled to his lot. Charges of disloyalty to the King, which he was quick to refute, although not very convincingly, did not strengthen his position, and evidence of the general tendency was the progressive defection of prominent supporters almost until the eve of the general elections, which were appointed for January and March. At the previous elections 192 supporters of Zaghloul had been returned out of a total membership of 214. The new elections did not exactly reverse that decision, but of the 214 members returned only 102 were avowed Zaghloulists. The power of Zaghloul was obviously shaken. The first consequence of the elections was the formation of a Coalition Cabinet from which the Zaghloulists were excluded, under Ziwar Pasha, the retiring Prime Minister, who also took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. A week after the completion of the elections Parliament met, and to the general astonishment abroad, if not at home, its first measure was the election by ballot of Zaghloul as President of the Chamber. Such a rebuff it was impossible for the Government to accept, and the Parliament was accordingly dissolved on the very day of its opening. For the remainder of the year Egypt was governed without a Parliament, and so that a similar contretemps should not again arise, immediate steps were taken for formulating a new and more restrictive electoral law.

The drafting of this new electoral law was under consideration throughout the remainder of the year, including the political crisis of the autumn. This crisis arose ostensibly out of a matter which was somewhat remote from politics, the publication of a book, "Islam and the Principles of Government," by Sheikh Aly Abdel Razek, a *cadi* of the Sharia Court. In this book the Sheikh propounded the theory that the Moslem Code was intended

solely as a guide to personal conduct, and not for incorporation in the statutes of the State. The author proceeded to discuss current Islamic questions from an advanced point of view hitherto unknown in Egypt. His statements aroused the intense opposition of the Orthodox Moslem divines, particularly the declaration that the Caliphate was never an essential and indispensable institution. Anger was also aroused by the Sheikh's condemnation of polygamy, and his severe criticism of the present status of Egyptian women.

The publication of the Sheikh's book aroused fierce controversy. The Azharists demanded that the Government should prosecute the author, and when this was refused, the Azhar divines instituted themselves proceedings, whereupon over a hundred prominent writers and others petitioned King Fuad to order the abandonment of the trial, the petitioners declaring that the Constitution permitted liberty of thought, a thing sacred in all civilised countries.

The trial resulted in the conviction of the Sheikh, and should have been followed by his dismissal from office and inhibition from holding any Government appointment. But the Minister of Justice, Abdel Aziz Pasha Fahmy, the leader of the Constitutional Liberals in the Cabinet, refused to carry out the sentence, and was promptly himself dismissed by the Prime Minister. This dismissal was followed by the resignation of the other Liberal members of the Cabinet, and of Sidky Pasha, the Independent Minister of the Interior. It was anticipated that these resignations would have led to the fall of the Cabinet. But the vacant offices were filled by other members of the dominant party, the Ittehadists, and Ziwar Pasha with a compact Cabinet was still in office at the end of the year.

The last few months were, however, otherwise not politically without incident. The Liberals, having seceded from the Government, declared that the Constitution was in danger, and decided to take all practicable steps towards the summoning of the Parliament that had been dissolved. They held that this was the constitutional course, inasmuch as a new Parliament had not been elected within the period laid down. In this they were joined by the other sections of the opposition, including the Zaghouloulists. Since the Government declined to convene Parliament, the opposition decided to hold a meeting on the day in November appointed in the Constitution for a Parliamentary assembly. Being denied access to the Parliament building, they met in a hotel, where they elected a president, passed a vote of want of confidence in the Cabinet, and appointed a deputation to wait on the King. The King was, however, not sympathetic, and a week or so later the dismissal of Hassan Pasha Nashaat, a palace official, whose influence at times seemed to exceed that of the Prime Minister, still further strengthened the latter's position. All that

was left for the three opposition parties was to refuse to participate in the elections to be held under the new electoral law, to demand in vain the re-assembly of the Parliament that had been dissolved, and to protest equally vainly against the Jarabub agreement with Italy.

In the meanwhile Lord Allenby, the High Commissioner, had resigned and been succeeded by Sir George Lloyd, now Lord Lloyd (October 10, 1925). Before his arrival seven of the men convicted of murdering Sir Lee Stack had been hanged. The eighth had his sentence commuted to penal servitude for life, in view of his confession and consequent assistance in securing the conviction of his colleagues.

The settlement of the frontier dispute with Italy—the Jarabub settlement—was effected towards the end of the year. This dispute was a survival from the war diplomacy, and the settlement was part of the payment promised by Britain to Italy for her intervention on the side of the Western Allies. Considerable difficulty was encountered in arriving at a settlement, and at times there was some well or ill-founded alarm. In the end, however, the Italian demands were accepted, and it was agreed to recognise Italian sovereignty over the oasis of Jarabub, the religious centre of the powerful Senussi, in return for a rectification of frontier close to the sea at Sollum, by which that port was rendered more secure as an Egyptian possession. The Caliphate Conference that was to have been held in Cairo in March was postponed, until the coming year, it was said. The political situation in Egypt and the Hedjaz and inadequate time for organising the Conference were given as the reasons for postponement. A Communist scare in the early summer led to several arrests and greater stringency in the frontier control, but nothing more definite eventuated.

The Sudan, having had a surfeit of history during the previous year, was exceptionally quiet in its successor. At the beginning of the year a Sudan Defence Force, quite independent of Egypt, was created in place of the Egyptian Army that had hitherto garrisoned the country.

CHAPTER X.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—CANADA—ARGENTINA—BRAZIL—
CHILE—MEXICO—PERU—OTHER LATIN-AMERICA COUNTRIES.

THE UNITED STATES

WITH a conspicuously quiet man in the White House, American politics lost something of their usual effervescence during 1925. Neither in his messages to Congress, nor in his public addresses—which were few in number and cautious in tone—did President

Coolidge, beginning his second term on March 7, greatly interest the public, though the historian will note with surprise the one unusual contribution to the *Zeitgeist* which the President made, namely, his insistence upon the Democratic Party doctrine—heretical in a Republican—that the Federal Government was tending to usurp powers and functions which ought to be left to the individual States. Not that he embraced whole-heartedly the interesting doctrine of States' Rights, but, contenting himself with a concrete situation, he endorsed the suggestion which had been advanced by a number of the States, that the Federal Government, which already enjoyed enormous revenue sources, ought to leave to the States the imposition of inheritance taxes. Addressing the National Tax Association in Washington on February 19, Mr. Coolidge declared that the Federal inheritance tax was "socialistic," and he favoured leaving that source of revenue to the States. Later in the year, on October 23, the representatives of seventeen States appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee and, quoting the President with obvious relish, urged that the time had arrived for the Federal Government to retire from the "field of inheritance taxes." Mr. Coolidge boldly followed this up, in his message to Congress on December 8, with a plea for the reduction of Federal taxes and a defence of "States' Rights" that was distinctly startling, coming from the leader of the party historically opposed at almost every point and on almost every issue, to the rival political theory. This may prove, in the future, to mark the beginning of a new tendency in American political philosophy. Or, on the other hand, it may not. In either case, it may fairly be described as the only surprise which the President gave during 1925 to his countrymen.

Perhaps Mr. Coolidge was obeying unconsciously forces greater than he knew; at any rate, a proposed amendment to the Constitution conferring upon the Federal Government the power to regulate child labour, was defeated when the adverse decision of thirteen States deprived the proposal of the requisite support of thirty-six of the forty-eight States. This proposed amendment, which had passed the Lower House on April 27, 1924, and the Senate on June 3 of the same year, was rejected by the thirteen States referred to on precisely the broad general argument sponsored by the President—that Federalism in the United States, the centralising of power in Washington, had gone too far.

Mr. Coolidge's other main achievement—partly political, partly personal—was to press steadily for American adherence to the World Court. To millions of Americans, the World Court was an alternative to, and an escape from, Mr. Woodrow Wilson's detested League of Nations; to other millions, it was and is and must be, the beginning of American participation in the common responsibility for world affairs. As the leader of, and spokesman for, the Republican Party, Mr. Coolidge presumably adhered to

the former position, but his speeches and messages on the subject had a responsible, conscientious, "New England" note which tended, perhaps unfairly, to identify him with the second group. At any rate, when the question emerged into practical congressional legislation in the last month of the year, Mr. Coolidge very sharply "cracked the whip" and—somewhat to the general surprise and to the discomfiture of the cynical—insisted that the amendments to the proposed resolution identifying the United States with the World Court must be "friendly" amendments, amplifying and—if one may put it thus—giving merely the proper sonorous ring to American adherence to the Court. The year closed with the country distinctly impressed with the President's unexpected stubbornness in the matter, but with the actual outcome, in Congress, still in doubt.

The year opened with a slight diplomatic breeze. The British Government, on December 31, 1924, sent a Note to Washington expressing the view that the United States had no right to participate in the annuities from Germany which were expected from the administration of the so-called Dawes plan. Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State, replied on January 5 reiterating the American claim, and when, on January 10, the Finance Ministers of the Allied Powers met in Paris to settle the details of reparations under the Dawes plan, the American claim was again firmly pressed, and conceded; the Conference agreed that, beginning in 1927, the United States should receive $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of reparation payments to cover the war damages which she had suffered. This means that if Germany succeeds in paying her late enemies 2,500,000,000 marks annually, then the United States will receive 14,000,000 dollars annually from Germany, which is about 4 per cent. on the American claim of 350,000,000 dollars damages. In addition, she will receive 55,000,000 marks annually (13,750,000 dollars) until the costs of her army of occupation (240,000,000 dollars) are extinguished. This agreement—to be formally drafted later in a Protocol—excited the administration's vigilant critics, and the Senate, on January 21, scenting constitutional mischief and something possibly infringing upon its ancient treaty-making powers, demanded the full text of the Paris agreement. Secretary Hughes responded on February 3, with a full transcript of the agreement, adding with just a shade of tartness, that the agreement had been reached under "executive authority" and, inferentially, that it was not exactly the Senate's business. The matter was dropped at that point.

But war-debts from the Allies bulked larger than possible reparations from the late enemy, during the year. On May 16 the Government formally invited France, Italy, Belgium, Greece, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Estonia, and Latvia to send to Washington commissions empowered to reach definite settlements as to their respective war-debts. This started up a

singular procession of delegations to Washington, most of them armed with distinctly limited powers but with ample data for establishing their "capacity to pay." Each delegation was met in Washington by the American Debt Funding Commission, a body appointed by Congress to conduct the negotiations on behalf of the Government.

The joint sessions were secret and practically nothing leaked out of the arguments advanced for and against each debtor's capacity to pay. However, Congress was not conspicuously critical or suspicious, and the atmosphere in which the negotiations were conducted was very different from that in which Mr. Baldwin's negotiations for the funding of the British debt (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 292) were carried on.

Belgium, the first country to dispatch a delegation, advanced an unusual argument. The Belgian Commission, headed by Baron Georges Theunis, former Premier, arrived in midsummer and reminded the United States that during a crucial period at the Peace Conference, Belgium was persuaded—largely by President Wilson—to reduce her claims for war damages from 1,000,000,000 dollars to 500,000,000 dollars, and to abandon altogether her claim for 6,200,000,000 gold marks on condition that Great Britain, France, and the United States would forgive her pre-armistice debts and look to Germany for their payment. President Wilson, M. Clemenceau, and Mr. Lloyd George signed a letter agreeing to recommend such action, and the proposal, as M. Theunis pointed out, was embodied in the Versailles Treaty. True, the United States had repudiated the Versailles Treaty, but the moral obligation remained.

The argument carried great weight with the public, which recognised that Belgium had waived rights it might otherwise have maintained, and there was no criticism when the American Debt Funding Commission, taking an unofficial cognisance of Mr. Wilson's pledge, agreed to waive all payment of interest on Belgium's pre-armistice debt, amounting to 171,780,000 dollars. A schedule for annual repayments of the principal, spread over a period of sixty-two years, beginning modestly and increasing at the sixth year to 2,900,000 dollars, was cheerfully agreed to.

On the post-armistice or "reconstruction" debt, amounting, as of June 15, 1925, with accrued interest, to 246,000,000 dollars, payment was arranged on lines approximating to those of the British settlement. Payments of the principal spread over the full period of sixty-two years, plus a fixed interest amount for the first ten years and an annual interest payment of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. a year thereafter, were agreed upon; after the preliminary decade is past, Belgium will pay about 12,700,000 dollars of payments a year. This agreement was signed by the two Commissions on August 18, and by Mr. Coolidge on August 20.

Italy, after an informal conference in June at which the United States re-affirmed its desire to exact only settlements based on the debtors' "capacity to pay," sent, on November 1, a Commission headed by Count Guiseppi Volpi di Misurati, Minister of Finance; this Commission, armed with vivid pictorial statistics illustrating the Italian's load of debt, his comparative wealth, his industry, his adverse balance of trade, the height of the American tariff wall, and some humorous touches about the American restrictions at Ellis Island for Italian immigration, made a remarkable impression upon the country for its amazing efficiency. The memorandum filed with the American Commission was declared to be the most satisfactory of any of those submitted, and an agreement was briskly arrived at. The principal of the debt to be funded was fixed at 1,647,869,197 dollars, and the interest was put at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. up to December 15, 1922, and from then until June 15, 1925, at 3 per cent., making the principal of the debt to be funded 2,042,000,000 dollars. For the first five years Italy agreed to make annual payments of 5,000,000 dollars; after the first five years interest is to be paid at the rate of one-eighth of 1 per cent. a year for the first ten years, increasing for each successive ten-year period to one-quarter of 1 per cent., one-half of 1 per cent., three-fourths of 1 per cent., 1 per cent., and to 2 per cent. during the last seven years. The average rate of interest over fifty-seven years works out at less than nine-tenths of 1 per cent. Over the entire sixty-two years the United States will receive a total of approximately 2,407,000,000 dollars for an original debt of approximately 1,648,000,000 dollars.

Count Volpi, as he signed the agreement, tendered a cheque for 5,000,000 dollars in payment of the first instalment, whereupon there instantly sprang up in Italy a popular movement known as the "dollar fund" for the collection of the 5,000,000 dollars due in 1926; it was oversubscribed within a fortnight.

Much less successful, though far more protracted, were the negotiations with the French. The French debt was originally 2,997,477,800 dollars for straight-out war obligations on which no interest had been paid; in addition, there was a debt of 407,341,145 dollars for surplus war supplies on which 64,302,901 dollars had been paid. To reach a final funding agreement as to all this, a French Debt Commission, headed by M. Joseph Caillaux, then Finance Minister, appeared before the Commission on September 24 with certain very definite suggestions, but no agreement was reached, and the French delegation sailed on October 2.

M. Caillaux opened negotiations with the proposal that France should pay 25,000,000 dollars annually for the first five years, 30,000,000 dollars annually for the next five years, 60,000,000 dollars annually for the next ten, and 90,000,000 dollars annually

for the final forty-two years, when the debt would be considered extinguished.

The United States demurred, claiming that the sum was inadequate, and, in turn, proposed that the entire debt should be consolidated in the sum of 4,227,000,000 dollars, as of June 15, 1925. Placing the accrued interest on the "most favourable basis" would reduce the sum to 4,025,000,000 dollars. The United States suggested that France should pay the principal in sixty-two annual payments, graded up, beginning with 20,000,000 dollars the first year—amounting to one-half of 1 per cent. of the total—and increasing, while the interest would begin at one-half of 1 per cent. the first year and increase by one-fourth of 1 per cent. until, by the thirteenth year, France would be paying $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for the remainder of the time.

This suggestion was declined by M. Caillaux. In its place he offered payments of 40,000,000 dollars annually for the first five years, then 60,000,000 dollars annually for the next seven years, and annual payments of 100,000,000 dollars thereafter for the subsequent fifty-seven years, thus spreading the payments over a period of sixty-eight years instead of the sixty-two originally proposed. This the Americans felt was too uncertain and, as M. Caillaux declared he must return to France, the negotiations were adjourned, though the French delegation took back to Paris, when it sailed on October 2, a tentative proposal from the Americans for a "partial moratorium" based on five flat payments of 40,000,000 dollars annually for the next five years in full payment of interest on the entire funded debt, with the suggestion that the two Governments, at the end of that period, should again review the question of France's capacity to pay and make a final adjustment. This tentative proposal, carried back by M. Caillaux but not initialled or endorsed by him, was rejected by the Painlevé Government on December 3. It was announced that the new French Ambassador, M. Berenger, would resume discussions with the American Debt Funding Commission in Washington early in 1926.

Rumania sent a Commission which successfully negotiated an agreement signed on December 1. The debt was funded at 44,590,000 dollars, based on a principal estimated at 36,108,494 dollars, and interest to bring the total up to the sum mentioned. Payments, it was agreed, should be spread over sixty-two years, with interest at 3 per cent. for the first ten years and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. thereafter. Greece sent a delegation but was not able to effect a settlement before the year closed. Successful settlements were, however, reached with Czechoslovakia, Estonia, and Latvia.

Among the Treaties and other international conventions signed during the year there was none that was particularly outstanding. An Arbitration Treaty with Sweden was ratified on January 10; the United States Senate ratified, on January 21, the Treaties with

the Dominican Republic confirming the evacuation of the island by the American military forces and describing the funding of the Dominican debt of 25,000,000 dollars ; the United States and the Netherlands agreed, on January 23, to submit to arbitration their dispute as to the sovereignty over the island of Palmas (Miangas) in the Philippine Archipelago ; on February 5 Canada registered with the League of Nations (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 297) her Convention with the United States for the joint protection of the fisheries in the North Pacific waters ; on February 10 the Senate ratified, with reservations as to shipping, a trade Treaty with Germany ; on March 3 two Treaties previously drafted between the United States and Canada—one making illegal the smuggling of drugs, narcotics, and contraband liquor across the border, and the other increasing the list of extraditable offences—were approved by the Canadian House of Commons ; on March 13 the Senate ratified the Treaty recognising Cuban sovereignty over the Isle of Pines, and on March 23, with the exchange of ratifications, the Treaty went into effect, and a controversy which had lasted for twenty years came to a peaceful end ; on April 22 final agreement was reached between Canada and the United States for the proposed joint action looking toward the improvement of the St. Lawrence River between Montreal and Lake Ontario.

The two “ Nine Power Treaties ” regarding China, formulated at the Washington Arms Conference, were ratified at Washington on August 5 by Great Britain, the United States, France, Japan, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands, and China. On October 14 the German commercial Treaty which had been initialled December 8, 1923, was ratified. On November 6 the Government “ recognised ” the régime in Persia of the newly-elected Shah, Riza Khan.

Among the first-fruits of the various settlements were New York loans, amounting to 100,000,000 dollars to Italy, 50,000,000 dollars to Belgium, and 25,000,000 dollars to Czechoslovakia, while Poland and Finland, which had funded their respective war-debts during 1924, were able to float loans amounting to 35,000,000 dollars and 10,000,000 dollars respectively. A credit of 300,000,000 dollars was extended, on April 28, to the Bank of England for the protection of the British gold reserve on the resumption of the gold standard in April, but it is understood that the reserve thus formed was not touched.

The Vatican, on October 20, negotiated a loan of 1,500,000 dollars for the construction of the new American College on the site of the Villa Gabriella.

It should be noted, as, perhaps, the most significant of the various aspects of 1925, that the United States during the year continued steadily the process of investing its surplus abroad. Foreign capital flotations in the United States amounted to

2,371,897,420 dollars. Of this amount, according to an established Wall Street statistical service, 443,000,000 dollars represented credits established and 252,966,000 dollars mere refunding operations, leaving a net total of new capital sent abroad of 1,675,931,420 dollars, or, approximately, 335,186,285*l*. Twelve years ago the United States owed abroad 5,000,000,000 dollars; at the close of 1925 foreign countries owed the United States (exclusive of 12,000,000,000 dollars of war-time or political debts) the total of 11,500,000,000 dollars, or 2,300,000,000*l*.

Throughout the year there was desultory talk of calling another disarmament Conference. The Senate, conscious of its suzerainty over the field of foreign relations, passed a resolution, on January 19, specifically requesting the administration to call such a Conference, and the Naval Appropriation Bill, signed by Mr. Coolidge on February 11, contained what the Americans call a "rider" suggesting that the United States take the initiative in summoning such a Conference. The suggestion bobbed up, from time to time, in other fashions, but Mr. Coolidge, feeling that there were at least invisible, if not visible, obstacles, preferred to make haste slowly, and took no initiative in the matter, though this mild public sentiment enabled the administration to defeat, by 45 to 22, on January 20, a somewhat bellicose resolution introduced in the Senate by Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, authorising the Navy to elevate the guns on thirteen United States battleships to correspond with the elevation of the guns on British battleships. The refusal of the Senate even to ventilate the McKellar resolution was consistent with the Senate's—and, for that matter, the country's—refusal to do anything which might seem to weaken the results, such as they were, of the Washington Conference on naval disarmament.

Among the other international affairs which figured in the American record during the year, perhaps the most important was the United States' withdrawal from the International Opium Conference at Geneva, on the grounds that the Conference had refused to adopt what the Americans declared was the only practical programme for the suppression of the opium traffic. Congressman S. G. Porter, the head of the American delegation, had been at loggerheads with the majority of the Conference during the 1924 sessions, and there was no surprise expressed when he and his American colleagues withdrew from the Conference on February 6.

On the other hand, the Americans were in evidence during the sessions of the International Conference for the Control of the Traffic in Arms which opened in Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations on May 4. The Protocol adopted by that Conference on June 10, suggesting the prohibition of the use of poison gas and bacteria, was regarded in the United States as one specially drafted and sponsored by the American delegation.

Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, previously American Ambassador to Great Britain, became Secretary of State on February 16, succeeding Mr. Hughes who had resigned. Mr. Kellogg's policy was, to all outward appearance, closely in accord with that of Mr. Coolidge. The only "strong" line attributed to him, and that perhaps erroneously, was in connexion with Mexico. He made public, on June 12, a sharp statement to the effect that the Mexican Government can expect the support of the United States Government "only so long as Mexico protects American lives and rights," and complies with its "international engagements." President Calles retorted, on June 14, that there was an obvious "threat to Mexican sovereignty" in this attitude, that "Mexico is conscious of her obligation and intends to comply with them all according to international law . . . and will not allow any nation to claim a privileged situation for its nationals. The Mexican Government refuses to give advantages to one country over another country and under no circumstances will Mexico permit foreign interference."

This exchange of views did not improve relations between the two countries which had been strained for several years owing to the Mexican land and oil legislation. There was talk of the withdrawal of the United States Minister from Mexico City, but the year passed without an open break.

Curiously enough, it was not Mr. Kellogg, in charge of foreign affairs, nor Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, and, therefore, more or less responsible for the adjustment of foreign debts, who became, during the year, the most striking figure on the American horizon, to the foreign eye; it was Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, chief of the comparatively obscure Department of Commerce. His friends regard him as, inevitably, the next Republican candidate for President and, as they confidently believe, the next President. He is the head of a Government department which may be described as the heavily subsidised "intelligence service" of American industry, a far-flung line of carefully trained, well-paid commercial agents bent on exploring, and swiftly reporting upon, all phases of foreign and domestic commerce likely to interest the business men of the United States. The department's technique to-day is, boldly, German, but the upshot in 1925 was typically American in the sudden emergence of Mr. Hoover in strenuous complaint against nine foreign, State-aided monopolies which, he declared, were, and are, mulcting the American consumer. He criticised with marked persistence the so-called Stevenson scheme for the restriction of rubber production in British-owned plantations, and the State-owned "Coffee Institute" of the province of Sao Paulo, Brazil. In addition, he named other foreign monopolies—the Japanese monopoly of camphor from Formosa, the Dutch control of the world's quinine supply, Chilean ownership of nitrates, British control of tin, and so forth. He laid down the

novel doctrine that American banks should not float loans which might, directly or indirectly, aid any of these foreign monopolies. He was entirely successful in frustrating a Brazilian attempt to obtain a loan from New York, but he altogether failed to check the 300,000,000 dollars credit advanced to the Bank of England jointly by J. P. Morgan & Company and the New York Federal Reserve Bank; it was considered doubtful whether his exhortations would have prevented a Japanese or a Netherlands loan. Nevertheless, his views acquired a very considerable following, and will very likely be heard again.

The ancient dispute between Chile and Peru regarding possession of Tacna and Arica dragged its way through the year and gave the administration much trouble. The President, who had been appointed arbitrator, published his decision on March 9, ruling that the inhabitants of the disputed provinces should decide the question of their nationality for themselves through a plébescite, but adding that the town and province of Tarata should revert to Peru. This decision was followed by a general strike of protest at Lima, culminating in a mob attack upon the United States Embassy on March 17. Peru made a formal protest against the decision on April 2, demanding that Chile should immediately evacuate territory which Peru had claimed for forty years and suggesting that the proposed plébescite should be guarded by United States troops or, failing that, by Peruvian troops.

President Coolidge replied on April 9 with a refusal to re-open the question of his award. He appointed Major-General John Pershing to be chief of the Plébescitary Commission proposed in the award; the Commission opened its session at Arica on August 5; but on November 24 the Chilean delegation abruptly withdrew from the Commission, whereupon that long-suffering body adjourned indefinitely. Ex-President Alessandri, of Chile, in a public speech at Arica, attacked the United States severely, declaring that she had "done nothing but foment conflict, discord, and hatred between Chile and Peru." This was followed by an even more surprising move when the Chilean Minister to Berne, Valdes Mandeville, presented to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, a lengthy memorandum setting forth Chile's claims to the disputed territory. This excited great interest in South America, where it was instantly regarded as an appeal to the League of Nations, but on November 29 Senor Mandeville explained that the memorandum was merely for the "information" of the League, and in no sense constituted a definite appeal to Geneva from Mr. Coolidge's award.

In the meantime the Plébescitary Commission made a fresh attempt to solve the trouble, adopting finally, on December 9, a scheme prepared by General Pershing which, it was hoped, would insure a scrupulously fair plébescite and settle once and for all

a dispute of unprecedented bitterness and of great danger to the peace of South America. The scheme provides for the promulgation of a special election law on January 15, 1926, followed by registration from February 15 to March 15; then there should be three weeks allowed for all appeals and on April 15 the vote should be taken.

The Orient figured in the annals of the year almost not at all. The United States Supreme Court affirmed the constitutionality of the California law throwing upon the Japanese landowner the burden of proving that his ownership was not in contravention of the California law forbidding the alienation of land; it also held—with Mr. Justice Taft dissenting—that a Japanese who had fought with the American troops in the Great War was not, *ipso facto*, eligible to citizenship. The State Department joined the other Powers in the Peking Customs Conference, and the American Navy sent part of the Pacific fleet to protect American lives and property along the China coast during the disturbances of the year.

In the field of communications only a few noteworthy events occurred. A new cable between the United States and Spain was opened on January 19 with the exchange of messages between Mr. Coolidge and King Alfonso; another cable, between the United States and Italy, was similarly opened on March 16, with the exchange of greetings between the President and King Victor Emmanuel. Mr. Coolidge signed on February 28 a resolution adopted by Congress extending for another two years the arrangements whereby Press messages could be transmitted by the naval wireless stations; this may seem trivial, but it was not, for it grew out of the determined efforts of the American news-agencies to invade the European and other foreign fields—competing with the old-established and frequently State-subsidised European news-agencies—with facilities for the rapid handling of news.

The “oil scandal” (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 296) bobbed up occasionally. On December 19, 1924, Mr. Coolidge appointed the Secretaries of War, Navy, Commerce, and Interior to consider what the Government policy should be regarding the oil deposits on Government land—should they, as one group of reformers insisted, be locked up indefinitely as a reserve for the Navy in case of war, or should they be leased to private companies and turned into immediate revenue? The Progressives, under Senator La Follette, took a lively interest in the question, but never succeeded in arousing much public interest in it. The Senate, on January 20, adopted a resolution condemning the leasing of the naval oil reserves to private companies. Shortly afterwards a novel point of law arose in the decision of the United States Court at Cheyenne, Wyoming, on March 6, that the private oil concession enjoyed by the Ohio Oil Company—a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company—included the right to full

and complete access to the oil deposits, including the right to dispossess and remove the entire village of Lavoye, Wyoming, with its 1500 inhabitants. There was a fine feudal air about this of which the Radicals and Progressives made much. In the meantime, the criminal prosecutions of former Secretary Fall for bribery in connexion with the leases granted to H. F. Sinclair and E. L. Doheney fared variously. The Federal Courts in the District of Columbia, on April 3, quashed the Government's indictments of Fall, Sinclair, and Doheney on the grounds that the procedure had been irregular. This awoke widespread groans in the Press, but a special grand jury, summoned by the Government, re-indicted them, on May 27, and apparently recovered the ground that had been lost. On May 28 the Federal Courts ordered the cancellation of former Secretary Fall's lease of the Elk Hill, California, No. 1 Naval Oil Reserve, to Doheney. On the other hand, the Federal Courts in Wyoming upheld Mr. Fall's lease to Sinclair of the famous Teapot Dome reservation.

Problems of Prohibition enforcement and evasion continued to occupy great space in the national consciousness. Illustrating Herbert Spencer's "law" by which, it was said, things evolve from the simple to the complex, Prohibition continued to move steadily from the simple, downright "thou shalt not" manufacture, sell, or transport intoxicating liquors embodied in the Eighteenth Amendment to a vast flowering structure of local laws, official interpretations, and court decisions. The Kansas State Senate repealed on February 24 the famous statute forbidding the sale of cigarettes, marking perhaps the turn of the tide, at high water, of this sort of thing. Other States continued to tinker with the question of Prohibition enforcement. The newspapers announced on May 7 that the "largest Government fleet on record is besieging 'Rum Row' off the New England, New York, and New Jersey coasts." On May 20 the Wisconsin Legislature adopted a resolution calling for a popular referendum within the State on the question of permitting the manufacture and sale of beer containing 2.75 per cent. of alcohol. On July 6, Mr. Coolidge, offended at the impudence of the "rum runners" which, just out of reach of the coast patrol, stretched out in a long line, plainly visible from the President's summer residence at Swampscott, Massachusetts, ordered the patrol to drive them out of the range of the presidential vision; this, if one may believe the accounts, was done or, at any rate, attempted.

Opinion continued to vary as to the success of Prohibition. The Department of Research and Education of the great federation of Protestant Churches, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, made a special investigation and declared, on September 13, that national Prohibition was still "on trial," that juvenile drinking had increased and respect for law decreased, but that the conditions and the morale of workers had vastly

improved. This view was much too qualified to suit the Prohibition forces, and the Administrative Council of the Federal Council was prompted to declare, on October 30, that "Prohibition has already yielded results fully justifying its adoption." On November 13 the Federal authorities succeeded, after a stubborn fight, in sending to prison a Congressman found guilty of violating the Prohibition Act. On November 24 the United States Internal Revenue Bureau, at Washington, struck at the widespread manufacture of wine in private homes by revoking all "home permits" which would have allowed housewives to make 200 gallons of tax-free wine a year. The "United Committee for Prohibition Enforcement," made up of both Catholics and Protestants, appealed to Pope Pius XI. to exert his moral support on behalf of "civil authority" in the United States.

But the question which most stirred Americans during the year was undoubtedly the famous so-called "monkey trial" at Dayton, Tennessee. For many years, Mr. William Jennings Bryan had been lecturing on the Chautauqua and other "circuits" on the heresy of "Darwinism"; with the Bible in one hand and Darwin in the other, he had no trouble in demonstrating that Darwin's ideas were absolutely erroneous in the light of "revealed religion." He fastened upon the idea that, according to Darwin and other "evolutionists," man was descended from the monkey, and he succeeded in convincing millions of people, especially in the rural regions, that the "evolutionists" and their religious co-workers, the "modernists," were leading the modern world astray.

The result of this—practically single-handed—campaign was the passage of a law in Tennessee forbidding the teaching of evolution in any school or college in Tennessee supported by public funds. Governor Austin Peay signed the Bill on March 23, with the remark that it represented "a distinct protest against an irreligious tendency to exalt so-called science and deny the Bible in some schools and quarters."

The challenge was briskly met. John T. Scopes, a youthful teacher of biology in the High School at Dayton, Tennessee, announced that as he had been hired to teach "modern science" he would continue conscientiously to do so, whereupon he was arrested on May 5, charged with violating the State law; he was tried, found guilty, and fined 100 dollars and costs on July 21.

But the trial deserves, perhaps, a place among the great trials of modern times. Mr. Bryan himself was "briefed" by the State of Tennessee for the prosecution, and Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, a noted Labour lawyer, an avowed agnostic, was retained for the defence. Owing to the intolerable heat and stuffiness of the courtroom, the case was heard on the court-house lawn, with the judge, the jury, the young defendant, and counsel in their shirt sleeves.

Owing to the widespread—indeed, painfully intense—popular interest in the case, it was reported verbatim in almost every newspaper in the country, nearly all of which gave up pages to the controversy. It was an extraordinary debate, and partly by argument and partly by ridicule, effectually killed all further attempts to dictate what science should and should not teach. It is true that Tennessee persisted in the course she had adopted; the official textbook on biology, adopted by the State Textbook Commission, declared in connexion with the theory of evolution, “that none of them [animals] is to be thought of as the source or origin of the human species.” On June 19 the Tennessee State Board of Education decided to include the Bible among the “elective” studies for which credits may be given in the State schools; at the same time, realising perhaps, as older communities have realised, that the Bible bristles with difficulties, the Board appointed a committee of “five representatives of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths of our State” to formulate a discreet syllabus of Bible study and “plan for teaching the same.”

But the other States, in general, fought shy of the issue, with the exception of Texas, whose State Textbook Commission, on October 16, “banned” evolution from the school books.

In the meantime, the fight between “fundamentalism” and “modernism,” which had begun in the secular educational system, spread to the religious bodies; practically all the Protestant organisations encountered the issue in one way or another. All these discussions occupied great space in the Press, and justly so; this was the first time in the history of America when modern science, hitherto enjoying unquestioned prestige and a free flow of gifts and endowments and laboratories, was compelled to stop and explain as best it could to men of simple and intense faiths the spiritual implications of its beliefs.

CANADA.

Early in January, Mr. Mackenzie King addressed a crowded audience in Toronto, giving a comprehensive review of the Government's record and policies. After remarking on the handicaps of Government under conditions of a narrow majority in the House of Commons, the Premier referred to the financial inheritance of the country with a national debt risen in consequence of the War to 2,422,000,000 dollars. Owing to economies of expenditure effected, Mr. King said that Canada was not now expending on the ordinary cost of Government more than it expended in 1911 having regard to the purchasing power of the dollar, while taxation, which was 51·77 dollars per capita in 1921, was now reduced to 39·66 dollars. Canada's economic problem was fundamentally the problem of production. After defending the Government's policy in the reduction of taxation on instruments of basic produc-

tion, emphasising the gradual expansion of Canadian trade, and urging the need for particular attention to transportation problems, the Prime Minister deplored the recent decision of the Farmers' Party in Manitoba to reorganise politically with a view to sending to the Federal House of Commons a solid bloc for that Province.

At the Annual Meeting of the Liberal Association of Ontario, which was attended by four hundred delegates, the Premier stated that his Government was prepared to complete its full five-year term, but he would not hesitate to appeal to the country at an earlier date if his programme were hampered in Parliament.

Parliament was opened with State ceremony by Lord Byng of Vimy, Governor-General, on February 5. This was the Fourth Session of the Fourteenth Parliament. Four new Liberal members and one Conservative were introduced, the Government thus having a majority of two.

The Speech from the Throne referred to the improved economic conditions, the export trade balance of 260,000 000 dollars, and a contemplated campaign of increased production as well as economy to combat the high cost of living, the former to be accomplished by a development of resources and immigration. Promise was also made to equip the important ports of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic and Pacific ports to meet the requirements of modern navigation. Other subjects to receive attention were: Treaty between Canada and the United States for the control of smuggling and prosecution of persons violating the anti-narcotic laws; the advisability of amending the British North America Act with respect to the constitutional powers of the Senate; trade agreements with foreign countries, and legislation regarding the handling and marketing of grain.

The Report of the Grain Enquiry Commission, which throughout the year 1924 had been investigating the method of marketing Canadian grain, was tabled in the House on February 9. Its chief recommendation was for an export duty on Canadian wheat going to the United States of America equal to the United States import tariff of 42 cents per bushel against Canadian grain.

Mr. Meighen, the Conservative leader, criticising the Government's policy as outlined in the Speech from the Throne, referred to the absence from the Speech of any reference to the Geneva Protocol, and asked why the course followed by the British Government had not been adopted. To this the Prime Minister replied that mention of the Protocol had been avoided because the subject was still under discussion with the British Government, and that the House could be assured that ample opportunity would be given to discuss the Protocol during the session.

The speeches on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne concluded after one of the shortest debates of its kind within recent years. Mr. Evans (Progressive, Saskatchewan) urged prompt action to secure Senate reform, although he thought

it would be difficult to get unanimous action, and suggested the reduction of the Senate membership to five members from each Province. Mr. Marler (Liberal, Montreal), who last year voted against the Government on the tariff reduction proposals, advocated the appointment of an Advisory Tariff Board, on whose recommendations the Government could bring in general revision of the tariff considering all sections of the country, and fair both to manufacturers and consumers. He suggested that the British Preferential tariff should apply only to merchandise shipped through Canadian ports. Later a large representative delegation from Halifax and Saint John waited on the Government at Ottawa to urge the same restriction of the preferential tariff to goods entering Canada through Dominion ports. In reply, the Premier pointed out that over 90 per cent. of the dutiable imports from Great Britain were now arriving *via* Canadian ports, largely consequent upon the special discount of duty on direct shipments. enacted by Parliament two years ago. He said that unfair and discriminating ocean rates were the chief difficulty, and referred to the Government's plans for controlling such rates. Mr. King remarked that millions of tons of United States products were moving through Canadian ports, and it would be unwise to pass any specific legislation declaring that tariff preference would only be given if goods were imported *via* Canadian ports, as there might be some measure of retaliation by the United States of America. As for the talk of secession by certain parties in the Maritime Provinces as a cure for transportation and trade difficulties, the Prime Minister said that talk of secession was "utterly absurd," but on behalf of his Government he promised every consideration to the requests made, especially those for bettering the trade opportunities of the Eastern provinces.

On a motion of Mr. W. F. Maclean (Conservative, York), the desirability of amending the British North America Act of 1867 in order to give Canada the right to amend her constitution without having to appeal to the Imperial Parliament and also to make the Canadian Court supreme in interpreting the constitution, was debated. The resolution disclosed the definite object of those who had been foremost in an agitation for "equal status" for Canada in the Imperial Commonwealth, a movement including such men as Sir Clifford Sifton, Mr. T. A. Crerar (the former Progressive leader), and Mr. John S. Ewart, with the *Toronto Daily Star* and *Manitoba Free Press* as their organs. Those behind the agitation were also among the chief advocates of the appointment of a Canadian Minister at Washington and Canadian Ministers in other foreign capitals. Early in the debate on Mr. Maclean's motion, it was discovered that the Parliament in London was not the barrier to changes in the Canadian constitution, and Mr. Maclean himself admitted that if there were difficulties to overcome they were not created by the Mother Country. Mr. Ernest Lapointe

(Minister of Justice), in opposing the motion, said : " The question is not, and cannot, be one between Great Britain and Canada, but it might be a difficulty between this Parliament and the Provinces if there were any conflict in this regard," and on behalf of the Government he announced that a Conference would be called of representatives of all the Provinces to consider the question.

The action adumbrated by the Government to combat the " North Atlantic Steamship Combine " (a matter of especial interest to the Western farmers) took the form of a proposed Agreement with Sir William Petersen. This subject threatened to become a major issue in Canadian politics, and created critical interest in Great Britain as well as in Canada. The Agreement, announced in February, was the outcome of a Report made by Mr. W. T. R. Preston, who investigated and strongly condemned the existing conditions of ocean freight traffic. Under the terms of the Contract a fleet of ten vessels was to operate with a Government subsidy amounting to 1,340,000 dollars per annum, based on ocean rates on all commodities imported or exported, such rates to be absolutely under the control of the Canadian Government. " To smash the North Atlantic Combine " in so far as its rates affected the Dominion was the avowed purpose of the Contract, and it was expected that the inauguration of a competitive line would result in more favourable rates for Canadian produce from all the shipping companies. This scheme met with divided, and in some cases hostile, opinion in the Dominion, for while many believed in the existence of a shipping ring operating against Canadian interests, much doubt was expressed in the Press and elsewhere about the efficacy of the Government's proposals. The attitude of the Conservatives towards the proposed contract was that it was impracticable in the matter of securing any real lowering or control of rates in view of the small number of vessels subsidised, and that it omitted any penalty for failure to carry out its provisions. Mr. King produced a mass of evidence to show that the Borden and Meighen Governments were convinced that there was a combination among shippers to maintain ocean charges, and he stated that the Government was prepared to extend the subsidy to any Canadian shipping company. The Premier argued that ultimately international control would be necessary, and while Empire control would go far, the instrumentality of the League of Nations would be needed before the battle was over. Efforts had been made for the past twenty years to secure some relief on ocean rates for Canadian shippers, but nothing practicable had been done despite frequent references to the Imperial Shipping Committee, and the decision of the Government finally to take practical action had been reached long before the Preston report was made. At the end of a seven days' debate, a resolution to refer the Contract to a Special

Committee was carried by 133 votes to 38. This subject was also one of those dealt with by the Canadian Council of Agriculture (representing all the farmers' organisations in the Dominion) during its week's session in March. The Council condemned the Petersen Contract "pending investigation to establish the extent to which the ruling ocean rates were unreasonable, and would be adequately reduced by Dominion Government subsidies."

This Council also opposed the ratification of the Trade Agreement between Canada and Australia. Some weeks later, on being pressed for a statement regarding this Agreement, the Prime Minister replied that negotiations with reference to changes in the Canadian tariff were continuing, and that the Australian Government had made tariff changes which were agreeable to Canada, although a new phase had arisen by Australia's decision that 75 per cent. of the labour and material in goods must be of British origin to secure preferential tariff rates.

After a long discussion in the House of Commons, on a motion by Mr. J. T. Shaw (Independent) urging the reform of the Senate, a sub-amendment, moved by Mr. J. J. Denis (Liberal), proposing the calling of a Conference of representatives of the Federal and Provincial Governments to consider the advisability of amending the British North America Act in respect of the Senate's powers and constitution, was carried by 120 votes to 32.

During March Mr. Mackenzie King summarised Canada's attitude to the Geneva Protocol. His statement (which was communicated to the League) declared that Canada would continue to give whole-hearted support to the League of Nations, particularly its work of conciliation, co-operation, and publicity, and that she would also be prepared to consider accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in justifiable disputes, but would reserve the ultimate decision in domestic issues and would not undertake further obligations to enforce decisions in the case of other States.

Public opinion generally approved this course, but the statements of Sir Robert Borden, Sir George Foster, and the Hon. Newton Rowell gave strength to the influential minority which regretted the decision.

Mr. J. A. Robb, Acting Minister of Finance, in his speech introducing the Budget (March 24), announced that there was a surplus of 24,300,000 dollars of revenue over all ordinary expenditure and a surplus of 1,823,000 dollars over all ordinary and capital expenditure, exclusive of the National Railway capital account.

The Minister announced the appointment of a Board of Advisers, whose duties were to inquire into all matters pertaining to tariffs and other forms of taxation. The policy of the Government was that the Board should be composed particularly of officers of the service having special knowledge of tariff and other taxation and trade problems. The Government was of opinion

that expert and exact knowledge could be obtained in this manner, and should precede any general tariff revision.

In the debate on the Budget, Sir Henry Drayton, ex-Minister of Finance, referred to British Preference and declared that it was being used by the Government to hurt Canadian trade, examples being the boot and wool industries. He advocated a higher tariff against U.S.A. imports, thus decreasing foreign imports and promoting Canada's industrial development and giving Britain a better chance in the Canadian market. Mr. Robert Forke, Progressive leader, criticised the Government for not following its avowed policy of gradual tariff reduction. The protracted debate culminated in an all-night sitting when the House passed the Budget (May 1) by a vote of 123 to 86. The voting of 17 Progressives for the Government caused a split in their ranks, and after a party caucus, Mr. Forke was re-elected as group leader, but Mr. J. F. Johnston, their Chief Whip, was replaced by Mr. C. Wallace Stewart.

In his annual statement, Mr. G. P. Graham, Minister of Railways and Canals, did not attempt to minimise the transportation problem, and admitted that even under the excellent management of Sir Henry Thornton, the National Lines had been unable to pay interest on their indebtedness to the Government under the present conditions. Concerning the suggestion advanced by members of Parliament that the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific systems should be merged, Mr. Graham said that the question was so large and complicated that before embarking on any new policy the fullest consideration and study of all its aspects would be necessary. Conditions might mature to make amalgamation inevitable, but at present he thought there was such a cleavage of opinion in Canada as between private and public ownership that to carry out any proposal for amalgamation would be extremely difficult. Unless an agreement could be reached between the Presidents of the Canadian National Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway for co-operation, the Minister said he would consider asking the Dominion Railway Commission to suggest a plan.

During the ensuing discussion the Conservative and Progressive leaders opposed the proposed amalgamation, but both admitted that it was urgent to eliminate unnecessary competition. Mr. Meighen contended that the multiplication of capital charges against the National system was a most serious difficulty, and Mr. Forke expressed confidence in Sir Henry Thornton's management of the Government lines but was critical of the Board of Directors.

An animated debate took place (May 19) over the estimate of 725,000 dollars for the Department of National Defence. Mr. Woodsworth (Labour) pleaded for national disarmament, and Mr. Forke deprecated the talk of war after 60,000 Canadians

had laid down their lives to end war, arguing that those who desired peace should talk peace. On the other hand, the Conservatives insisted that the appropriations for the Militia, particularly that for "Artillery Units," were "woefully inadequate."

There was also excitement in the House (May 28) over the proposal of the Government to advance five million dollars to the Quebec Harbour Commission. The Progressives and Conservatives opposed the advance as unnecessary and unjustifiable in the present condition of finances, but the Government proposal was carried by 75 to 57 votes, with all the Progressives and Conservatives in the House solidly against it.

In the same month a strenuous controversy took place over the export of hydro-electric power. A group of Canadian and American industrialists, holding a concession granted in 1907 for extensive water powers at Carillon Rapids in the Ottawa River, had made application to the Federal Government for a long lease with export facilities. The Prime Minister and some of his colleagues, as well as members whose constituencies lay near the scene of the new works, were sympathetic to the lease on the ground that not for many years could the total volume of power available be utilised at home, and that it was better to sell it to the United States than to allow it to run to waste. Formidable opposition was made by the Conservative and Progressive Parties, who insisted that such water powers should be conserved for the future industrial development which could be hoped for in the Ottawa and St. Lawrence valleys. As a result of this opposition (which was supported by the Premier of Quebec and a leading Liberal newspaper) the Ministry gave a pledge to defer any action for at least a year.

On May 23 a General Election took place in Nova Scotia. The Liberals were heavily defeated after 43 years of power, 40 Conservatives and only 3 Liberals being returned. A new Cabinet, with Mr. E. N. Rhodes as Prime Minister, was sworn in two months later. This defeat was regarded as a signal of the lessening prestige of the Liberal Party throughout the Dominion. As a counter-balance, however, the General Election in Saskatchewan, held on June 2, resulted in the Liberals, under the able leadership of Mr. Charles Dunning, being maintained in office, the members elected being : Liberals, 52 ; Progressives, 6 ; Conservatives, 3 ; Independent, 2.

With the dramatic death of Sir William Petersen on June 12, the development of the Petersen Contract came to an abrupt end. The Report of the Special Parliamentary Committee, which had held forty-one meetings, and examined thirty-three witnesses, including prominent officials of several large British steamship companies, varied materially from the conclusions of Mr. Preston and virtually rejected the proposed Contract.

As the result of a private inquiry into the railway problem,

a Special Committee of the Senate recommended (June 23) the amalgamation of the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways to be controlled by a Board of fifteen Directors, five to be nominated by the Canadian Pacific Railway, five by the Government, and five by these ten. Other solutions, such as the co-operation of the two systems, the sale of the National Lines to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company or to a private corporation were discussed, but the amalgamation proposal was the only recommendation. Later in the year a Joint Permanent Committee of the two railways was constituted to consider economies and to eliminate unnecessary competition.

In the absence of the Governor-General on a tour in Western Canada, Parliament was prorogued on June 27 by Chief Justice Anglin after an all-night sitting. The legislation of the session covered trade agreements with Australia, Finland, and the Netherlands; revision and consolidation of the Canada Grain Act; grant of financial relief to depositors in the defunct Home Bank (after drastic amendment by the Senate); equalisation of railway freight charges as governed by the Railway Commission (with reservations in respect of the Crow's Nest Pass Agreement); amendments to the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, defining to what disputes the Act should apply. (One section of this amendment provided that any dispute which was within the exclusive jurisdiction of a province, could, by legislation of the province, be made subject to the provisions of the Act. British Columbia has already elected to take advantage of this provision, and other provinces are taking the matter up.) Measures which were either postponed or defeated were those affecting the control of ocean freight rates, the revision of the rules of the House, the Single Transference Vote, the projected Peace River Railway, Old Age Pensions, and Rural Credits. A Conference between Canadian and West Indian delegates for the mutual improvement of trade and shipping facilities also terminated in Ottawa with the prorogation of Parliament and an agreement made subject to Parliamentary confirmation.

Speculation upon the impending General Election was the chief pre-occupation in political circles during July and August. Notwithstanding a statement made by the Premier that no decision would be made either soon or hastily, a Progressive Convention, held at Regina early in August, decided to undertake a house-to-house canvass throughout Saskatchewan in order to raise funds for the contest, and candidates for all parties were freely nominated throughout the country.

In New Brunswick the Provincial General Election (August 10) was watched with intense interest by Federal Parliamentarians, and the sweeping victory of the Conservatives was regarded as peculiarly significant, especially in view of the similar result in Nova Scotia earlier in the year. Only 11 out of the 48 seats were

held by the Liberals, and with 36 supporters Mr. J. B. M. Baxter became the leader of the new legislature. The chief issues of this election were the extravagances of the old Government, particularly in respect of a proposed contract for the development by the State of extensive water powers at Grand Falls on the St. John River.

Although unwilling himself to re-enter the political arena, Mr. T. A. Crerar, the former leader of the Progressive Party, made a notable statement in September which displayed a remarkable insight into the disintegrating forces at work among the farmers. He deprecated the tendency of the party to cling to a class idea which did not appeal to Eastern Canada, the result being that the Progressive programme had not been realised in Federal legislation. After emphasising the importance of maintaining unity in the Confederation and of harmony in the development of Canada as a whole, Mr. Crerar offered the suggestion that the Progressive movement having started with national ideals had developed on too narrow a base, and that a Convention should be called which would be representative of all classes and sections in Western Canada.

Later in the month, the United Farmers of Ontario, an organisation which had a score of members at the last General Election, announced that they would take no active part in the coming contest.

At a large gathering in his constituency of North York on September 5, Mr. King announced the reorganisation of his Cabinet,¹ the Dissolution of Parliament, and the issue of writs for a General Election on October 29. At the same time he opened the seven weeks' campaign by appealing to the country for a renewal of its vote of confidence in the Liberal administration (whose activities he fully reviewed) and for a clear majority to enable it to proceed rigorously with its programme. Regarding the transportation question, he declared that the Government's policy was to oppose any monopoly on land or sea. With respect to the tariff, he announced that that Government would adhere to the policy of a tariff for revenue purposes rather than for protection, and an Advisory Board to deal continuously with tariff and taxation problems. As regards Senate reform, the Prime Minister asked the electorate to return an administration pledged

¹ The new Cabinet incorporated the following changes: Hon. J. A. Robb to be Minister of Finance in the place of the Rt. Hon. W. S. Fielding (for whom Parliament had voted an annuity on his retirement); Hon. George N. Gordon, Deputy Speaker, to be Minister of Immigration; Hon. George Boivin to be Minister of Customs and Excise in place of Hon. Jacques Bureau, who was appointed to the Senate; Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, Minister of Health and Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, to be appointed to the Senate, and his Department merged with the Department of National Defence; Hon. Herbert Marler to be Minister without Portfolio in the place of Hon. H. McGivern retired; and Hon. Lucien Cannon to be Solicitor-General without a seat in the Cabinet; Hon. W. E. Foster to be Secretary of State in place of Hon. A. B. Copp, retired.

to secure the curbing of the Senate's power of veto over legislation twice passed by the House of Commons.

Turning to the problem of immigration, Mr. King said the Government would endeavour to secure a reduction of Atlantic rates for immigrants and to stimulate the flow of selected immigrants through the encouragement of expanding trade and prosperity of the Dominion. He opposed the amalgamation of the two railway systems, but paid a high tribute to the administration of the Government lines by Sir Henry Thornton, announcing that the latter's services had been retained for a further period.

Two ominous disappointments occurred about this time. One was the Premier's failure to induce Mr. Charles Dunning, the Liberal Prime Minister of Saskatchewan, to join his Cabinet. The other was the sudden defection of the *Toronto Globe*, the historic organ of Canadian Liberalism, which proclaimed its inability to endorse the record of the King Government, and its determination to adopt an independent attitude during the election.

Speaking at Wingham, Ontario, on September 9, Mr. Meighen opened his series of campaign meetings. He made the fiscal policy the chief issue, declaring "the biggest fact in the whole political being of our country is that a sound and strong protective policy is the only means whereby we can live and prosper." The Conservative leader claimed that his party stood four-square on this issue. He criticised the recent Australian-Canadian Trade Treaty as throwing open the doors to competition from Australia and injuriously affecting the Canadian fruit, dairying, and canned foods industries. Regarding migration from Canada to the United States during the past few years, this was due to the Government's tariff methods, for Canadians had gone where work could be found under a protective policy. On the issues of transportation and immigration, Mr. Meighen said if he were returned to power he would cut down the capital expenditures on National Railways, and would enforce drastic economies in their administration. He would stimulate immigration through the prosperity resulting from the tariff policy.

Before leaving for his campaign tour of the Maritime Provinces, Mr. King announced the additional appointment of Mr. C. Vincent Massey, of Toronto, as a member of the Cabinet without portfolio. The appointment of Mr. Massey (a prominent manufacturer of agricultural implements and Secretary to the War Council of the Cabinet in 1918) was regarded as indicative of his concurrence of the Government's policy of lowering the duties on agricultural instruments, and as an accession of strength to the Liberal Party.

Following a meeting of Manitoba Progressives for the purpose of formulating election plans, Mr. Robert Forke issued a statement outlining the farmers' policy on the major questions of the

day. Referring to a rumour for a Liberal-Progressive pact, Mr. Forke asserted that the absorption of the Progressives by the Liberals would postpone for a generation the attainment of necessary reforms, the re-shaping of national policies, and the infusion into Canadian public life of that moral courage and idealism which had been wellnigh destroyed by slavish partisanship. He committed the Progressive Party to a policy of Senate reform which would make that body elective, and urged that the fullest trial should be given to national ownership of the railways. In regard to tariff, Mr. Forke advocated the removal of duties on necessities of life and instruments of production, and favoured any policy which would restart the flow of immigration to Canada.

Strenuous electioneering speeches along the lines indicated were delivered throughout the country by the party leaders and speakers (aided for the first time by wireless broadcasting), and the intensity of the campaign may be judged from the fact that every seat in the Dominion was contested. Conservative candidates stood for 239 constituencies, Liberals for 216, Progressives for 69, Independents for 36, and Labour for 21. The re-entry into Federal politics of two well-known public men in Quebec aroused much comment. These were Mr. E. L. Patenaude, a former member of the Borden Government, whose object in the contest was the reorganisation of the Quebec Conservatives on Independent lines, and M. Henri Bourassa, the redoubtable editor of *Le Devoir* and the Nationalist leader who played a big part in the defeat of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1911, standing as an Independent member for the Labelle constituency.

With so many diverse interests and cross currents, the issue of the election was in doubt until the actual results were announced, although in the later stages of the fight general doubt was felt of a decisive majority for any party. Polling took place on October 29. Early returns showed substantial Conservative gains, but the final figures (after a Court decision respecting the seat for North Huron) were : Conservatives, 116 ; Liberals, 101 ; Progressives, 25 ; Labour, 2 ; and Independent, 1.

Two remarkable features of the election were the defeat of the Prime Minister himself and several of his Ministers, including Mr. G. P. Graham (Railways), Mr. James Murdock (Labour), Mr. G. Gordon (Immigration), Mr. T. A. Low (Trade and Commerce), Mr. Vincent Massey and Mr. H. Marler (Ministers without portfolio) ; and the extraordinary reduction in the return of Progressive members. Both Mr. Meighen (Portage la Prairie), and Mr. Forke (Brandon) succeeded in retaining their seats, but Mr. Patenaude was defeated in Montreal.

As none of the parties could claim a clear majority in the House of Commons the outcome of the General Election created a highly controversial position. A period of rumour and speculation followed, but after consultation with the Governor-General,

as well as the Cabinet, Mr. Mackenzie King announced that Parliament would meet on December 10, if legally possible. All the Ministers holding portfolios who were defeated resigned, but the Prime Minister requested Mr. Graham to continue pending further developments.

Mr. King's attitude to those who claimed that he should not remain in office when the Opposition held the largest definite following was that the House of Commons itself, according to constitutional precedent, should decide. "In the present circumstances," he said, "to take any other course would be failing to recognise the supreme right of the people to govern themselves in the manner the Constitution provides for expressing its will through its duly elected representatives in Parliament." This right Mr. Meighen denied, and characterised the Premier's decision as "usurpation of power and contempt of the popular will."

On November 30 Mr. King further announced that as there was no probability of the final returns of five members being received before December 10, the new Parliament would meet on January 7. A few weeks later a by-election took place in Bagot (Quebec), where a vacancy had been caused by the death of the late Liberal member, Mr. J. C. Marcile, and the Liberal candidate, M. Morin, was elected by a reduced majority.

Interest was caused during the last weeks of the year by the resignation of Mr. Herbert Greenfield as Premier of Alberta, and the reported promise of Mr. Charles Dunning, Premier of Saskatchewan, to accept a portfolio under Mr. Mackenzie King if the Liberal Government at Ottawa were sustained on the "No Confidence" motion of the Opposition when Parliament met.

The year thus closed in a political atmosphere of conflict and uncertainty.

ARGENTINA.

The year 1925, like its predecessor, produced comparatively little legislation. At its opening Congress was supposed to be in extraordinary session, under a Presidential decree of the preceding November 14, to consider certain matters of somewhat pressing importance, including the 1925 Budget, the imposition of new taxes, a scheme of State railway construction, and the modification of the unpopular Pension Law. The last meetings of the Senate and the Deputies respectively before the Christmas holidays were on December 18 and 19; and after the holidays members showed so little disposition to continue the discussion of these questions that it proved impossible to form a quorum. Accordingly at the end of January, the President, following a precedent set by Dr. Alcorta when temporary President in 1909, decreed the extraordinary session closed, and the matters pending were automatically reserved for the ordinary session, which was to begin in May.

Senators and Deputies duly assembled on May 14, and remained in session till the end of September. The President, Dr. Alvear, in his opening address, gave a satisfactory account of the work accomplished by the various Ministries, especially the Ministry of Agriculture, but spoke somewhat vaguely of projected legislation. The question of most immediate importance before the Congress was the request made early in the year by the Province of Buenos Aires for "intervention" by the Central Government. The Executive had decided in March that, though the situation in Buenos Aires was abnormal, and therefore warranted Federal intervention, yet, as Congress was soon about to meet, the decision had best be left to that body. Dr. Cantilo, the Governor of Buenos Aires, denied that affairs were abnormal in the Province, and this seems to have been the view of the Congress, as it shelved consideration of the question. This led to the resignation of Dr. Gallo, the Minister of the Interior, who was strongly in favour of applying intervention to Buenos Aires. As Dr. Gallo was *ex officio* leader of the Cabinet, all his colleagues resigned with him, but they were persuaded by Dr. Alvear to resume their portfolios. Earlier in the year Dr. Loza, Minister of Public Works, had resigned on the ground of ill-health, and, after a brief delay, had been succeeded by Dr. R. M. Ortiz, the Administrator of Inland Revenue.

Popular discontent with the Pension Act, which in the previous year had found expression in a so-called "strike" of employers and employed, remained as pronounced as ever. On June 4 a largely attended demonstration took place in Buenos Aires, at which a demand was made for drastic revision of the law, particularly for an actuarial investigation into the means by which its operation could be made reasonably beneficial to all concerned. About the same time the Supreme Court, to which a test case had been referred on appeal, issued a finding that the President of the Pension Funds was not empowered to impose fines for refusal to contribute. Yielding to the popular clamour, the Senate, in July, by 13 votes to 5, approved a resolution suspending the operation of the law—a step which was generally taken as an admission that the measure as it stood was unworkable.

The chief preoccupation of the Government was to cope with the enormous floating debt of the country, portions of which fell due at frequent intervals. Owing to the satisfactory state of the customs receipts, it was able to reduce the debt to some extent during the first six months of the year, but when Congress met the figure was still exceedingly high. At the end of July the Ministry of Finance put it at 618,738,224 paper pesos, but the journal *La Prensa* criticised this estimate on the ground that it did not take all the obligations into account, and calculated the true figure to be 980,516,303 paper pesos. The Budget estimates for 1926, which were presented in July, were framed on the same

principles as those of the preceding years, making import and export dues the chief source of income. But the Government, in introducing them, expressly stated that it looked forward to the sanctioning by Congress of new taxation, especially of an income tax, in order to help it to meet its financial obligations. When Congress rose, however, no further progress had been made with financial legislation, among the Bills left over being the Budgets for 1925 and 1926, and a measure authorising the Conversion Office to reissue notes to the total amount of currency at present in circulation, some 1,388,142,000 paper pesos, and to call in the old notes within two years.

Owing to the unsatisfactory condition of the national finances, and of those of the State of Buenos Aires, little progress was made with public works, such as extension of the State railways and improvement of river navigation, although the Plata was deepened sufficiently to berth the *Repulse* when it arrived with the Prince of Wales. On the other hand, the city of Buenos Aires was able to embark on an ambitious scheme of urban embellishment which bade fair to make the city more than ever entitled to be styled "the Paris of South America."

Great excitement was manifested in Buenos Aires in the summer at the prospect of the Prince of Wales's official visit to the Argentine. In his opening address to Congress on May 14, President Alvear referred to the event, saying that the privileged position the country had won before the world was confirmed by the decision that the Prince should accept their sincere and affectionate hospitality. On July 29 the Senate voted an expenditure of 400,000 pesos (about 34,000*l.*) for festivities in honour of the visit. The Prince arrived at Buenos Aires on August 17, and during the ensuing week was royally entertained, both by the Argentine Government and the large and influential British colony in Buenos Aires, while the general population greeted him with the utmost enthusiasm.

The Prince was altogether about three weeks in the country, and when he finally left on September 20, it was felt on all hands that his visit had cemented still more firmly the long-standing and traditional friendship between the Argentine and Great Britain, the centenary of which had just been celebrated with mutual rejoicing.

In the early part of the year efforts were made in the port of Buenos Aires to reconstitute the Maritime Workers' Federation, locally known as the F.O.M., a body which, in the past, had been active in stirring up discontent among the port workers. A deputation representing shipping and lighterage interests waited on the President in order to point out to him the dangerous character of the organisation. The President replied that the existing rules and regulations governing employment in the Argentine mercantile marine provided for the suppression of the

boycott, and he thought this was sufficient for practical purposes. The year was, in fact, free from serious labour troubles. On the other hand, the immigration position was not regarded as satisfactory. The influx was on the whole sufficient to provide the labour required for harvesting purposes, but the number of new settlers was disappointingly low. The President, in his opening address to the Congress, referred to the matter, and emphasised the necessity of greater expedition in the granting of titles for land, and of creating further facilities for subdivision of properties.

In October, Sir Francis Alston, the British Minister, left the Argentine to take up an appointment at Rio del Janeiro, and was succeeded by Sir M. A. Robertson.

Congress was convened to extraordinary session on November 23 in order to consider an important programme of legislation, but members were so dilatory in coming together that some weeks passed before even a quorum was obtained.

BRAZIL.

At the opening of the year a large part of Brazil was still in the "state of siege," which had been proclaimed by President Bernardes in the previous autumn in consequence of the various revolutionary movements which disturbed the country. Thanks to this precaution, he was able early in January to prevent an outbreak which was being prepared in the heart of Rio Janeiro, and a little later to frustrate an attempt which was made in São Paulo to release certain prisoners who had been confined there on account of their participation in the earlier rising. A spirit of unrest continued to exist in several districts, and on April 22 President Bernardes found it advisable to issue a decree prolonging the state of siege in the States of Amazonas, Pará, Bahia, Sergipe, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Mattogrosso, Parana, Santa Catharina, Rio Grande do Sul, and the Federal District.

In his opening address to the National Congress on May 3, the President justified this step on the ground that the fundamental laws of the Constitution, having been mostly drafted at the beginning of the Republic in a period of ideal enthusiasm, did not provide the President with power to maintain order at a critical time, and he was therefore forced to resort to exceptional measures. He charged certain of the foreign elements in Brazil, particularly in the Southern States, with having abused their privileges by participating in the recent revolts. In the course of his address he referred with some pride to the improvement which had taken place in the financial condition of the country during his presidency; the deficit had been reduced from 449,000 contos in 1922 to 90,000 contos in 1924, and it might have been obviated altogether but for the extra expenditure needed for the maintenance of public order. He was of opinion

that the country should be able to develop its resources without recourse to foreign loans, once the floating debt had been redeemed and the situation of the Treasury had become normal.

On January 12 the President sanctioned Estimates formally limiting the expenditure of the Republic for the year to 84,412,953 milreis gold, and 1,044,599,020 milreis paper. The Bank of Brazil during the year diminished its paper currency at an average rate of 10,000 contos per month, with the result that the exchange value of the milreis rose by 25 per cent. In order to curtail public expenditure, the President found himself obliged to withhold Treasury support from various public works which were contemplated or in process of execution, so that little progress was made with them during the year.

In January the President proposed to make certain changes in the statutes of the Bank of Brazil, giving it new currency issue rights. This led to the resignation of Dr. Sampaio Vidal, the Minister of Finance, and Dr. Cincinati Braga, the President of the Bank, who disapproved of this policy. As both these gentlemen were from São Paulo, it was generally assumed that the friction between that State and the Federal Government was the underlying cause of their resignation. The President asked São Paulo to offer a candidate to succeed Dr. Vidal, but the State refused, and he thereupon appointed Senhor Annibal da Tonseca, the Deputy for Pernambuco, to the post of Finance Minister, while Dr. James D'Arcy was made President of the Bank of Brazil.

The action of the São Paulo State in refusing to be represented in the Federal Cabinet was thought to portend a bitter struggle in the Presidential election of 1926 between São Paulo on the one hand, and the Federal District and the State of Minas Geraes on the other. As the year went on, however, a *rapprochement* took place between the two parties, and at a National Convention held in October, representing the majority of the Congress, a compromise was effected by the nomination of Dr. Washington Luiz, a former President of the State of São Paulo, as candidate for the presidency, and Dr. Mello Vianna, President of the State of Minas Geraes, as candidate for the vice-presidency. The Republican parties of São Paulo gave their support to this arrangement, and expressed the conviction that these two names would make an irresistible appeal to the nation, and that the election of these two candidates would ensure a period of tranquillity and prosperity for the country.

In February a terrible dynamite explosion, due to a fire in the harbour, took place on the island of Caju, over 100 persons being killed and 400 injured. The Brazilian Press bitterly criticised the port and Government authorities for not having taken proper precautions both before and after the outbreak of the fire,

CHILE.

Chile, in 1925, again passed through a disturbed year, political unrest being complicated with economic and labour troubles. The military Junta which had seized power in the autumn of 1924 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 312) failed to inspire confidence in the public, in spite of its fair promises, and a strong desire began to manifest itself for the return of Señor Alessandri, who, after the *coup*, had thrown up the Presidentship and gone to Italy. In the middle of January unrest was remarked among the garrison of Santiago, and on January 23 two regiments of the garrison surrounded the Government House, deposed the Junta de Gobierno, which was then sitting, and appointed a new Junta in its place. The first effect of the new *coup* was to antagonise the Army with the Navy, which adhered to the principles of the 1924 *coup* and was opposed to the return of Señor Alessandri. It was further irritated by the action of the new Junta in placing two naval officers under arrest—Admiral Nef, who had been a member of the former Junta, and Admiral Gomez Carreno, the War Minister in the deposed Cabinet. At one moment civil war between the two Services seemed to be imminent; it was averted by the mediation of Signor Augustin Edwards, who succeeded in finding a formula acceptable to both parties. A Government Board was constituted consisting of an admiral, a general, and a civilian; Señor Emilio Coderido was appointed Vice-President of the Republic, and a Ministry of National Concord was formed with the object of effecting a return of the country to a constitutional régime.

Immediately on its accession to power, before the adhesion of the Navy had been secured, the new Junta had telegraphed an invitation to Señor Alessandri, who was then in Italy, to return and resume his Presidentship. Señor Alessandri cabled back from Rome that he would do so only on condition that the military returned to their own duties and that the Constituent Assembly should be convoked without delay in order to decide on constitutional reforms. These terms having been accepted, he left Rome at the end of January, and after spending some time in Paris, arrived in Chile in the third week in March. Pending his return, the Government endeavoured to maintain the *status quo* in the country without introducing changes. To confirm its authority, it found itself obliged to suppress various newspapers which published inflammatory articles against it, and on February 28, following an act of insubordination in one of the regiments at Santiago, it arrested Señor Ladislao Errazuriz, the Conservative candidate for the Presidency, and other prominent members of the Opposition; and shortly after martial law was declared in the provinces of Santiago, Valparaiso, and Aconcagua, and a strong guard was placed in the city of Santiago.

While in Santiago politics were the chief preoccupation in Valparaiso, owing to the presence of a large Labour element, the public was more concerned with the question of house rent. Early in February, a mass meeting of 30,000 people at Valparaiso protested against the exorbitance of the rents charged by landlords, and a deputation from the League of Tenants went to Santiago to request the intervention of the Government in order to procure a reduction. As the Government did not comply, the League, on February 13, organised a general strike which brought business in Valparaiso to a complete standstill, and for a time threatened to spread throughout the country.

The arrival of President Alessandri, on March 20, exercised a somewhat calming effect on the country. The chief of the Executive Committee of the Conservative Party informed the President that any new Government could count upon the undivided support of his party. The President at once took preparatory steps for reforming the Constitution by conferring with the Ministers of State on the proper basis for a Constituent Assembly and by appointing a Committee, with himself as President, to recommend reforms in the Constitution. Before this Committee could report some of the members of the last Congress attempted to bring about a reassembling of that body on June 1, but the President issued a proclamation reminding the nation that the Congress had been dissolved in September and could not reassemble.

In the spring disorders broke out among the workers in the nitrate zone, and were only suppressed with the aid of the military. Thirty-three agitators who were arrested were banished to the island of Juan Fernandez. The Government enacted certain measures of social reform, which the employers promised faithfully to apply.

The Committee on constitutional reforms ended its work on July 13. It approved certain recently enacted provisional articles of the Constitution, and agreed that the Presidential election should be held on October 24 and the Congressional election on November 22. It was further decided that a plébiscite should be held at the end of August on the new form of Constitution drafted by Señor Alessandri. The new Constitution defined the powers of the Congress and the President with great precision, and among the changes it introduced were that the House of Deputies should be elected for 4 years instead of 3, that the President should be elected for 6 years instead of 5 and by direct popular vote instead of indirectly, and that Congress should be automatically in session from May to September. The plébiscite was held on August 30, and resulted in the acceptance of Señor Alessandri's scheme.

The Presidential campaign opened in September in a troubled atmosphere. A number of candidates were put forward, and

party feeling ran very high. Señor Alessandri tried to induce all parties to agree on a single candidate, but a section of the Radicals insisted on running their candidate, Señor Quezada Acheras, then Minister at Paris, and accused the President himself of favouring Señor Jaramello, who had been for a time President of the second revolutionary Government in January—an accusation which Señor Alessandri indignantly denied. At the end of September Colonel Ibañez, the Minister of War, came forward as a candidate against the Radical. This caused a Cabinet crisis, several members resigning on the ground that Colonel Ibañez's action in standing for the Presidency while he was a Cabinet Minister was unconstitutional. A highly critical situation arose, but it was surmounted without mishap by the formation of a new Cabinet, with Señor Luis A. Concha as Premier. At the same time at a meeting on October 4 of Cabinet Ministers and representatives of the seven chief political organisations, an agreement was reached to nominate a single candidate for the Presidency, the choice falling on Señor Emiliano Figueroa, who had already once been President, on the death of President Pedro Montt in office in 1910, but who had for some years taken no part in politics.

On October 18 the new Constitution came into force. It was inaugurated with great ceremony in Santiago and Valparaíso, and an oath of fidelity to it was taken in the regiments and warships. On October 24 the Presidential election took place without incident, Señor Figueroa being elected by a large majority. He entered upon his office in December amid general manifestations of goodwill, and appointed a Cabinet with Señor Alessandro Ibañez as Premier.

The finances of the country did not suffer as much as might have been expected from its disturbed state. The Budget for 1925 showed a surplus of 75,000 paper pesos. During the year an American financial mission presided over by Professor Kemmerer, was in the country, and, acting apparently on its advice, the President, in August, signed a decree creating a central bank, or Government reserve bank, which should have control of the currency and be the fiscal agent for the Government. For a duration of fifty years the capital of the bank was to be 150,000,000 pesos, to be called in future "chilenos." A programme of naval construction, including destroyers, light cruisers, and seaplanes was also drawn up in September.

The Prince of Wales was in Chile in the first and second weeks of September as the guest of the Government, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the public at Santiago and Valparaíso. At the latter town a general strike which had been proclaimed was postponed in order not to interfere with his arrangements. In honour of his visit, the leading Chilean daily, *El Mercurio*, the organ of Señor Edwards, brought out a special

British supplement of 150 pages, which contained signed messages from Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. MacDonald, and dealt fully with all phases of British life.

The anxiously awaited arbitral decision of the President of the United States on the dispute between Chile and Peru regarding the possession of the provinces of Tacna and Arica was delivered on March 9. By the Treaty of Ancon, signed in 1884, these provinces were to remain in possession of Chile for ten years, after which a plébiscite was to be held to determine whether they should revert to Peru or remain with Chile—a stipulation which, for various reasons, had never yet been carried out. President Coolidge decided that the Article calling for a plébiscite was still valid, and found unproven the Peruvian allegations that Chile had wilfully prevented the holding of a plébiscite, and that Chilean administration of the territory in dispute had made a fair plébiscite impossible.

In accordance with this decision, a special board of Chilean and Peruvian representatives, with the American General Pershing as President, was soon after formed to make arrangements for the plébiscite. The chief Chilean representative was Don Augustin Edwards. A Boundary Commission, also under General Pershing, was, at the same time, appointed to fix the limits of the territory in dispute, and this body, on August 29, decided that the province of Tarata should be handed over by Chile to Peru. The award was duly carried out by Chile without delay. The plébiscite Commission did not work so smoothly, and friction soon arose between General Pershing and the Chilean representatives, who considered that some of his requirements were unreasonable. In December they absented themselves from the sittings, and when, on December 9, General Pershing finally fixed April 15 as the date for the plébiscite, Señor Edwards appealed against this decision to President Coolidge on the ground that an earlier date should have been fixed, at the same time charging General Pershing with partiality to Peru. General Pershing soon after resigned his presidency of the Commission on the ground of ill-health (*vide* also PERU).

MEXICO.

Having at the end of 1924, immediately after his election, declared that public economy was the most urgent problem of Mexico, President Calles at the beginning of 1925 made a statement of policy in which he announced his intention of effecting drastic reductions in the railway administration and in the staffs of Government Departments, particularly in the War Office, where some 500 "generals" were to be relieved of their posts. He was as good as his word, and the waste which had long characterised the administration was rapidly eliminated. As a result

of his economies the President soon had over 3,000,000*l.* in the Treasury, and was able to meet commercial bills with unwonted regularity, and even to pay off some long outstanding accounts against the Government. He also began to talk of resuming the payments of interest on Mexico's external debt, a proposal which was vigorously combated in the Press.

As a member of the Labour Party, President Calles supported the Agrarian Law which decreed the subdivision of the "Haciendas" (large estates) and the expropriation of their owners, and he was not over-vigorous in repressing the lawless activities by which the peons sometimes sought to instal themselves on private properties. Foreigners, especially Americans, were often the victims of these attacks, and though there was a Joint Claims Commission to adjust claims of American citizens for properties taken illegally, they found it difficult to obtain redress. At the same time, foreign capital in the industrial field was subjected to severe disabilities. The Minister of Industry and Commerce, Señor Morones, formed the syndicates and unions of labour into a Confederation which made exaggerated demands of the employers, especially in the foreign concerns. Matters were brought to a head in April by the action of the State Government of Vera Cruz in seizing the American-owned Light-Power Traction Company at Jalapa, in order to settle a strike of its employees. Mr. Sheffield, the United States Ambassador, addressed a Note of protest to the Federal Government, but this body treated it with scant respect, and upheld the action of the Vera Cruz Government. Mr. Sheffield thereupon left for Washington in order to confer with the Government there. As a result of the labour situation, large withdrawals of foreign capital from Mexico took place.

The result of Mr. Sheffield's representations was seen on June 12, when the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kellogg, issued to the Press a statement on his country's relations with Mexico. While their relations with the Government, he said, were friendly, conditions in the country were not satisfactory, and they were looking to the Mexican Government to restore properties illegally taken, and to indemnify American citizens. Mr. Sheffield would have the full support of the United States Government, and they would insist that adequate protection under the recognised rules of international law should be afforded to American citizens. The United States Government would support the present Government in Mexico only so long as it protected American lives and rights, and complied with its international obligations. President Calles replied through the same medium of a communication to the Press that the Government was effectively protecting American property, at the same time asserting his determination in no ambiguous terms to be master in his own house.

At this time President Calles's position was precarious. His radical reforms in the administration had created a large volume of discontent, and he had still further increased his unpopularity by supporting the "schismatics," a new Church Party which had disowned the authority of the Pope, though remaining Roman Catholic. Rumours were prevalent of an impending revolution, and Mr. Kellogg had referred to them in his statement. But nothing untoward occurred in the political sphere, and on October 8 Mr. Sheffield left Washington to resume his ambassadorial duties in Mexico, no rejoinder having been issued to the defiant message of President Calles.

Mr. Sheffield did not find it necessary during the rest of the year to protest further against Mexico's agrarian policy, but before long President Calles, in prosecution of his Nationalist policy, took a step which was even more prejudicial to foreign interests. In October he laid before the Senate a Bill for the enforcement of the provisions of Article 27 of the Constitution, under which foreigners owning land and water properties would be forced to sell within three years unless they became Mexican citizens. The Bill, which particularly affected oil and mining companies, had not yet become law at the end of the year, but it was viewed with considerable alarm in the United States and Britain.

Shortly before launching this attack on British interests, President Calles had seemed to inaugurate a period of friendly relations with Great Britain by closing the rupture which had existed between the two countries for eight years. Early in the year he had declared that a renewal of friendship would depend on some spontaneous act on the part of the British Government, and that Mexico could not accept any "conditional amnesty." The British Consul-General, Mr. Norman King, who had remained in Mexico after the withdrawal of Mr. Cummins in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 313) did not relax his efforts to bring about a better understanding between the two countries, with the result that on August 28 he was appointed *Chargé d'Affaires* pending the appointment of a Minister. On September 2 it was announced by the British Foreign Office that a mixed Commission would be set up to consider claims of British subjects arising from revolutionary disturbances in the Republic of Mexico. This was followed in a couple of weeks by the resumption of full diplomatic relations, Mr. Esmond Ovey being appointed British Minister in Mexico, and Señor Don Gilberto Valüenzela Mexican Minister in London.

Communist activity in the country caused a certain amount of anxiety during the year. On May 5 President Calles saw fit to issue a strong denial of the statement attributed to Tchicherin, that the Soviet had a base in Mexico—a remark to which some colour was lent by the active propaganda carried on by the Soviet Minister in Mexico. Under no condition, he added, would Mexico

permit the preaching of doctrines foreign to the understanding of the Mexicans. The Labour Minister, Señor Morones, though holding advanced views, repudiated Communism with equal vigour. In November the Legislature of the State of San Luis Potosi came into sharp conflict with the State Governor, Señor Aurelio Manrique, known as the first Mexican disciple of Lenin, and found it necessary to depose him, with the aid of Federal troops. Riots, too, were caused by the activities of "Red" agitators at the municipal elections in Vera Cruz in October.

PERU.

On receiving the award of President Coolidge on the Tacna-Arica dispute (see Chile, p. 313), the Peruvian Government handed a Note to the American State Department asking that certain conditions should be fulfilled before the plébiscite was held, especially that Chilean civil authorities and military forces should be replaced by American authorities and forces, not only during the holding of the plébiscite, but immediately, in order to prevent acts of violence against Peruvians in those territories and to permit of the return of the natives driven out by Chile. President Coolidge replied on April 9 that his award was final, and that the idea of using American troops in the disputed territory would not be entertained, but that all necessary safeguards would be provided by the Plébiscitary Commission. The Peruvian Government replied disclaiming any intention of rejecting the award, and repeating its insistence on proper guarantees, at the same time announcing the appointment of Señor Manuel de Freyre y Santander, Peruvian Minister in the Argentine, as chief Peruvian delegate on the Plébiscite Commission. With him were afterwards associated Señor Alberto Salomon, who had just resigned the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs after a tenure of five years, and Señor Barreto. The delegation left Lima for Arica on August 1, in the presence of an enormous concourse of people, the public further showing its interest by subscribing liberally towards the expenses of the plébiscite. Contrary to general expectation, the Peruvian delegation worked in complete harmony with the President of the Commission, General Pershing, and it was the Chilean delegation which raised objections and finally withdrew.

Through the good offices of Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State of the United States, Brazil, on March 25, finally withdrew its objections to the Boundary Treaty which Peru had concluded with Colombia in March, 1922, and the Treaty was ratified at Washington in the presence of Mr. Hughes.

OTHER LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

Ecuador.—In July a *coup d'état* was carried out by a group of officers led by General Francesco Gomez, who deposed the Presi-

dent and formed a Provisional Government consisting of six military men and one civilian. The new Government set itself energetically to reform the administration by subjecting the accounts of Government offices and public bodies to a systematic examination, by reductions in the Civil Service, and by the revision of all contracts for public and municipal works. Its programme further included the establishment of a Government Control Bank, the unification of Customs duties, the transference to the Government of the monopolies in rum and tobacco, the regulation of transactions in foreign bills of exchange to prevent speculation, the reorganisation of all universities and colleges on a sound basis, and the appointment of a special commission to revise the Constitution and Laws of the country.

Bolivia.—A revolution broke out in Bolivia in September, as a result of which the country was placed in a state of siege, and Don Jose Villanueva, formerly President-elect, was forced to flee from the country.

Nicaragua.—On October 25 Don Diego Chamorro, leader of the Conservatives, who had been President of the Republic in the preceding year, entered the city of Managua at the head of armed forces, and called on the President, Don Carlos Solorzano, to dismiss the Liberal members of the Cabinet. After some fighting between the Conservatives and the constabulary, in which 11 men were killed and 13 wounded, the President consented, further promising to give 10,000 dollars to Signor Chamorro and pay off his troops.

Cuba.—On March 13 the United States Senate finally ratified the Treaty signed by Mr. John Hay on March 2, 1904, under which the United States relinquishes all claim to the Island of Pines in favour of Cuba.

CHAPTER XI.

AUSTRALASIA : THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

At the beginning of 1925 the Bruce-Page Government, which came into office in February, 1923, was in power in Federal politics, and Baron Forster of Lepe represented the Crown in Australia as Governor-General. Lord Forster, having completed his five years of office, was succeeded by the Right Hon. Sir John Lawrence Baird, of Urie, Bt., C.M.G., D.S.O., who was raised to the peerage before reaching Australia, and took the title of Baron Stonehaven. Lady Stonehaven was a daughter of the tenth Earl of Kintore, at one time Governor of South Australia.

Before the Federal Parliament met in June, decisions were reached upon several matters of inter-Imperial importance, in

particular regarding Australia's attitude towards the Geneva Protocol. This had been the subject of much discussion after the text reached Australia, in November, 1924, chiefly owing to the Japanese attitude in connexion with Article 6. In March, 1925, Mr. Bruce, the Commonwealth Prime Minister, announced that Britain and the Dominions had decided to reject the Protocol. The correspondence between the Commonwealth and British Governments was made public on July 20, and stated that, "in the opinion of the Commonwealth, the establishment of a general system of compulsory arbitration, to which any powerful States were not parties, could not fail to be a source of danger both for the successful carrying out of the system itself, as well as for the international organisation under which it operated."

On April 8 a migration agreement was signed between the British and Commonwealth Governments, which provided for 20,000,000*l.* being made available to the Australian States at two per cent. interest for the first five years, and two and a half per cent. interest for the second five years. Mr. Bruce, announcing the agreement, explained that the 20,000,000*l.* would be increased to 34,000,000*l.* if the three States of New South Wales, Victoria, and Western Australia decided to merge their existing land settlement agreements in the new agreement. The British Government would provide one-half the interest on the advance for the first five years, and one-third for the second five years, at a rate of interest not exceeding two per cent. for the first five years, and two and a half per cent. for the second five years. The money would be employed in making suitable areas of land available for settlement, or in carrying out public works to develop and expand the capacity of Australia to maintain a greater population. Included in the works for which money would be made available would be the construction of roads and bridges, hydro-electric and water conservation, the construction and equipment of developmental railways and tramways, afforestation, the construction of sugar mills, butter factories, and similar enterprises. The States would have to undertake to absorb one British migrant for every 75*l.* received.

In connexion with Australian naval defence, contracts for two 10,000 ton cruisers, which had been sanctioned by the Commonwealth Parliament in 1924, were placed with John Brown & Co., Ltd., of Glasgow, at a cost of 4,250,000*l.* Two cruiser submarines were ordered at the same time from Vickers & Co., of Barrow, at a cost of 716,340*l.* The difference between the cost of construction in Great Britain and the lowest Australian tender was 818,000*l.*, and the money saved was spent upon a modern 6,000 ton seaplane carrier, which was built in Australia. On April 23, Sir Neville Howse, V.C., the Minister for Defence, received a deputation from the Australian Navy League, which favoured building a floating dock, capable of being towed to any part

of Australia. Replying to the deputation, Sir Neville Howse said that it was doubtful whether a dock able to lift a 40,000 ton vessel could be built in Australia, but the New South Wales Government had asked for assistance in building a large dock at Walsh Island. Sir Neville added that it was clear that all Australia's defence forces must be established, not only in consultation with the British Government, but so that Australia could co-operate in time of necessity with the British Fleet. To defend Australia against any navy that was likely to attack her would require an expenditure of about 50,000,000*l.* a year for ten years. When the strength of the navies contiguous to Australia was considered, it could be seen that it would be impossible for Australia, with her small population and enormous coast-line, to provide sufficient forces to defend herself as if she were a separate nation.

Throughout the year labour troubles were constant in the Australian shipping industry, and a series of strikes took place as a protest against the maintenance of the Shipping Labour Bureau at Sydney. The Bureau had been formed by "loyalist" workers during a shipping strike in 1917, and included many returned soldiers. It was abolished on February 28—a victory for unionism. There was also a dispute between the seamen and the inter-state shipping companies, over payment of wages while vessels were in port. A temporary settlement was reached on January 27, but further trouble developed in June, and many ships were laid up in Australian ports. The point at issue was "Job Control" (or union decision regarding the number of men to be employed on particular jobs on particular ships), which the masters regarded as being equivalent to dictation regarding the management of vessels. On June 30 the Seamen's Union decided that their members should leave all vessels in the inter-state trade and the Commonwealth Government Line ships. An Agreement, signed on August 6, provided for the abolition of job control, in accordance with the owners' demands. The unions, for their part, agreed to discipline their members in the event of breaches of agreements. There was also an unofficial strike of British seamen in Australian waters as a protest against a reduction of seamen's wages in Britain. This lasted several weeks, but petered out after serious dislocation of transport.

The shipping strikes were the indirect cause of the Federal General Election in November. The third session of the ninth Federal Parliament was opened by Lord Forster on June 11, and one of the first Bills introduced was an amending Immigration Bill, which empowered the deportation of men not born in Australia who were judged guilty of stirring up industrial strife. Nominally a Bill for strengthening the law restricting the immigration of aliens, it was soon evident that the real purpose of the Bill was to deal with the difficulties which had arisen during the

maritime strikes. The Parliamentary struggle centred around a clause authorising the proclamation of the existence of a state of serious industrial disturbance. If, in such circumstances, a person not born in Australia was convicted of an offence relating to trade, commerce, and transport, his deportation might be ordered by the Government. In introducing the Bill, Mr. Bruce said, " Aliens came to Australia possibly with a legitimate grievance against their native country. They subscribed to social doctrines absolutely inapplicable to Australian conditions at the present time, and their propaganda appealed harmfully to the young and thoughtless. These men had embittered minds, and they endeavoured constantly to poison and embitter the minds of Australians. It was essential that Australian hospitality should be withdrawn from them."

The strike of British seamen in Australian waters caused such confusion and commercial loss that the Federal Ministry, in August, proclaimed a state of industrial unrest and appointed a Board under the Immigration Act, before which persons summoned would show cause why they should not be deported. An unexpected obstacle to Federal policy, however, presented itself when Mr. Lang, the Labour Prime Minister in New South Wales, refused to allow State instrumentalities to be used for deportation proceedings. The Federal Ministry accordingly introduced a Bill, on August 28, creating Commonwealth " peace officers," having all the powers, privileges, and immunities of State police constables. Every stage of the Bill was opposed by the Labour Opposition, but the Police Bill was declared an urgent measure and passed the House of Representatives under a time limit. Within three weeks Mr. Bruce requested Lord Forster to dissolve Parliament in order to obtain a mandate from the country upon an issue which he described as " the maintenance of law and order and the supremacy of constitutional Government."

The Commonwealth Treasurer, Dr. Earle Page, delivered his third Budget statement on August 13. The revenue during the financial year, 1924-25, was 68,854,809*l.*, and the expenditure, omitting special expenditure out of surplus revenues, was 65,836,433*l.*, leaving a surplus of 3,018,376*l.*, of which 1,500,000*l.* was used for debt reduction, and 1,500,000*l.* was appropriated for naval construction, making a total of 3,500,000*l.* appropriated for the building of cruisers, submarines, seaplanes, etc. The Treasurer was also able to increase the rate of invalid and old age pensions to 20*s.* a week. Income tax payers received relief to the extent of 12½ per cent. The Commonwealth income tax was thus reduced from 3*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.*, in 1921-22, to 1*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* in 1925-26, the reduction being equal to 47 per cent. Dr. Earle Page estimated the gross debt of the Commonwealth and States at 967,197,079*l.*, less 81,035,671*l.*, represented by cash in hand, sinking funds, and similar assets. Later in the year the stability

of Australian public finances was demonstrated when a Commonwealth Conversion Loan for 67,000,000*l.* was put upon the market and over-subscribed eight days before the old loan matured, 22,300,000*l.* being new money. On April 28, concurrently with the Budget announcement of Mr. Winston Churchill in London, the embargo upon the export of Australian gold was raised. This return to a gold standard beneficially affected Commonwealth trade by stabilising Exchanges.

On July 3 Senator Pearce introduced a Northern Territory Bill in the Senate, which contained the germ of self-government for the Federal territory and also gave it a new name—North Australia. The Bill abolished the office of Federal Administrator and substituted a developmental commission of three persons, appointed by the Governor-General. A Bill was also passed admitting all adult natives of British India domiciled in Australia to the Federal franchise: 2,300 Indians were affected by the concession, all of whom reached Australia before the Immigration Restriction Act was passed in 1901.

The Commonwealth Parliament was dissolved on September 18, after Mr. Charlton, the Leader of the Federal Opposition, had promised to give supply and to pass any Bills the Ministry regarded as necessary. In his policy speech at Dandenong on October 5, Mr. Bruce said that the laws of the country had been defied and constitutional authority challenged. An attempt had been made to subvert democracy to domination by a few extremists, "who have captured the trade unions, while political Labour is silent and industrial Labour helpless." The Government proposed legislation for restoring unionist control of the union officials, funds and acts, by means of a secret ballot.

On the eve of the General Election, the Nationalists and the Country Party, who made up the Bruce-Page Coalition, held 46 seats in the House of Representatives, against 29 seats held by Labour. In addition, 19 Senators retired, 16 of whom were Nationalists and three Labour supporters. The Labour Party thus had a double chance of defeating Mr. Bruce. Failing a majority in the House of Representatives, they might gain a majority in the Senate. Mr. Charlton outlined the policy of the Labour Party in a speech at the Sydney Town Hall on October 9, in which he characterised the policy of Mr. Bruce and Dr. Earle Page in unmeasured terms. Mr. Charlton denounced the Government's immigration policy on the ground that Australia had a large excess of labour and no vast empty spaces, except in the desert. In connexion with defence, Mr. Charlton favoured submarines and aeroplanes rather than expensive cruisers. Mr. Bruce's foreign policy meant that Australia would be committed to any overseas war Great Britain decided to enter. Australian Labour stood for a foreign policy developed in the light of day for a people determined to uphold their national

rights, and honest enough to admit that other nations had coequal rights. Labour would make provision for motherhood endowment. It would seek an alteration of the Constitution in order to bring about uniformity of working hours throughout Australia.

Australia is a land of great distances and certain electorates cover thousands of miles. Mr. Bruce, blessed with the physique of an athlete which made long railway and motoring journeys possible, was better able to put his views before the electors than Mr. Charlton, a fluent speaker and hard worker, but in relatively poor health. The real leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Theodore, ex-Premier of Queensland, was contesting Herbert, a vast constituency in Northern Queensland, and was fully occupied there. The elections resulted in a striking victory for Mr. Bruce and Dr. Earle Page, 38 Nationalists, 14 members of the Country Party, and 23 Labour members being elected to the House of Representatives, while the Bruce Government won all the contested seats in the Senate, which was thus composed of 26 Nationalists, 1 member of the Country Party, and 9 Labour Senators. Mr. Theodore was defeated for Herbert. Senator Wilson, a Nationalist and Honorary Minister in the Bruce Cabinet, was defeated by a Country Party candidate in South Australia. 1,189,000 votes for the House of Representatives were cast for the Nationalists, 281,000 for the Country Party, and 1,213,000 for Labour, being a Bruce-Page majority of 257,000.

When victory at the polls was assured, the Federal Ministry ordered the Commonwealth peace officers to arrest Thomas Walsh and Jacob Johannsen, of the Australian Seamen's Union, who were leaders in the shipping strike. They were taken to the naval headquarters on Garden Island, Sydney. On November 21, Sir Robert Garran, the Solicitor-General, issued the following statement: "The Deportation Board has found, with regard to both Thomas Walsh and Jacob Johannsen, that the respondents have been concerned in acts directed towards hindering or obstructing to the prejudice of the public, the transport of goods or the conveyance of passengers in relation to trade or commerce with other countries; that their presence in Australia will be injurious to the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth; and that they have failed to show cause why they should not be deported. The Board has accordingly recommended their deportation. The Minister for Home and Territories (Senator Pearce) has ordered the deportation of both respondents, and they are now in civil custody awaiting deportation. The Government will be willing to pay the passages of the wives and children of the deportees to their destination, and also to grant them meanwhile a sustenance allowance." An application for a rule *nisi* of *habeas corpus*, however, was lodged with the Supreme Court at Sydney, and resulted in the release of the prisoners,

the High Court deciding that the Deportation Act was unconstitutional.

Important judgments were delivered on December 18 by the Chief Justice (Sir Adrian Knox) and his four colleagues on the High Court Bench, to the effect that deportation was a preventive, and not a punitive, measure, and that the section of the Immigration Act giving power to the Government to deport could not apply to persons who had made their homes in Australia. Walsh and Johannsen could not be classed as immigrants.

Turning from Federal to State politics, the advent of Labour Governments in five States brought the problem of Australian versus British Governors to the fore. In September, a memorial was signed by the Prime Ministers of New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania for presentation to the British Secretary of State for the Dominions, urging the appointment of citizens of the Commonwealth to State Governorships. A debate in the Victorian Assembly on July 16 showed that Victoria at present holds an opinion contrary to that of the other States, consequently the unanimity, which the Colonial Office desires before the present system can be changed, is still wanting. The prerogative of dissolution is the chief power remaining to a State Governor, and it is argued that an overseas Governor is more likely to act without prejudice than a Governor chosen locally, who may have held important positions in State party politics. A practical example of the principle in working was furnished in New South Wales in December, when Mr. Lang, the Labour Prime Minister, requested Admiral Sir Dudley de Chair to appoint 25 new members to the State Legislative Council with a view to assuring a majority of pledged Labour members. The demand was clearly a prelude to the abolition of the Council, and Admiral de Chair declined to appoint 25 members, though he offered to appoint 15 nominees of the Labour Party. The New South Wales Government refused to accept the compromise, and the matter was referred to the Colonial Office. On December 3, Sir Dudley de Chair informed Mr. Lang that he had received a despatch from the Colonial Office stating that, while they realised a difficult situation had arisen, established constitutional principles required that the question should be settled between the Governor and the Ministers. Consequently, the Colonial Office did not feel they could give instructions. Admiral de Chair, accordingly, under protest, appointed the 25 new members to the Council. on December 21, thus establishing the principle that a State Governor must always act on the advice of his Ministers.

The elections in New South Wales which brought the Labour Party into power took place on May 3, and Mr. J. T. Lang, who began his working life at seven years of age, selling newspapers in the streets, succeeded Sir George Fuller as Premier. The new

Ministry was elected by the New South Wales Labour caucus, and included Mr. G. St. George Cann, Captain W. F. Dunn, and Mr. Willis, Secretary of the Miners' Federation. On September 17, Mr. Baddeley, Minister for Labour, moved the second reading of a Forty-four Hour Week Bill. A Bill was also passed raising the salaries of members of the New South Wales Parliament from 600*l.* to 875*l.* a year.

In Victoria, a Coalition Government, consisting of Nationalists and members of the Country Party, held office, under the premiership of Mr. Allan, Leader of the Country Party. Parliament opened on July 9, and the Governor's speech announced that legislation would include measures for securing the control of arterial roads, the purchase of the Metropolitan Gas Company, and making Anzac Day a public holiday. In Queensland, Mr. E. G. Theodore resigned the premiership on February 25, and the State Parliamentary Labour Party elected Mr. W. N. Gillies to succeed him, Mr. McCormack being chosen Deputy-Leader. Mr. Theodore's withdrawal was due to a desire for a career in Federal politics. Mr. Gillies's term of office proved short, and he was succeeded by Mr. McCormack on October 22, Mr. Gillies being appointed to the State Board of Arbitration, at a salary of 2,000*l.* a year. On August 7 Mr. Gillies outlined a Child Endowment Scheme, whereby 5*s.* a week would be paid to parents for every child, after the first, provided the breadwinner's income did not exceed 400*l.* a year. It was estimated that the scheme would cost the Government 5,000,000*l.*, and Queensland industries 2,000,000*l.* a year. A railway strike in September ended in the Queensland Ministry conceding the right to hold "stop-work" meetings in working hours and offering a basic wage of 4*l.* 5*s.* a week to all employees. In Tasmania, the elections in June confirmed the Labour Party in office, with Mr. Lyons as Premier. There the outstanding problems are financial, and arise from Budget deficits and ever-growing loan liability. Similar difficulties were faced by the West Australian Labour Ministry in 1925. The incidence of Federal economics operates somewhat harshly upon the smaller States of the Commonwealth.

On July 23 a detachment of the American Fleet, numbering fifty-three vessels, under Admiral Robert E. Coontz, reached Sydney Harbour, and received a warm welcome. Among the aviators who escorted the American Fleet into the harbour was the Marquis de Pinedo, who had just completed an aeroplane flight from Rome to Melbourne. The third Imperial Press Conference met in Melbourne on September 29 under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham.

NEW ZEALAND.

In recent years politics in New Zealand have centred around a dominant personality. It is, therefore, not surprising that the chief event of the year was the passing of the War leader, William Ferguson Massey (see Obituaries, May 10), and the discovery of his political successor, Mr. J. G. Coates, who fought a successful General Election, and became Prime Minister of the Reform Cabinet which is now in office. Among Mr. Massey's last ministerial work was the dictation of a memorandum on January 6 setting out New Zealand's position in connexion with the Geneva Protocol. In general, New Zealand adopted the British objections to a Treaty of mutual assistance, on the ground that it "holds out no serious prospect of advantage sufficient to compensate the world for the immense complication of international relations which it would create." Mr. Massey also emphasised the danger of allowing the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague to become a deciding factor in Great Britain's belligerent rights at sea, and emphasised New Zealand's special objections to the Permanent Court speaking upon such a matter as the right of foreigners to reside in the Dominion.

On the death of Mr. Massey, the Governor-General, Sir Charles Ferguson, who succeeded Admiral Jellicoe in 1924, requested Sir Francis Bell, leader of the Legislative Council, to form a temporary Government, pending the election of a new leader of the Reform Party by the members of the House of Representatives who had supported Mr. Massey. Sir Francis was the first native-born New Zealander to hold the office of Prime Minister, and he held office for sixteen days. A meeting of the Reform Party, on May 27, selected the Hon. J. G. Coates, M.C., as leader. Mr. Coates was sworn in as Prime Minister on May 30, and formed the following Ministry :—

Prime Minister, Minister for Public Works, Minister for Railways, and Native Minister	-	Hon. Joseph Gordon Coates.
Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs	- - - - -	Sir Francis Bell, G C M G , K.C.
Minister for Finance, Minister for Agriculture, and Minister for Immigration	- - -	Hon. W. Nosworthy.
Postmaster-General, Minister for Education, and Minister for Justice	- - - - -	Sir James Parr Park.
Minister for Labour, Minister for Mines, and Minister for Marine	- - - - -	Hon. G. J. Anderson.
Minister for Defence and Commissioner for State Forests	- - - - -	Sir R. Heaton Rhodes, K.B.E.
Minister for Customs and Minister for Industries and Commerce	- - - - -	Hon. W. Downie Stewart.
Minister for Health, Minister for Cook Islands, and member of the Executive Council, representing the Native Race	- - -	Sir Maui Pomare, K.B.E.
Minister for Internal Affairs	- - - - -	Hon. R. F. Bollard.
Minister for Lands	- - - - -	Hon. A. D. McLeod.

Mr. Coates entered Parliament as a Liberal in 1911, but it was not until he returned to New Zealand with a war record which included winning the Military Cross, and joined Mr. Massey's Government in 1919, after the dissolution of the Massey-Ward Coalition, that Mr. Coates showed his qualities of vision, enthusiasm and persistent endeavour after reform. As leader of the Reform Party, Mr. Coates's first task was to consider the possibility of reunion with the Liberals, in view of the fact that for three years Mr. Massey had held office with the aid of Liberal and Independent members who were pledged not to join with Labour in defeating the Reform Ministry. At the time of Mr. Massey's death the state of the parties was: Reform (Government), 38; Liberals, 21; Labour, 17; Independents, 4. The Liberals are rather more progressive in local politics than the Reformers, but, in Imperial politics, there is nothing to distinguish the two parties. Mr. Coates opened communications with Mr. T. M. Wilford, with a view to the formation of a National Party, which would fuse the two moderate wings into a single party opposed to Labour. A conference of the parties met on June 18. Difficulties arose owing to Mr. Coates declining to reconstruct his Government immediately, though he offered to consider a carefully considered national programme after the 1925 session closed. Other difficulties were connected with the selection of candidates to represent the proposed National Party. Correspondence between Mr. Coates and Mr. Wilford was read in the House of Representatives on July 14, Mr. Wilford's last letter to the Prime Minister reading, "We are satisfied that by your reply you have banded, bolted, and barred the door to the creation of that National Party which we believe the country requires." Mr. Wilford's personal contribution towards the union of the Reform and Liberal Parties was his own retirement. He had served in the House of Representatives for twenty-six years, and was succeeded in the leadership of his party by Mr. G. W. Forbes.

As Minister of Posts, Railways, and Public Works in the Massey Government, Mr. Coates had shown his determination to encourage inter-Imperial trade by purchasing Empire goods for departmental purposes. His early speeches as Prime Minister proved he was as anxious as his late leader to foster the Imperial connexion. In one of his first speeches, Mr. Coates described New Zealand as Imperial in thought, and added that "Imperial matters are the higher side of our political life. Every one of us believes that in our Empire we have a great heritage which we cannot afford to lose. New Zealand is with the Mother Country to a man." Replying to a deputation of the New Zealand Navy League at Wellington, on September 24, Mr. Coates expressed his sympathy with the League's demand for a substantial increase in New Zealand's contribution to naval defence, including the provision and maintenance of a third cruiser. Mr. Coates said

that New Zealand's present naval expenditure was 500,000*l.*, and next year would be 600,000*l.*, the equivalent of 9*s.* a head. "In the meantime I entirely concur that it is our job, as well as England's, to do all we can to keep the renewal of cruisers up to date. If it becomes necessary, the Government will, doubtless, contribute in reason according to the Dominion's capacity."

In regard to an active inter-Imperial migration policy, the New Zealand Board of Agriculture reported in favour of a central school of agriculture, involving an outlay of 250,000*l.*, apart from upkeep and staffing, and Mr. Coates, the Prime Minister, announced that his Government was preparing schemes to encourage immigration. The Wellington Chamber of Commerce made a declaration in favour of accepting the British Government's offer of credits for development work, which would make increased immigration possible. Mr. Polson, President of the Farmers' Union, in his address at the annual conference in July, proposed the establishment of an Immigration Board outside politics, which should be empowered to control immigrants, acquire lands, and administer settlements: the encouragement of group settlement, under Government guidance, upon undeveloped lands; and the establishment of numerous semi-State schools for training young New Zealanders and immigrants.

Replying, on September 1, to a question put by the Liberal leader, Mr. G. W. Forbes, on the subject of the representation of the Dominion upon Imperial matters in London, Mr. Coates said that the Government regarded the present method of consultation by cable as satisfactory and sufficient for general purposes. Nevertheless, it was essential that nothing should be definitely decided on behalf of New Zealand without the direct consideration of the New Zealand Cabinet, and that any such decision should be subject to revision by the New Zealand Parliament.

The Religious Exercises in Schools Bill, which provided for the daily opening of primary schools with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, the singing of a hymn, and a reading of a Bible lesson, was defeated by 32 votes to 26 after a non-party division. The leaders of the Reform, Liberal, and Labour Parties all voted against the measure, but many members of the Reform Party supported it. The existing system of free, secular, and compulsory education was thus preserved. The Roman Catholics in New Zealand still maintain their own denominational schools.

Mr. Nosworthy's Budget speech was delivered on July 25, and showed a surplus for the financial year, 1924-25, of 1,243,000*l.* Added to the balances brought forward, this made the accumulated surplus 6,202,000*l.* With the exception of 1921, New Zealand has had a Budget surplus for 38 years. During the year the revenue of the Dominion increased to 28,600,000*l.*, in spite of generous remissions of income tax and land tax in the previous

Budget. The expenditure was 27,400,000*l.*, the increase compared with the previous year being due to the extra cost of working the State railways and the Post and Telegraph Department. At the date of the Budget, the National Debt was 228,000,000*l.*, a large figure, but one which must be connected with the private wealth of the Dominion. This the Government Statistician estimated at 794,000,000*l.*, being an increase of 500,000,000*l.* in the last ten years.

With the Budget safely passed, the Ministry was able to appeal to the electorate for a renewal of public confidence, and the General Election was held on November 4. The Government went to the polls holding 38 seats in a Parliament of 80, and returned with 55 seats. The Nationalist Liberals, under Mr. Forbes's leadership, lost 11 seats, and the group was thus reduced to 11. Labour returned with 13 members and became the official Opposition in the new House. Sir Joseph Ward, an ex-Prime Minister, took his seat as an Independent Liberal. At the same time the Dominion was polled on the issue of Prohibition, with a result that the Prohibitionists were defeated by 29,000 votes, an increase of 11,000 votes over the poll of 1922. The following were the main points in the election programme of the victors: (1) sound and prudent finance; (2) thorough examination into the incidence of taxation; (3) closer settlement of occupied and unoccupied lands by purchase and subdivision; (4) extension of scientific agricultural education; (5) investigation into farmers' land banks; (6) well-being of the State and the Empire; (7) support of the League of Nations; (8) encouragement of secondary industries and suppression of trusts; (9) immigration-selective organisation to be strengthened; (10) more houses and fewer slums, increased compensation benefits, investigation of universal pension scheme, and of aid to parents with large families; (11) modernised methods of education; and (12) extension of public health policy.

The policy of the Labour Opposition included the "Socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange," and that where national ownership of an industry is effected, "all labour for such industry and at least half of the board of control in each case, shall be appointed by the trade union, or unions, affected."

Mr. Coates's success at the polls was largely due to the Shipping Strike, which had extended from Australia to New Zealand, and not only stiffened the supporters of the Ministerial Party, but created discontent among professed supporters of Labour. Indeed, the Government's firm handling of the shipping crisis assured the Reform Party of aid from all moderate voters. There had been earlier trouble in February and March which took the form of "irritation strikes" at several ports. They were due to the Waterside Workers Union's dislike of recent awards by the Arbitration Court. At the end of September fifteen vessels

carrying New Zealand produce were idle and fourteen others were laid up in Australian ports, and this at the height of the meat export season. The complete dislocation of produce shipment was threatened. A conference of the shipowners and strikers, at which Mr. Coates was present on October 5, failed owing to the demands of the seamen. These included full wages and allotments to dependents since the strike began, and the payment of the cost of board and lodging for the time spent ashore. The shipowners offered to abstain from prosecution in Great Britain and to pay outstanding allotments so far as the men's balances permitted, but they rejected the other demands of the men, who, for their part, also declined the suggestion of Mr. Coates that they should submit the dispute to arbitration. Under these circumstances, Mr. Coates decided that it was necessary to call for volunteers to supplement the loyal crews and so move the meat, butter, and other produce accumulating at New Zealand ports. He announced that the Government would assure protection to all working crews. Finally, the strike petered out, as it had done in Australia.

Another important industrial dispute became active on March 12, when a strike of State miners commenced against the system of working the State collieries by co-operative contracts. Under this system contracts were let to co-operative parties of miners which enabled them to earn substantially more than the wages prescribed by the industrial agreement. The increased wages were made possible by a team spirit doing away with any go-slow tendency among the miners. The miners' unions, however, refused to countenance the system, and they carried their point.

Two other events New Zealand shared with the sister Dominion, Australia. On August 16 the Overseas delegates attending the Imperial Press Conference in Melbourne reached Wellington, and the speeches of Lord Burnham, Sir Harry Brittain, M.P., and Mr. Bassatt, and Mr. J. H. Woods of Canada, attracted general attention. The delegates visited a number of centres in the North Island, but, unfortunately, Christchurch was the only town visited in South Island. Following upon the visit of the United States squadron to Australia, two divisions of the American Fleet reached New Zealand early in August. The battleships and big cruisers were divided between Wellington and Auckland, and the smaller ships between Dunedin and Lyttleton. Everywhere, the United States visitors met with a rousing reception, and Admiral Coontz, in his speech at Wellington, rightly described his men as 25,000 ambassadors of peace. Mr. Coates, welcoming the Fleet, recalled his experiences fighting side by side with the American troops in France. "We learnt to understand each other then and the cruise in the South Pacific will also bring understanding."

On November 17 the New Zealand and South Seas Inter-

national Exhibition was opened at Dunedin by the Governor-General, Sir Charles Ferguson. No national exhibition had been held in New Zealand since the beginning of the World War, and a display, one-third the size of the Wembley Exhibition, enabled New Zealanders to gauge their progress in industry since 1914. The exhibition site covered sixty-five acres, the seven major pavilions extending over fifteen acres, the amusement park and sports ground being thirty-one acres. There were ten miles of exhibit stands, including official displays by the Governments of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Fiji, and New Zealand.

PART II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1925.
JANUARY.

1. The New Year's Honours included one Earldom—Viscount Jellicoe (Earl Brocas of Southampton); two Baronies—Sir John Bradbury (Lord Bradbury of Winsford in the County of Chester), and Sir Henry Duke (Lord Merrivale); a Privy Councillorship, three Baronetships, and more than seventy Knighthoods. They also included a G B E for Miss Ellen Terry and Mrs. Fawcett.

— Violent rainstorms were experienced over the whole area of the British Isles; the Thames rose still further (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 16), and the Thames Conservancy announced that they could do nothing more to control or relieve the floods.

3. Heavy gales continued over a wide area; the river Severn steadily rose, and many streets in the city of Worcester were flooded.

6. The bi-centenary of Guy's Hospital was celebrated by a service in Southwark Cathedral, which was attended by the Prince of Wales.

8. In response to an appeal of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, *The Times* decided to start the raising of a fund for the restoration of the Cathedral. Contributions on the first day amounted to 16,216*l*.

10. A fog which developed in the South-East of England was said to have been one of the densest known in London for some years. It lasted three days.

16. *The Times* announced that Mr Rockefeller had made a gift of four million yen to the Imperial University Library in Tokio.

23. The third Test Match between England and Australia resulted in a victory for Australia.

24. An eclipse of the sun took place; the cloudy condition of the sky made its observation difficult.

25. The 400th anniversary of Vasco da Gama was celebrated in Lisbon.

25. Mr. H. W. C. Davis appointed Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

28. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P., appointed Warden of New College, Oxford.

FEBRUARY.

1. M. Alexandre Alekhine set up a world's "record" in chess, by playing in Paris 28 simultaneous games without sight of the boards. He won 22, drew 3, and lost 3, playing uninterruptedly for 12 hours 40 minutes.

3. Mr. Edward Cadbury and Mr. George Cadbury presented to the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty 414 acres of the Chadwich Manor Estate.

— The Rt. Hon. T. R. Ferens promised to give 250,000*l.* as the nucleus of a fund for the establishment of a university college for Hull (see also under July 6).

— Canon Daniel Davies elected Bishop of Bangor.

6. King George and Queen Mary dined with Mr. Kellogg, the United States Ambassador, and Mrs. Kellogg, at Crewe House. Among the guests were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Prime Minister.

9. An Earldom was conferred on Mr. H. H. Asquith, K.C., under the style of the Earl of Oxford and Asquith

11. Mr. George Houston and Mr. Robert Hope were elected members of the Royal Scottish Academy.

17. The Commonwealth Fund of New York announced the establishment of 20 annual fellowships at American universities for British graduate students.

18. The Glasgow Technical College received a gift of 50,000*l.* from an anonymous donor.

19. Sir John J. Burnet, A.R.A., architect, and Mr. Philip Connard, A.R.A., painter, were elected Royal Academicians.

22. In order "to improve the quality of education and the practice of the arts and professions in the United States, to foster research, and to provide for the cause of better international understanding," Mr. and Mrs. Simon Guggenheim made a gift of \$3,000,000 for the endowment of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship for advanced study abroad.

24. The Right Rev. Thomas Wulstan Pearson, O.S.B., consecrated first Catholic Bishop of Lancaster.

MARCH.

5. Elections for the new London County Council were held; 83 Municipal Reformers were returned, 35 Labour representatives, and 6 Progressives.

13. The University of Glasgow received a bequest amounting to 50,000*l.* from the estate of Dr. John Hall for the endowment of tutorial fellowships in surgery, midwifery, and medicine.

18. Madam Tussaud's, the famous waxwork exhibition, was burnt out.

19 King George V, accompanied by Queen Mary, left England for a cruise in the Mediterranean. Before doing so, he nominated four Counsellors of State (Prince Henry, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Prime Minister) to act on his behalf during his absence from the country.

— Twenty-six towns in the States of Illinois, Indiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri were wrecked by a tornado in which 900 persons were killed, and nearly 3,000 injured.

23. The remaining portion of the Ken Wood Estate, an area of about 76 acres, was purchased by Lord Iveagh, who announced that it would become public property in ten years, or on his death.

24. The Industrial Institute established for the study of the fundamental problems of industry, with a view to improving conditions in industrial life. Its membership includes representatives of employers and trade unions, and University men.

25. Prince Henry opened the London-Southend Road.

26. Exeter College, Oxford, received bequests to the total value of between fifty and sixty thousand pounds under the will of the late Mrs Jackson, wife of the Rev. Dr. William Jackson, formerly Rector of the College.

27. A National Opera Trust formed which proposes to raise a Trust Fund of 500,000*l.*

28. In the 77th Boat Race of the series, the Oxford boat became water-logged and the crew had to give up the race, after passing Hammer-smith Bridge. The Cambridge boat was a good distance in advance.

— The Prince of Wales left Portsmouth for a tour in British West Africa, South Africa, and South America.

30. Thirty-eight men were trapped in the View Pit, Scotswood, near Newcastle, by a sudden rush of water.

— The Centenary of Charles Lamb's retirement from India House on a pension was celebrated by a dinner, presided over by Mr. Augustine Birrell, in the Inner Temple Hall.

— The number of persons recorded on the registers of employment exchanges in Great Britain as being unemployed was 1,194,300.

31. The greater part of St. Paul's Cathedral was closed in order that the work of preservation might proceed without interruption. *The Times* announced that the St. Paul's Cathedral Preservation Fund amounted to 245,966*l.*

APRIL.

1. The price of milk in London was reduced by 1d. a quart to 6d.

— The Hebrew University at Jerusalem was inaugurated by the Earl of Balfour.

2. The R.33, the re-conditioned British airship, left her shed at the Royal Airship Works, Cardington, and drifted towards Pulham in Norfolk.

6. At Sotheby's, a copy of the Kilmarnock edition of Robert Burns's poems fetched 1,750l.

8. A correspondent wrote to *The Times* to say that at Burnham, in Bucks, the first swallow made its appearance.

16. A severe gale, which in places reached a speed of 80 miles an hour, caused considerable damage throughout the country.

19. Summer time commenced at 2 A.M. (See under October 4.)

20. *The Times* announced that the fields adjoining Stoke Poges churchyard, made famous by Gray's "Elegy," had been purchased by public funds, and would be handed over to the National Trust.

22. Miss Lucile Atcherson appointed Secretary to the United States Legation in Berne—the first woman to receive an appointment in the American Diplomatic Service.

23. The King of the Belgians unveiled the Memorial on the Mole at Zeebrugge, in memory of the British raid which took place on St. George's Day, 1918.

— Sir William Macmillan, sculptor, and Sir Arthur George Walker, sculptor, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

25. The 50th Football Association Cup Final was played at Wembley before 90,000 spectators. Sheffield United beat Cardiff City.

— *The Times* reported that Mr. D. Johnstone Smith had given 20,000l. to Glasgow University for the foundation of a Chair in Accounting.

27. *The Times* announced that Mrs. Charles Hancock had endowed Girton College with two Fellowships, each of the value of 3,000l., one in her own name for the pursuit of Literature, and the other in the name of Mrs. Hertha Ayrton for the pursuit of Science.

28. The President of the French Republic opened the Exhibition of Decorative and Industrial Arts at Paris.

— The Vienna Home and Health Exhibition was opened by Dr. Hainisch, the Austrian President.

30. The Rt. Hon. Viscount Fitzalan of Derwent, G.C.V.O., D.S.O., was appointed a Knight of the Garter.

— The Directors of the London, Midland & Scottish Railway created a new post of President of the Executive, and appointed Sir Josiah Stamp to the position.

MAY.

3. The second International Book Fair was opened by the King of Italy at Florence.

4. The centenary of the birth of Thomas Huxley was celebrated at the Imperial College of Science and Technology by a lecture and an exhibition, and by a reception given by Lord and Lady Buckmaster.

9. The second British Empire Exhibition at Wembley was opened, in the presence of about 100,000 spectators, by King George V., who was accompanied by Queen Mary. The speeches of the Duke of York, who read an address of welcome, and of the King, who replied, were broadcast.

— The Keats Memorial House, Hampstead, opened as a Keats Museum.

11. Direct telephonic communication between Rome and London was established for the first time.

12. The centenary of the birth of Henri de Saint-Simon celebrated in the Sorbonne, Paris.

16. The Minister of Labour officially announced that the amount per head of population distributed for unemployment benefit in 1924-25 in Great Britain worked out at 18s. 9½d

19. The Prime Minister unveiled the W. H. Hudson Memorial in the Bird Sanctuary, Hyde Park. The design of the memorial was by Messrs. Adams, Holden & Pearson, and the sculpture by Jacob Epstein.

21. The eleventh centenary of the foundation of the University of Pavia was celebrated.

23. *The Times* announced that Sir John Randles had purchased Crow Park and Cockshot Wood, an area of some 60 acres of land in the Lake District, and had presented them to the National Trust as a gift to the nation.

— King George V laid the foundation-stone of the new building for Lloyds, on the site of the old East India House, between Leadenhall Street and Lime Street

26. The Duke of Northumberland was appointed a Knight of the Garter.

27. Mr. H. E. Morriss's Manna, ridden by Donoghue, won the Derby at Epsom by eight lengths; as in 1924, rain came down heavily throughout the whole of the day.

28. Mr. Alfred J. Munnings, painter, was elected a Royal Academician.

— The painting of Lady Astor being introduced into the House of Commons was hung in Bedford College for Women.

29. Mr. Alan Cobham, the airman, flew from Croydon to Zurich and back, a distance of about a thousand miles, in a De Havilland Moth aeroplane, in 13 hrs. 49 mins., at an average speed of 74·5 miles an hour.

30. King George opened the Great West Road at Brentford.

— Miss E. H. Major elected Mistress of Girton College, Cambridge.

JUNE.

1. The Earl of Oxford and Asquith appointed a Knight of the Garter.

— At the thirty-fifth annual parade of the London Cart Horse Parade Society 789 carts and 862 horses were entered.

— The total number of registered unemployed was 1,247,306 (971,211 men, 213,868 women, 34,184 boys, and 28,043 girls).

2. Centenary of the foundation of the Law Society.

— Over 500 doctors from the United States and Canada, representing the Inter-State Post-Graduate Assembly, who came to London to attend lectures and demonstrations, were welcomed by the Duke of York.

5. Tercentenary of the death of Orlando Gibbons celebrated by special musical services at Westminster Abbey and Canterbury Cathedral.

— On visiting Stoke-on-Trent for the purpose of laying the foundation-stone of extensions to the North Staffordshire Infirmary, King George V. announced that the County Borough was to become a City.

— *The Times* announced the discovery in the Lady Chapel of Sherborne Abbey of a stone coffin in which it is believed King Ethelbert was buried.

8. *The Times* reported that while only 545 medical students were registered in 1923, the number for 1924 had risen to 1043.

— The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* celebrated the seventieth anniversary of its first publication.

9. King George V., who was accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new buildings of the University of Bristol.

10. The Marchese di Pinedo who, on April 27, left Sesto Calende on a Savoia flying-boat, reached Melbourne, where he was given an official reception.

11. The hottest day in the year : 87 degrees registered at Kew Observatory.

12. At the by-election at Ayr, the seat was retained by the Conservatives, though by a reduced majority (2788 against 6366 in November, 1924).

— Sir John Baird, the newly-appointed Governor-General of Australia, created a Baron under the style of Baron Stonehaven, of Ury, in the county of Kincardine.

13. King George V., who was accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new London reservoir at Littleton, in Middlesex.

16. *The Times* announced the formation of a new society, to be called "Friends of the Bodleian," for the purpose of purchasing additions to the Bodleian Library.

— The centenary of the discovery of benzene by Michael Faraday was celebrated by a number of learned societies.

17. A London omnibus was overturned in Kingsland Road, Dalston ; one man was killed and forty injured.

— The new hall of the Ironmongers' Company, to replace the hall destroyed on July 17, 1917, by German aircraft, was opened.

18. At the by-election at Eastbourne the Conservatives retained the seat, though by a reduced majority (7355, against 13,365 in November, 1924).

22. Major-General Sir Ernest D. Swinton was appointed Chichele Professor of Military History at Oxford, in succession to Mr. Spenser Wilkinson.

— A congress of the International Railway Association was opened in London.

23. Members of the McCarthy expedition climbed Mount Logan, the highest peak in Canada.

24. Sir George Wills made a gift of 75,000*l.* to enable the Bristol Corporation to enlarge its Museum and Art Gallery.

— King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, was present at the garden party at Christ Church, Oxford, to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the foundation of the college.

— At the by-election at Oldham, the Liberals retained the seat, though by a reduced majority (4,623, against 13,138 on November, 1924).

25. M. Ignace Paderewski, the pianist, ex-Prime Minister of Poland, received from King George V. the Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire.

29. King George V., who was accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new Canadian Government Building in Trafalgar Square.

— At Westminster Abbey a special service, which was attended by many dignitaries of the Eastern Church, was held to commemorate the sixteenth centenary of the Council of Nicea.

30. June was unusually dry and sunny ; the rainfall figures were lower, and the sunshine figures higher, than in any previous June. The total amount of sunshine registered at the Rothamsted Experimental Station during the month was 259.5 hours.

JULY.

1. The International Congress of Radiology opened by the Duke of Connaught at the Central Hall, Westminster.

1. The reorganisation of the Colonial Office to include a new department for Dominion affairs was officially announced.

— Mr. E. Guy Dawber became President of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

— The Railway Centenary Exhibition was opened at Faverdale, near Darlington.

2. Lord Cave was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford by 987 votes against 441 votes cast for Lord Oxford and Asquith.

6. *The Times* announced that Mr. Thomas Robinson Ferens, of Hull, had made a gift of 20,000*l* to the Medical School of the Middlesex Hospital for the foundation of an Institute of Otology (see also under February 3).

7. Dr. Thomas B. Strong, Bishop of Ripon, was appointed to the Bishopric of Oxford.

9. The first sections of the residential quarters of the University of Paris were opened.

— The National Trust took over the waterfalls of Rhaiadrdu in the Gonnllwyd Valley, near Barmouth, which were presented to the nation by Mr. Blair, of Dolgelly.

13. King George V, who was accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new house of the British Medical Association in Tavistock Square.

15. At the by-election in the Forest of Dean division, Mr. A. A. Purcell retained the seat for the Labour Party by an increased majority.

18. By a vote in the House of Commons, summer time was made a permanent institution, to last five and a half months each year, beginning on the third Saturday in April, and ending on the first Saturday in October.

— King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, opened Ken Wood for public use (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, Chronology, under November 18).

20. At Edinburgh there was opened the first biennial conference of the World Federation of Education Associations.

— It was announced that a well-known lay member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church had given 100,000*l*. in order to provide an addition of 5,000*l*. a year to the income of the Worn-out Ministers Fund. Though the gift was made anonymously, it was believed that Mr. Joseph Rank was the benefactor.

21. *The Times* announced that a woman had been appointed Burgomaster of Waillet, a Commune in the neighbourhood of Dinant. It was stated that this was the first time that a woman had received such an appointment in Belgium.

22. Severe thunderstorms, accompanied by heavy rain, burst over London after a hot and sultry day, the thermometer registering 88 degrees in the shade.

23. In his will the Marquis Curzon of Kedleston bequeathed to the nation Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire and Bodiam Castle in Sussex.

— Sir Daniel Stevenson, who was Lord Provost of Glasgow from 1911 to 1914, presented 10,000*l.* to the University of London for the establishment of a Chair of International History.

AUGUST.

3. The visitors to the Wembley Exhibition on Bank Holiday numbered 193,111, compared with 166,181 on the August Bank Holiday of 1924.

4. The ninth International Prison Congress was opened at the Imperial Institute.

5. Lt.-Col. Bernard Freyberg, V.C., D.S.O., attempted to swim the Channel, and came within 500 yards of success. The swim lasted 16 hours 44 minutes.

10. A storm of great violence swept over the eastern portion of Holland, causing enormous damage and wiping out the little town of Borculo, near Zutphen.

14. The contract for the sale of the Foundling Hospital and land in the vicinity for 1,650,000*l.* was signed. It was understood that the Governors would give possession within two years.

19. The Ecumenical Church Conference, which was attended by over 500 delegates, was opened by the King of Sweden in Stockholm.

28. The 300th anniversary of the publication of Hugo Grotius's "*De Jure Belli et Pacis*" was celebrated at Delft.

SEPTEMBER.

1. An international exhibition of professional photography to mark the centenary of the art was opened at the Princes Galleries in London.

4. *The Times* reported that Miss Pattie Field had been appointed U.S. consul at Amsterdam. She was said to be the first American woman consul.

13. The largest carillon in the world, composed of fifty-three bells, and presented by Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., in memory of his mother, to Park Avenue Baptist Church, New York, was played for the first time. All the bells were manufactured in England.

14. *The Times* reported that an expedition sent out from Tiflis by the Georgian Geographical Society had successfully ascended Mount Elbruz. Five women took part in the ascent.

17. At the Stockport by-election, Mr. A. E. Townend captured the seat for Labour from the Conservatives by a majority of 2,327.

26. Dr. E. A. Burroughs, the Dean of Bristol, was appointed to the Bishopric of Ripon.

28. The 4-lb. loaf was reduced in price from 10*d.* to 9½*d.* in London.

— The number of persons recorded as unemployed on the registers of the Employment Exchanges of Great Britain was 1,336,100, being 136,784 more than a year ago.

29. In the result of the examination for the Higher Civil Service, the names of successful women appeared for the first time. Women had never before competed for this examination.

— Sir William Pryke elected Lord Mayor of London.

30. At the Rothamsted Experimental Station, the third quarter of the year showed a rainfall of 2.990 inches above the average, and sunshine 105.2 hours below the average.

OCTOBER.

4. Summer time ended at 3 A.M. (See under April 19)

10. A peerage was conferred on the Rt. Hon Sir George Lloyd on his appointment as High Commissioner for Egypt (Baron Lloyd of Dolobran in the county of Montgomery)

13. The centenary celebrations of the Law Society commenced at the Society's Hall in Chancery Lane

15. The Prince of Wales returned from his African and South American tour. (See under March 28.)

21 *The Times* announced the receipt by the Chancellor of the Exchequer from an anonymous contributor of the sum of 1,000*l.* towards the reduction of the National Debt.

23. *The Times* announced that the Textile Institute had been granted a Royal Charter.

26. At a meeting of the British Empire Exhibition Association it was unanimously resolved voluntarily to wind up the company. •

28. Mr. Allen B. Ramsay, M.A., Lower Master of Eton College, was appointed Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

30. The appointment of Mr. Edward Wood, Minister of Agriculture, to be Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Reading was announced.

31. The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley was officially closed by the Duke of York.

— Dr. Nansen elected Rector of the University of St. Andrews.

NOVEMBER.

2. The new electric railway from Baker Street to Watford, constructed by the Metropolitan and London & North-Eastern railway companies, was opened.

2. Llyn Eigiau, one of the natural lakes in the Welsh hills on the west side of the river Conway, burst its embankment. Many lives were lost and much damage was done to property.

3. *The Times* announced that arrangements had been made to transfer the Foundling Hospital to the premises formerly occupied by the Royal St. Ann's Schools, Redhill.

5. War bonds to the value of 5000*l.* were sent anonymously to the Chancellor of the Exchequer towards the reduction of the National Debt.

— Mr. A. B. Poynton, Fellow of University College, was elected Public Orator at Oxford.

7. The Marchese de Pinedo returned to Rome after a flight round the world which he commenced on April 21.

8. The Paris Exhibition of Decorative Arts was closed, after having been visited during the six months in which it was open, by 15,991,746 persons. (See under April 28.)

10. The Rev. Henry de Candole, Canon of Westminster, was appointed to the Deanery of Bristol.

12. The Nobel Prize for Physics was awarded to Professor Siegbahn, of the University of Upsala.

13. The loss of Submarine M1 was announced; 4 officers and 64 men lost their lives.

— Mr. Walter Hamilton Moberly, Principal of University College, Exeter, was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester, in succession to Sir Henry A. Miers.

— At the Galloway by-election, Mr. C. R. Streatfeild retained the seat for the Conservatives by a majority of 928.

19. To fill the places of the late M. Maurice Barrès, the Comte d'Haussonville and M. Anatole France, the Academie Francaise elected M. Louis Bertrand, the Duc de la Force, and M. Paul Valery.

20. Death of Queen Alexandra.

23. The 4-lb. loaf in London was raised in price from 9*d.* to 9½*d.*

— A Royal Charter of Incorporation was granted to the London Playing Fields Society.

27. The public funeral of Queen Alexandra. All theatres were closed in London.

28. Mr. Alfred Ernest William Hazel, Vice-President and Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, was appointed Principal of the College.

DECEMBER.

3. At the by-election at Bury St. Edmunds, Mr. Walter Guinness, Minister of Agriculture, retained the seat for the Conservatives.

— Sir Charles Hyde, proprietor of the *Birmingham Post* and the *Birmingham Mail*, made a gift of 100,000*l.* to the University of Birmingham.

4. The "Meeting for Sufferings," the executive body of the Society of Friends in Great Britain, sat for the last time at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, which, for 250 years, had been the Friends' headquarters.

5. *The Times* announced that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been informed by the head of a Scottish firm, who, in 1920, surrendered for a period of five years all interest on 100,000*l.* War Stock, that he desired to continue to surrender this interest for a further five years.

6. The frosty weather was so keen that in many parts of London people were able to skate.

8. It was announced that the ultimate loss or deficiency on the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley would amount to 1,581,905*l.*

10. Dr. Cyril Norwood, Master of Marlborough College, was appointed to be Master of Harrow, in succession to the Rev. Lionel Ford, Dean-designate of York.

16. The St. Paul's Cathedral Preservation Fund, opened by *The Times*, reached 250,533*l.* (See under January 8.)

— Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, inaugurated the work of constructing the Mersey Tunnel.

20. *L'Etoile Belge*, the important Liberal newspaper of Brussels, celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its foundation.

23. The Rt Hon. Mr. Edward Wood, the Viceroy-designate of India, was elevated to the Peerage, and took the title of Baron Irwin of Kirby Underdale, in the County of York.

— Pope Pius XI. introduced into the Catholic Calendar a new festival, to be called "the Feast of Christ the King," to be celebrated annually on the last Sunday in October.

24. Pope Pius XI. closed the Holy Door in the Basilica of St. Peter's in the Vatican, and thereby brought to a close the Jubilee Year of 1925. It is estimated that the total number of pilgrims to Rome was one and a quarter million.

— Hagley Hall, the historic seat of the Lyttelton family in Worcestershire, was almost completely destroyed by fire.

29. *The Times* reported that a new organisation for the development of horse-breeding had been established under the style of "The Institute of the Horse."

30. Very stormy weather prevailed all round the coast: the speed of the wind was said to have reached 83 miles an hour.

31. The year closed with great floods, both at home and abroad. Many rivers overflowed their banks.

In regard to the weather, the year 1925 was somewhat abnormal. At the Rothamsted Experimental Station the amount of sunshine registered was 1,506.4 hours—58.7 below the average; and the actual rainfall was 29.584 inches—an excess of 0.925 inch.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1925.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

THE following analysis of books published in the United Kingdom during 1925 is taken from the *Publishers' Circular*, by kind permission of the Editor, Mr. R. B. Marston. Despite adverse economic circumstances, including a strike in the distributing branch of the book trade at the height of the winter season, 1925 surpassed the figures for 1924 by 496, thus establishing a new record. New books, as distinct from new editions, were, for the first time, more numerous than in 1913.

CLASSIFIED ANALYSIS OF BOOKS PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1925.

Classes of Literature	New Books		
	New Books	Translations	Pamphlets
Philosophy - - - - -	218	23	13
Religion - - - - -	737	31	76
Sociology - - - - -	592	13	244
Law - - - - -	169	2	60
Education - - - - -	186	1	34
Military and Naval - - - - -	150	2	82
Philology - - - - -	198	1	7
Science - - - - -	423	24	77
Technology - - - - -	377	5	112
Medicine, Public Health, etc. - - - - -	272	12	38
Agriculture, Gardening - - - - -	125	4	38
Domestic Arts - - - - -	69	2	4
Business - - - - -	104	1	7
Fine Arts - - - - -	234	8	17
Music (Works about) - - - - -	89	2	18
Games, Sports, etc. - - - - -	180	1	10
Literature - - - - -	362	28	24
Poetry and Drama - - - - -	509	32	95
Fiction - - - - -	1,297	55	20
Juvenile - - - - -	710	9	87
History - - - - -	392	19	30
Description and Travel - - - - -	438	7	34
Geography - - - - -	63	2	8
Biography - - - - -	455	23	15
General Works - - - - -	171	—	—
Totals - - - - -	8,520	307	1,150
	9,977		

Among the year's new literary periodicals were numbered an alluring quarterly, published from New York, *Two Worlds*, "devoted to the increase of the Gaiety of Nations," or of the 450 of the elect to whom the subscription was limited in order that the editors, Mr Samuel Roth, Mr Arthur Symons, Mr. Ezra Pound, and the unwearying Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer, might be fearless and untrammelled in their choice of material; *The New Coterie*, a quarterly of literature and art, also with an array of distinguished contributors and a self-imposed limit on its circulation; an international quarterly, *This Quarter*, issued in Paris, under the editorship of Mr. Ernest Walsh and Miss Ethel Moorhead, pronouncedly American and ultra-modern in inspiration; and *The Review of English Studies*, a more notable quarterly contribution to letters and scholarship, edited by Mr. R. B. McKerrow, with which may be coupled *Litteris*, "an international critical review of the Humanities," published in Lund and London. The new monthlies included *The Calendar of Modern Letters*, edited by Mr. Edgell Rickword, admirably produced, and containing critical and imaginative work of conspicuous quality, *The Alcove*, an attractive magazine of less lofty aspirations; and *Contemporary Poetry*, a Dublin production, intended to win public notice for young and unknown lyrists. The initials of *G. K. C.'s Weekly* sufficiently indicated its vigour and variety, as well as its limitations. Mr. Edmund Blunden's post in the Far East allowed him to collaborate with Mr. Neville Whyman in the work of mutual interpretation attempted in *The Oriental Literary Times*. There is something of a gulf between its modest thirty pages and the two magnificent volumes of *The Year-Book of Oriental Art and Culture*, edited by Mr. Arthur Waley. *The Antiquarian Quarterly* showed every promise of dealing worthily with its inexhaustible subject. Among the political publications deserving of some notice was *The Conservative Review*, deftly mingling doctrine and entertainment for the younger party man.

1925 saw the publication of much distinguished and delightful work, and the book trade, never too ready to rejoice, admitted that the year's business had been exceptional. From the literary point of view, however, it was hardly a vintage year. Reminiscences again provided a great deal of the entertainment. It is interesting to note that biography, in 1914 all but bottom of the list of totals of the various classes of literature, now provides the sixth largest figure. The art books of 1925 excelled in sumptuousness any of their recent predecessors, and the general standard of book production showed undeniable improvement. In this connexion tribute must be paid to the work of the private presses—the Nonesuch, Ashendene, and Golden Cockerel, for example—whose activity and success is, like the spread of bibliophily in every quarter, one of the literary phenomena of the period.

The first volume of Sir Sidney Lee's **King Edward VII.: A Biography* takes precedence as of right over all other works in its group. Sir Sidney's treatment of a difficult period in the life of a monarch whom it was usually too easy to misrepresent won general admiration. It was unfortunate that the biographer of a republican President had not an equal sense of proportion, for the two volumes of Mr. William E. Barton's

Life of Abraham Lincoln contained much valuable new material overwhelmed by detail. In a handsome volume entitled *The First Napoleon*, the Earl of Kerry edited very ably some hitherto unpublished papers, French and English, from the Bowood collection, among them the records of the Comte de Flahault, who was *aide-de-camp* to the Emperor, and the letters of Admiral Lord Keith, who had him for his prisoner. Among the men of State, one figure was almost predestined to attract the attention of Mr. E. T. Raymond, who was tempted to seek and disclose the inner secrets of the man's personality in *Disraeli: the Alien Patriot*. Perhaps the process of the analysis was more interesting than the results were convincing, but the work had undoubted value as a political history of the time, and Disraeli's novels received an attention they had lacked far too long. One mistake of Disraeli's, his misjudgment of a man seemingly born to translate into fact his earliest ideals, was recalled by the appearance of the *Life of Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, Fourth Earl of Carnarvon* (1831-1890), begun by the Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Hardinge, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., and completed by Elizabeth, Countess of Carnarvon. Its three volumes may possibly appear a somewhat ambitious monument, but its subject did work for the Empire that his failure in South Africa should not have been allowed to overshadow. Professor E. A. Walker also contributed to Imperial history and biography in his study of South Africa's great Chief Justice, *Lord de Villiers and His Times: South Africa, 1842-1914*. *The Life and Letters of George Wyndham*, edited by Mr. J. W. Mackail and Mr. Guy Wyndham, would have done even more to confirm what is already a legend of a wonderful visitant to the sphere of politics and letters if the editors had steeled themselves to a little pruning. No phrase could do justice to the range and brilliance of the letters, and the light thrown upon the events which led to Wyndham's relinquishment of his work for Ireland gave the two volumes real historical importance. Mr. St. John Ervine was hardly to be expected among the political biographers, even in a series with the title of "Curiosities of Politics;" nevertheless his *Parnell* was one of the most successful works in this category. A stalwart Scotch patriot and Churchman was commemorated in *A Memoir of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, K.T.*, by Lady Frances Balfour. In Mr. A. G. Gardiner's *John Benn and the Progressive Movement*, though the stage was narrowed to that of civic life, the piece was anything but tedious in its dual function as an account of Benn's own interesting career as well as a reminder of the state of London before the coming of the L.C.C. Mr. G. D. H. Cole performed the public service of supplying the first full *Life of William Cobbett*, a work henceforth indispensable to any study of the eventful period incarnate in that truculent hero, and followed this up with a briefer biography of considerable merit in * *Robert Owen*. Mr. G. K. Chesterton also published his *Cobbett*, a characteristic essay in interpretation rather than a chronicle of his career.

In his *Wellington* the Hon. John Fortescue devoted himself to the soldier rather than the statesman, as was to be expected from the historian of the British Army, and Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice's *Robert E. Lee, the Soldier*, portrayed another indomitable commander

worthy to rank with the Iron Duke. The author, not the Churchman, was the subject of Mr. Bertram Newman's welcome study * *Cardinal Newman*. An illustrious and versatile if rather cloistered jurist received a fitting tribute from a friend and collaborator in Professor Robert S. Rait's *Memorials of Albert Venn Dicey*. Mr. J. R. M. Butler's memoir of his father, *Henry Montague Butler: Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1886-1918*, and a startlingly prompt collection of reminiscences by various hands, *Arthur Christopher Benson, as seen by some Friends*, commemorated two remarkable Cambridge figures. An intimate account of the great physicist, *Kelvin the Man*, by his niece, Miss Agnes Gardner King, made a charming appendix to the earlier full-dress biography by Professor Silvanus Thompson. Professor A. C. Pigou edited a collection of papers by, and concerning, an economist of world-wide renown in *Memorials of Alfred Marshall*. It could hardly have been prophesied that the life of even a famous doctor would attract numerous readers; nevertheless, the personal and professional greatness of the subject of Mr. Harvey Cushing's *Sir William Osler* caused the two lengthy though absorbing volumes to be in remarkable demand.

Books on authors, ancient and modern, appeared in a profusion that enforces the utmost brevity of record. The first two volumes of a series of ten to be devoted to *Ben Jonson* were published by Professor C. H. Herford and Mr. Percy Simpson, and provided the undoubted chief of his biographies, accompanied by the cognate documents and introductions to the plays. Dr. J. Leshe Hotson of Harvard had the good fortune and skill to solve an ancient mystery, and *The Death of Christopher Marlowe* at last supplied the record of the coroner's inquest itself. Professor H. J. C. Grierson's scholarly edition of the *Poems of John Milton* had an interesting companion volume in *Milton* by Professor Denis Saurat, of the University of Bordeaux. Mr. Bonamy Dobree's mannered and witty *Essays in Biography: 1680-1726*, were devoted to Etherege, Vanbrugh, and Addison. The lamented Miss Amy Lowell devoted boundless knowledge and enthusiasm and a large private collection of Keatsiana to a veritable encyclopædia of the poet in her *John Keats*; an appealing minor figure, Henry Francis Cary, the friend of Lamb and Coleridge, was treated by Mr. R. W. King under his chief title to fame as *The Translator of Dante*; while Mr. D. A. Wilson continued his gigantic labours over another decade of his hero's life in *Carlyle on Cromwell and Others (1837-1847)*. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch published his delightfully individual lectures on Dickens, Thackeray, Disraeli, Mrs. Gaskell, and Trollope in *Charles Dickens and Other Victorians*, and Mr. C. E. M. Joad expounded the theories of a born Ishmaelite in *Samuel Butler (1835-1902)*. Letters and materials provided by the poet's mother were the basis of Dr. Geraldine Hodgson's *Life of James Elroy Flecker*, and this fact explained its obvious limitations. Journalists were remarkably prominent in biography and autobiography. Mr. Frederic Whyte's *Life of W. T. Stead* recalled an amazing career and an incomparable personal influence; *Moberly Bell and His Times* by Mr. F. Harcourt Kitchin ("Bennet Copplestone"), was an enthralling chronicle of the vicissitudes of the great newspaper and the devotion of its formid-

able manager to his charge. Many distinguished writers of to-day would read Mr. T. H. Darlow's *William Robertson Nicoll* with gratitude to the editor who first set them on the road to success. Another volume devoted to a brilliant Liberal editor, *H. W. M. (H. W. Massingham)* combined a selection of his own writings with essays on his personality by six of his friends, including Mr. H. M. Tomlinson and Mr. George Bernard Shaw, under the editorship of Mr. H. J. Massingham. Mr. Shaw himself had his chroniclers, who were not denied his personal assistance, in Mr. J. S. Collis's *Shaw* and Mr. Archibald Henderson's *Table Talk of G. B. S.*

Foreign writers were not given the same measure of attention, but mention should be made of *The Life of Racine* by Mme. Mary Duclaux (A Mary F. Robinson), an ideal interpreter of a poet who does not at once enthral many English readers, and of Mr. Geoffrey Scott's analytical study of Isabella van Tnyll, Mme de Charrière, from whose essay in self-portraiture he took the title of *The Portrait of Zélide*. The strange tragi-comedy of this blue-stocking attracted a surprisingly large public. Equally remarkable in another genre was the translation of M. Jean Jacques Brousson's *Anatole France en Pantoufles*, under the title of *Anatole France Himself · A Boswellian Record*. France himself might well have enjoyed its neat betrayals of his foibles and shortcomings. American authors were represented by Mr. George S. Hellman's pleasant account of a favourite of fortune in *Washington Irving*, and Mr. Gerald Bullett's estimate of "an Orson of the Muse" in *Walt Whitman*, with an eclectic selection from his works. Mr. George Ainslie Hight's critical biography in two volumes, *Richard Wagner*, one of a number of recent works on foreign musicians, was somewhat mistakenly devoted in large part to an attempt to vindicate the composer's personal character.

First in importance among autobiographical works was Viscount Grey of Fallodon's * *Twenty-Five Years, 1892-1916*, a calm, curiously objective, almost austere, record of the course of events that led to Britain's part in the War by the man on whom fell the most tremendous responsibilities. Sir James Rennell Rodd issued the third volume of his *Social and Diplomatic Memories*, covering three years in Rome, three more in Stockholm, and his return to Rome for an eventful ten years as Ambassador. An exceptional success was enjoyed by Sir Almeric FitzRoy's two volumes of *Memoirs*, in which the opportunities of twenty-five years as Clerk to the Privy Council were shown to have fallen to a keen observer and an adroit ironist. *A Speaker's Commentaries*, by the Right Hon. James William Lowther, Viscount Ullswater, did not conceal his sense of a distinct lowering of desirable standards in the assembly over which he so long presided. Thirty years of life in the House of Commons provided the main theme of the *Memories* of Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, and Judge Atherley-Jones had an equally long perspective of Parliamentary history in *Looking Back. My Life's Battles*, by Will Thorne, M.P., with a foreword by the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., was a straightforward and modest record of an honourable career, and may be coupled with the lengthier story of a London-born Labour leader's struggles in the United States, *Seventy Years of Life and Labour*, by the late Samuel Gompers; a contrast and corrective being

supplied by Sir Ernest J. P. Benn's remarkably candid, if not ingenuous, *Confessions of a Capitalist*. The homely title of *We Two* was chosen for their two volumes of reminiscences by the Lord and Lady Aberdeen, and fittingly symbolised the mutual devotion which has been the soul of their unwearying labours for every worthy cause. Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill's *What I Have Seen and Heard* was less an autobiography than a brilliant series of impressions and stories of men and events in the order in which he encountered them, during his boyhood in Dublin, at Oxford, at the Irish Bar, and at Westminster. Soldiers and sailors were well represented by such volumes as the well-balanced *Memoirs* of Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell; the sprightly *Guns, Gunmen, and Others* of Major-General Sir Desmond O'Callaghan, K.C.V.O., and the rather humdrum *Soldiers and Others I Have Known* of Major-General Sir John Adye, K.C.M.G., C.B.; *Memories of Forty-eight Years' Service*, in which General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., D.S.O., observed a very soldierly discretion on controversial episodes in the Great War, while giving his earlier campaigns highly enlightening treatment; Sir Michael O'Dwyer's important *India as I Knew It*; and *A Naval Scrap Book*, by Admiral Sir Reginald Bacon, confined to the later nineteenth-century Navy, and describing some extraordinary conditions and characters therein, even as late as the 'eighties. In her *Places and Persons*, Lady Oxford and Asquith brought together characteristically intimate and vivacious accounts of a journey to Egypt before her marriage, and her recent visits to America, Spain, and Italy. *Out of the Past* was principally dedicated to the captivating personality of John Addington Symonds by his daughter Margaret, the late Mrs. W. W. Vaughan; the pages of Miss Una Taylor's similar tribute to Sir Henry Taylor, *Guests and Memories*, were crowded with great or fascinating figures of mid-Victorian times; and in *Memories and Hopes* the Rev. the Hon. E. Lyttelton, D.D., mingled recollections of Gladstone, Temple, Sidgwick, and their contemporaries with vigorous criticisms of modern education and modern cricket.

Theatrical reminiscences inspired several notable volumes, among them Dame Nellie Melba's *Melodies and Memories*; *Empty Chairs*, by Sir Squire Bancroft, by no means imbued with the melancholy implicit in its title; Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson's *A Player under Three Reigns*, with its glittering company of artists and men of letters; and *The Secrets of a Showman*, in which Mr Charles B. Cochran provided a wonderful amount of entertainment and instruction about the stage from the impresario's point of view at some expense to the reader's illusions. Conspicuous in the group of literary men were Mr. W. Pett Ridge with *I Like to Remember*, and Mr. Jerome K. Jerome with *My Life and Times*, both rich in humour and human interest; Mr. W. L. Courtney, looking backward whimsically in *The Passing Hour* on the might-have-been of the academic life he deserted for journalism a generation ago; and three brilliant special correspondents, Mr. Frank Scudamore, bearing *A Sheaf of Memories*, Sir William Beach Thomas with *A Traveller in News*, and Mr. H. W. Nevinson, whose second volume of autobiography, ** More Chances, More Changes*, ranged from Portuguese West Africa and Russia twenty years

ago, *viâ* Morocco and the Balkans, to Berlin in August, 1914. *Later Days*, by Mr. W. H. Davies, though lacking the particular appeal of his earlier experiences as a super-tramp, made delightful reading, and was enriched by several new poems written to serve as chapter-headings. *The Diary of a Young Lady of Fashion, 1764-1765*, by Cleone Knox, edited by her kinsman, Alexander Blacker Kerr, baffles classification, as its authenticity was vigorously disputed. It was probably based on genuine papers which were adapted to the taste of 1925, and the mystification was at least justified by its startling commercial success.

The Letters of Abelard and Heloise make, perhaps, a singular opening to the year's collections of correspondence, but Mr. C. K. Scott Moncreiff's translation from the Latin was generally greeted as the first worthy rendering into English of a world-famous series, and would demand a reference if only as a superb example of book-production. Professor Chauncey Brewster Tinker claimed to present, in his two-volume edition of the *Letters of James Boswell*, nearly a hundred never previously published; only one of these is addressed to Johnson. Mrs. Gertrude A. Anderson left behind her an excellently annotated edition of the *Letters of Thomas Manning to Charles Lamb*, whose singular and well-loved correspondent was the first Englishman to enter Lhasa. * *The Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1840-1878*, edited by Mr. G. P. Gooch, classified very helpfully a rather overwhelming body of papers. Mr. Morley Roberts reprinted many of the letters written to him by his friend, Mr. W. H. Hudson, under the title of *Men, Books, and Birds*, thereby supplementing a briefer collection, *Letters from W. H. Hudson to Edward Garnett*. Lady Betty Balfour's memorial volume to her courageous sister, *Letters of Constance Lytton*, would serve also as a history of the suffrage movement in whose cause she underwent so much. The name of Anton Tchekhov, in a variety of spellings, was prominent in the theatre and the literary Press throughout the year, and *The Life and Letters of Anton Tchekov*, by S. S. Kotchansky and P. Tomlinson, and *The Letters of Anton Pavlovitch Tchekov to Olga Knipper*, translated by Mrs. Constance Garnet, attracted a proportionate amount of attention. From America there came a handsome volume, *Edgar Allan Poe Letters*, containing reproductions in facsimile of twenty-seven letters from Poe to his foster-father, John Allan, with introduction and commentary by Mrs. Mary Newton Stanard. Two earlier volumes of the correspondence of a later American had already become a highly-prized possession of Britain; the third volume of the *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, edited by Mr. Burton J. Hendricks, was read with equal pride and interest.

Assyria gave its title to the third volume of * *The Cambridge Ancient History*, but its scope covered also the later phases of the Hittite Empire, Egypt, and Babylon, the story of Israel and her prophets, Lydia, Ionia, and post-Mycenaean Greece. The monumental *History of Civilisation* began its treatment of the ancient empires with M. Delaporte's *Mesopotamia: The Babylonian and Assyrian Civilisation*, translated by Mr. V. Gordon Childe. More than the gulf of time separated works of this scholarship from the first volume of Mr. Hilaire Belloc's * *History of England*,

an onslaught on what the author considers the Celtic and Teutonic legends, and an assertion of the influence of Roman civilisation and the Church of Rome, that defeated itself by its all too sweeping assertions. On the occasion of Professor T. F. Tout's seventieth birthday, historical students English and foreign, combined to present him with a collection of *Essays in Medieval History*, edited by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke. Mr. C. L. Kingsford assembled his Ford lectures for 1923-24 in a volume entitled *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth-Century England*, which was notable for its study of the origins of the English Navy. Mr. G. G. Coulton dealt a heavy blow at our romantic mediævalists in * *The Mediæval Village*, a work which, for all its learning and the grimness of the picture it had to present, never ceased to be vivid and picturesque. *London Life in the Fourteenth Century*, by Mr. Charles Lendrill, presented a considerably brighter scene, and Mrs. M. Dorothy George, though she took the conditions of the poorer classes as her theme, refuted many illusions about the degradation of a later period in her *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*. A lurid light was thrown upon the incident which precipitated the immense tragedy of our own era in Miss M. Edith Durham's *The Scutari Crime*. Other contributions to the history of the War included Mr C. E. W. Bean's second volume of the *Official History of Australia in the War*, continuing the epic of Anzac from May 4, 1915, to the evacuation of Gallipoli; Admiral Sir Reginald Bacon's highly controversial *The Jutland Scandal*, a vindication of Lord Jellicoe at the expense of Lord Beatty, and *The Naval History of the World War, 1915-1916*, a valuable, dispassionate, and objective record by Captain T. G. Frothingham, U S R. The two magnificent volumes of *British Government in India* appeared after the death of their author, the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K.G., the one man whose experience and personality fitted him to tell the story of the Viceroy's and Government Houses. The relations of Great Britain and the United States continued to occupy the attention of American scholars, as in Mr. Ephraim Douglas Adams' two volumes on *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, and usually tended to present this country's policy in a much more favourable light than of yore. On the British side, Mr. A. F. Pollard emphasised the characteristics shared by both peoples and administrations in the absorbing lectures collected in *Factors in American History*. Prominent among works devoted to Europe in general were Mr. Hubert G. R. Reade's three large and valuable volumes, obviously the result of arduous labours, *Sidelights on the Thirty Years' War*; Miss Joan Evans' * *Mediæval France*; the first volume of Mr. James Mackinnon's important * *Luther and the Reformation*; Mr. David Ogg's ably condensed * *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*; and Mr. J. W. Jeudwine's very individual comparative study *Religion, Commerce, Liberty, 1683-1793*.

It was natural and appropriate that the year of Locarno should yield a rich harvest of books on foreign policy, past and present. In a roughly chronological order, an American, Dr. Conyers Read, has precedence for his learned treatise, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*. For the present times, however, * *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*, by Mr. C. K. Webster, M.A., offered more direct instruction in view

of the problems facing its hero and his efforts for their solution by means of the Concert of Europe. Mr. Harold Temperley completed a great monograph with his volume on *The Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822-1827*, outclassing, in scope and detail, any kindred study of the period. Miss A. A. W. Ramsay's *Idealism and Foreign Policy*, described as a study of the relations of Great Britain with Germany and France, 1860-1878, presented a bold criticism of British policy and of the whole stock of national ideas which it represented or created. Under the auspices of the British Institute for International Affairs appeared two important volumes, both of them by Professor Arnold J. Toynbee: the first, *The World After the Peace Conference*, was designed to supplement last year's *History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, and act as an introduction to the second, *Survey of International Affairs, 1920-1923*, which passed from the proceedings of the various international organs to the great divisions of Western and Eastern Europe, the Islamic world, Africa, and the Far East. The Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M P, contributed a Foreword to Mr George Glasgow's admirable synopsis of difficult negotiations in his "critical record of an important achievement in European Diplomacy, 1924-1925," *From Dawes to Locarno*. Yet, while the cause of amity progressed in Europe, there were renewed signs of discord between West and East, and the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay's * *The Heart of Aryavarta*, a study of the psychology of Indian unrest, was an authoritative and revealing analysis of the antagonism of the two civilisations in the land where their harmony is most to be desired. Sir Leo Chiozza Money used elaborate population statistics to awaken us to the perils of a falling birth-rate in *The Peril of the White*.

To turn to English politics, or rather political philosophy, is to encounter Mr. J. A. Spender's two volumes *The Public Life*, with their fascinating sketches of Parliamentary and journalistic figures, their chapters on political theory and practice, *l'art d'être député*, politics and religion, international morality, or the changed relations of Parliament and Press, and their eloquent plea for understanding, respect, and loyalty to Parliamentary institutions. Mr. H. J. Laski's * *The Grammar of Politics* excluded the personal element entirely, but offered a whole system of political thought from its ultimate philosophic basis down to the details of local organisation; while Mr. Lewis Rockow, in his * *Contemporary Political Thought in England*, was not so much constructive as historical and critical. To industrial politics prominent contributions were made by the first volume of Mr. G. D. H. Cole's *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement*, covering the period from 1789 to 1848, with which the author is so familiar; *The Book of the Labour Party*, edited by Mr. Herbert Tracey, intended for a wider public, but combining in its three volumes a useful summary of the history and aims of the movement, with biographies of many of its leaders; Mr. W. A. Appleton's broad-minded *Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future*; Mr. Archibald Hurd's defence of capitalism in *State Socialism in Practice*; and Dr. Arthur Shadwell's two volumes on *The Socialist Movement*. Wider issues were raised and discussed with rare sobriety and insight by Mr. C. Delisle Burns, in * *Industry and Civilisation*.

Symposiums were conspicuous among works devoted to the fundamentals of religion and philosophy. Sir James Marchant edited *Life after Death, according to Christianity and Spiritualism*, the contributors to which included Bishop Welldon, Sir Oliver Lodge, and Principal H. W. Johnson; ten leading authorities collaborated in an attempt at the general readjustment of views demanded by recent extensions of knowledge in *Science, Religion, and Reality*, edited by Mr. Joseph Needham; and the Rev. Dr O. Hardman presided over the distinguished assembly which considered the problems discussed in *Psychology and the Church*. Professor J. Arthur Thomson's *Science and Religion* criticised the idea of any fundamental contradiction between the scientific estimate of nature and its religious interpretation. In *Ether and Reality*, Sir Oliver Lodge expounded both the scientific and metaphysical aspects of this difficult subject with unrivalled lucidity and charm. Of all the apotheotics it was probably Mr. G. K. Chesterton's vigorous assault upon the "professorial" theories of the evolution of man and religion in *The Everlasting Man* which reached the widest audience. More attractive and certainly more convincing than Mr. Chesterton was Professor Kirsopp Lake, in his * *Religion of Yesterday and To-morrow*.

Books of travel, exploration, and topography appeared in remarkable profusion, and apparently found an appreciative public. That this is no new or unnatural phenomenon was proved by Mr. Clark B. Firestone's captivating and erudite compilation of the world's famous traveller's tales in *The Coasts of Illusion*, wherein marvels were plentiful indeed. One of the year's most attractive productions was the illustrated epic of the old sailing ships, *Adventures by Sea from Art of Old Time*, by Mr. Basil Lubbock, with a preface in the form of three sonnets by Mr. John Masefield. The youthful moderns who perform their inland voyages in motor-cars practice a different genre, and Mr. Osbert Sitwell, in his lively * *Discussions on Travel, Art, and Life*, could afford an enthusiasm for the eighteenth century, whose drawbacks he did not have to confront in his pilgrimages to shrines of the baroque and rococo in Southern Italy, South Germany, and Sicily. Mr. Aldous Huxley's *Along the Road* was a similar group of sophisticated but engaging papers on little-known places, the art, discomforts, and vices of travel, and Flemish and Italian painters. The Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald's *Wanderings and Excursions* consisted of essays contributed to a political journal, and suffered to some extent thereby, yet his experiences in Egypt, Palestine, Turkey, India, or Greece were always interesting, and whenever the Scotsman stirred in him he was unfailingly moving and tender. To the traveller of to-day Miss Joan Parkes' * *Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century* would supply a thousand reasons for self-congratulation, while Mr. Karel Capek's witty and fanciful * *Letters from England* emphasised the terrors of modern traffic. Those who delight in ranging the immensities of London were generously catered for in 1925, and a specially warm welcome was given to *The London Perambulator*, by Mr. James Bone, a most acceptable tribute to the lure of the capital from a lover even of its imperfections, finely illustrated by Mr. Muirhead Bone. Mr. Stephen Graham's nocturnal wanderings East and West supplied him

with much curious material for his *London Nights*, as well as many sombre pictures of the underworld. Mr. E. Beresford Chancellor's *London Pleasure Haunts during Four Centuries* allowed the citizen of to-day to compare the resources described in Mr. C. P. Hawkes' *The London Comedy* with theatres, bear-gardens, bull-rings, gambling hells, and rotundas from the sixteenth century to Victorian times. Picturesque and historic places within easy reach of Town provided the subject of Mr. Gordon S. Maxwell's *The Fringe of London*, and the illustrations by Mr. Donald Maxwell were very alluring. *The Cruise of the "Nona"* was much more than the tale of Mr. Hilaire Belloc's cruise from Wales round the Channel to the Thames and back to Sussex: that was only "a good setting for the chance thoughts of one human life," and, however calm the voyage, the surge of a hundred controversies was loud in Mr. Belloc's pages. Mr. E. V. Lucas roamed and gossiped genially as of old in *Zig-Zags in France*. Forbidden to enter Soviet Russia, Mr. Stephen Graham studied it from over the fence, as it were, during a tour of the frontier lands, and published his experiences and conclusions in *Russia in Division*. Mr. Oliver Baldwin, son of the present Prime Minister, had more direct contact with Bolshevik rule, and *Six Prisons and Two Revolutions* made it evident that his Turkish gaoiers, evil as is their repute, were better than the Russian. Another of M. Ferdinand Ossendowski's thrilling volumes, *From President to Prison*, harked back to the Russo-Japanese War, the revolution of 1905, the author's term as President of the Committee of Government of the Russian Far East, his condemnation to death, retrial, and imprisonment. Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton spent four years in Chinese Turkestan, and *In the Heart of Asia*, described the struggle between Reds and Whites, the efforts of Soviet agents to extend their influence in Central Asia, and the curiously competent Chinese administration of mixed and primitive peoples. George A. Birmingham (Canon Hannay) turned his two years as chaplain in Budapest to good account in *A Wayfarer in Hungary*; Mr. E. I. Robson's *A Wayfarer in Czecho-Slovakia* was a practical but scholarly handbook for the use of actual travellers. Eastern travel attracted many votaries. The Countess Malmignati penetrated far into Arabia with the caravan of a friendly chief, *Through Inner Deserts to Medina* describing how, at great peril to her life, she almost succeeded in crossing the Ruba-al-Kali desert. Mrs. Stuart-Erskine's *The Vanished Cities of Arabia* dealt with the remains of old civilisations in Petra, Kerak, Amman, and the other famous centres of Transjordan. Mesopotamia received considerable attention: besides Mr. Richard Coke's historical and political study, *The Heart of the Middle East*, and Mr. A. Sloan's *Wanderings in the Middle East*, which covered also Syria and Palestine, there appeared Mr. H. C. Luke's timely *Mosul and its Minorities*, an enthralling account of the strange communities—Nestorian Assyrians, Mandaeans, and Devil-Worshippers—whose destiny was the subject of such controversy during 1925. The relations of the British administration to the Zionist organisation, and the present and future economic position of the Holy Land, were the theme of Mr. W. Basil Worsfold's *Palestine of the Mandate*. Africa inspired *Nigerian Days*, the story of eighteen years in exile, by Mr. A. G. Hastings, with an

introduction by Mr. R. B. Cunninghame-Graham, and, in Major Radcliffe Dugmore's *The Wonderland of Big Game*, hunting stories of Tanganyika and Kenya. *Havash*, by Major Lloyd-Jones, also laid in Kenya, described frontier adventures with Abyssinian raiders, and Miss Rosita Forbes added to her laurels by the journey into Abyssinia narrated in *From Red Sea to Blue Nile*. Sir Rennell Rodd contributed an introduction to another volume by a renowned explorer of the deserts, *The Lost Oases*, by A. M. Hassenein Bey. India was the scene of the glorious failure, or that possible triumph of which Mallory and Irvine did not live to tell, commemorated in *The Fight for Everest, 1924*, by Lieutenant-Colonel E. F. Norton and other members of the expedition. Mexico and Central America were represented by Mr. Harry L. Foster's spirited *A Gringo in Mañana Land*, and Mrs. Charlotte Cameron's more formal but less revealing *Mexico in Revolution*. Forest life in British Guiana was depicted by Mr. William Beebe in a manner suitable for the serious student in *Jungle Days*. Miss Stella Benson's collection of brief descriptive articles, *The Little World*, ranged from Tintagel to Indo-China, and was aglow with all the colour and quaintness of the Far East. It was a sign of the times that three important works were concerned with the application of the aeroplane to Polar exploration. Captain Roald Amundsen's bold enterprise was movingly described in *My Polar Flight*, and the survey work of a small expedition subsidiary to his original plans was recorded in *By Airplane towards the North Pole*, by Mr. Walter Mittelhalzer and his associates. The Oxford University Arctic Expedition of 1924 was vividly chronicled in *With Seaplane and Sledge in the Arctic*, by Mr. George Binney. Absorbing tales of exploration and adventure independent of such resources made up Fridtjof Nansen's *Hunting and Adventure in the Arctic*. Famous expeditions to the opposite Pole were recalled in *Argonauts of the South*, by Captain Frank Hurley, who was official photographer under both Sir Ernest Shackleton and Sir Douglas Mawson.

The number and the sumptuousness of the art books of 1925 suggested a distinct easing of economic stress among publishers. Lady Victoria Manners and Dr. G. C. Williamson collaborated in a volume on the life and works of a facile but attractive woman artist in *Angelica Kauffmann*. Interest in Blake was evidently at another of its periodical peaks, as witnessed by the appearance of *The Followers of William Blake*, by Mr. Laurence Binyon, Mr. Ernest H. Short's *Blake*, and a highly successful attempt at the unification of the artist's life, character, technique, and meaning in *The Paintings of William Blake* by the ill-fated Mr. Darrell Figgis. *John Constable the Painter* testified once more to the humanity, enthusiasm, and industry of Mr. E. V. Lucas. A series devoted to contemporary British artists included *Albert Rutherston*, and an appreciation of a sculptor who received much less desirable publicity during the year, *Jacob Epstein*. Magnificent in every respect were the three volumes (one of text and two of superb reproductions) of *Sandro Botticelli*, the work of a Japanese critic, Mr. Yukio Yashiro; a translation by Mr. F. Renfield of Dr. Wilhelm von Bode's treatise appeared a little earlier under the same title. Dr. August L. Mayer's *Francisco de Goya*, translated by Mr. Robert West, was possibly

the most important work on that artist yet available in English. Two other translations dealt with modern French artists : Mr Herbert Garland's rendering of M Louis Pierard's *The Tragic Life of Vincent Van Gogh*, and M. Camille Maclair's *Claude Monet*, translated by Mr J. Lewis May. A Japanese poet, Mr. Yone Noguchi, wrote, in English, two exquisite books on the masters of his native land, *Utamaro* and *Hokusai* ; Mr. Edward F. Strange's *The Colour Prints of Hiroshiige* contained a complete biography and excellent reproductions in colour and half-tone. *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, by Mr. Oswald Siren, was another monumental treatise in three volumes. Sir Thomas Graham Jackson's death unfortunately preceded the publication of his *Architecture*, a complete and compact history of the subject from the earliest times. *Pottery and Porcelain : A Handbook of Ceramics*, in three volumes, edited by Mr. Bernard Rackham, was the life-work of Dr. Emil Hannover of the Copenhagen Museum of Industrial Art, English masters being represented by Mr. Arthur Hayden's *Spode and His Successors*. Mr. Stanley Morison's *The Art of the Printer* made a timely appearance in view of the present revival of interest in typography, and one art that finds its most elaborate developments among the most primitive peoples was examined, chiefly in its anthropological aspect, in Mr. W. D. Hambly's *The History of Tattooing and its Significance*.

For some time past it has been the practice with many authors to let the collected journalism of the spring provide the autumn volume of essays, but there have been several welcome indications, such as the arrival of the series of the Hogarth Essays, furnished by the Hogarth Press, that the form is to be more worthily treated. The most important work of the year in this group was, of course, the *Collected Essays of W. P. Ker*, edited in two volumes by Mr. Charles Whibley—some forty papers, most of them lectures or addresses delivered to learned bodies by the great humanist, displaying that illimitable scholarship, so lightly worn, which has made him almost a legend. Professor Stanley T. Williams dealt not only with Carlyle, Landor, and Arnold in his *Studies in Victorian Literature*, but also with those minor authors and works who are often more direct interpreters of their times than the loftier geniuses. * *The English Comic Characters*, by Mr. J. B. Priestley, was a pleasant volume on an inviting theme. Miss Rose Macaulay again displayed her caustic wit in *A Casual Commentary*. Mrs. Virginia Woolf ranged from Greek tragedy to her startled contemporaries, by way of Addison, Jane Austen, and many stranger beings, in *The Common Reader*, one of the Hogarth series, and from the same press came Mr. Leonard Woolf's debate on current problems among the inmates of the Zoo, *Fear and Politics*, with a summing-up in favour of captivity and safety for humanity as well as animals ; Mr. E. M. Forster's inquiry on *Anonymity* ; and Mr. Robert Graves' *Contemporary Techniques of Poetry*. A volume of republished literary essays, *Discoveries*, and another book inspired by later spiritual experiences, *To the Unknown God*, were the work of Mr. J. Middleton Murry. The irreconcilable Mr. Norman Douglas issued another miscellany, *Experiments*, in which an essay on Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* showed him in a rare mood of appreciation, and Mr. A. B.

Walkley was still his urbane, refined, and quizzical self in *Still More Prejudice*. Sir Edmund Gosse's new collection of his weekly causeries was entitled *Silhouettes*. To place next to them Mr. H. L. Mencken's *Prejudices—Fourth Series* is a tempting, but possibly injudicious, contrast of two ages and civilisations.

The vogue of the printed play continued to develop, and the majority of the year's publications connected with the stage fell within that category. An epoch in the London theatre, happily not yet ended, was fittingly chronicled by Mr. Nigel Playfair in *The Story of the Lyric Theatre, Hammer-smith*. Miss Zoe Kincaid's *Kabuki* was an interesting interpretation to Western readers of the nature and ritual of the plots and presentation of the popular drama of Japan. The photogravure illustrations of scenes and actors were unusually fine. *The Dance: An Historical Survey of Dancing in Europe*, by Cecil J. Sharp and Mr. A. P. Oppé, contained the brilliant sketch which the former did not live to expand to its due dimensions. The two volumes of *Plays of To-Day* formed a very representative collection of works by such dramatists as Mr. Granville Barker, Mr. St. John G. Ervine, Mr. John Masefield, the late Stanley Houghton, Miss Elizabeth Baker, and Miss Githa Sowerby. The late James Elroy Flecker's three-act *Don Juan* was arresting in its very incompleteness and immaturity; it was a daring conception to turn the old myth into a poetic drama of a soul's pilgrimage with a background of modern England, and Mr. G. B. Shaw's letter to the author, reprinted in Mrs. Flecker's preface, rightly indicated its evidence of genius as well as its lack of "commercial presentability." * *The Trial of Jesus*, another poetic drama by Mr. John Masefield, did not advance the author's reputation. Mr. Eden Phillpotts showed much more dexterity in the dialogue of his romantic drama of the Byzantine Court in the eleventh century, *A Comedy Royal*. Mr. Arnold Bennett's *The Bright Island* was a pretty piece of satire, in which an English couple found similar troubles to those of their own nation handled in a spirit of devastating candour and cynicism by the characters from harlequinade, who rule the destinies of Caspo. A three-act comedy by Mr. St. John G. Ervine, *Anthony and Anna*, revolved about the first-named character, a young man living by the exercise of a personal charm which the author made none too credible. *Two Plays*, by Mr. Sean O'Casey, marked the arrival of a new Irish dramatist, already hailed as a successor to Synge. Mr. Richard Hughes followed a line of his own in the three powerful one-act tragedies and an ambitious three-act piece which made up *The Sisters' Tragedy*. Among texts of plays already established successes on the boards were Mr. Ashley Dukes' mannered romance of a night at an inn, *The Man with a Load of Mischief*; Mr. Noel Coward's clever and uncomfortable *The Vortex*; Mr. Frederick Lonsdale's *Spring Cleaning*; and Mr. Harley Granville-Barker's translation of a much-applauded French satire, *Dr. Knock*, by M. Jules Romains.

The list of the new poetry by living authors published during 1925 is in itself sufficiently impressive. Nevertheless, mention must be made of one of the outstanding literary events of the year, the publication of a peerless three-volume edition of *The Writings of William Blake*, edited by

Mr. Geoffrey Keynes, who treated his text with extraordinary scrupulousness, noting or reproducing the least minutiae of divergent drafts, arrangements, alterations, or deletions, and superbly produced by the Nonesuch Press. *New Verse Written in 1921* was the work of the Poet Laureate himself, Dr. Robert Bridges, and its native beauties overcame the rather daunting section-headings of Neo-Miltonic Syllabics, Accentual Measures, and William Stone's Quantitative Prosody. Mr. Thomas Hardy published, at the age of eighty-five, another volume of his terse comments on human fate, satires of circumstance, sharply etched landscapes, and sudden ringing little lyrics, in *Human Shows, Far Phantasies, Songs and Trifles*. The tradition of Wordsworth and Tennyson was still vocal and compelling in Sir William Watson's *Poems Brief and New*. The tranquil muse of Mr. James Rhoades filled his *Collected Poems* with the atmosphere of a sheltered life. Mr. Maurice Baring's volume had the same title, albeit the majority of its contents were plays in verse, full of the dim and quiet beauty which is his peculiar quality. Mr. Gordon Bottomley assembled such of his lyrical poems as he wished to preserve in *Poems of Thirty Years*, where they made a distinguished company, and Mr. T. S. Eliot's *Poems of 1909-1925* was the result of a similar process of selection. Another such collection was *The Shadowgraph*, by Mr. Edward Shanks. The Irish poets were represented by Mr. W. B. Yeats' fifth volume of his collected works, *Early Poems and Stories*, containing verse and prose published between 1889 and 1897; Mr. James Stephens' selection, * *A Poetry Recital*, including a few new poems and several revisions of earlier versions; and a new volume of the rich-hued, mystical, and haunting poems of A. E., *Voices of the Stones*, whose author contributed a foreword to *Island Blood*, by Mr. F. R. Higgins, awarded the Silver Medal for Poetry at the Irish Games in 1924. Mr. Lennox Robinson came near becoming his country's Palgrave with his *Golden Treasury of Irish Verse*. Mr. Laurence Binyon and Mr. John Freeman experimented in longer forms—Mr. Binyon in *The Sirens*, an ode in irregular verse on the unresting, unsatisfied spirit of man—much the same theme as that of Lord Gorrell's four books of lofty blank verse in *The Spirit of Happiness*—and Mr. Freeman in a Biblical episode in blank verse with lyrical choruses, *Prince Absalom*. The last author's rare lyric gift was also displayed in his *The Grove and Other Poems*. Mr. Alfred Noyes presented *The Book of Earth*, the second volume of *The Torchbearers*, choosing his protagonists among the great men of science from Pythagoras to Darwin. Mr. Wilfrid Gibson's *I Heard a Sailor* contained no examples of his lengthier narrative work, but captured, in a few lines, the emotions, humours, and tragedies of homely folk with his wonted simplicity and sensitiveness. *Masks of Time*, by Mr. Edmund Blunden, was divided into two parts, "rusticities" and reflective poems in the first, and fourteen war-pieces in the second, all of them wrought with an elaboration singular in him or any other modern poet. Miss Edith Sitwell revisited her childhood in *Troy Park*, and proved that deliberate eccentricities have long delayed the proper recognition of remarkable gifts. The delicate and felicitous verse of Mr. Humbert Wolfe made *The Unknown Goddess* a specially delightful volume, and a collection

of the same author's epigrams, *Lampoons*, was very widely quoted. An American poet of unusual promise, Mr. J. V. Nicolson, offered two individual works, *The Sauntered Courtesan* and *King of the Black Isles*, while Mr. Robert Graves stood sponsor for another cynical but skilful American writer in *Grace After Meat*, by Mr. John Crowe Ransom.

In regard to the year's fiction, some critics discerned a steady return to the romantic, which was, indeed, exemplified in a few striking stories. The chief of these, Joseph Conrad's *Suspense*, was interrupted at a stage from which the denouement could not be foreseen. Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey, at the end of his career as editor of the *Spectator*, surprised his lieges with a first novel, *The Madonna of the Barricades*, the story of the Hon. George Chertsey's plunge with his Carbonarist Italian lady-love into the revolution of 1848. An older practitioner, Mr. Stanley Weyman, showed his accustomed skill in *Queen's Folly*. Mr. H. G. Wells, often urged to revert to an earlier manner, compromised acceptably in **Christina Alberta's Father*. Sir Anthony Hope's later style is increasingly complex, and *Little Tiger*, in itself a moving tale, was weakened, perhaps designedly, by being related at two removes. The tree in Mr. J. D. Beresford's *The Monkey-Puzzle* was Tristram Wing's symbol for the malicious gossip that caused a kiss to bring deep suffering to at least three people. Mr. Frank Swinnerton had no more cheerful a theme in *The Elder Sister*, the tragedy of a group of those commonplace wage-earners still so lamentably rare in our fiction—two sisters loving the same weak egotist, who married one, betrayed her with the other, and so broke them both. Another of Mr. A. S. M. Hutchinson's high-minded heroes weltered in emotionalism throughout *One Increasing Purpose*. Mr. Somerset Maugham's story of the punishment of a guilty love on a station in China, *The Painted Veil*, lost before its conclusion the edge and tension of the earlier chapters. Two of the most considerable performances were war novels. Mr. Ford Madox Ford's *No More Parades*, a sequel, though not a conclusion, to last year's *Some Do Not*, showed his uncompromising Tietjens in the nightmare surroundings of a base camp, where his unspeakable, unintelligible wife again contrived his undoing. Mr. R. H. Mottram's *Sixty-Four, Ninety-Four* was also a sequel, retelling the story of *The Spanish Farm*, this time from the point of view of the young English officer, not the Flemish girl, incidentally presenting a valuable record of the small cumulative changes in environment on the Western Front from the early days to the end. The intensity, the very extravagance of power in *Harvest in Poland*, by Mr. Geoffrey Dennis, placed it in a class by itself, as remote from ordinary novels as his young undergraduate's battle with the actual powers of hell in the house of an ancient Polish family was from ordinary experience. The crucial scenes in Mr. Hugh Walpole's essay in the macabre, *Portrait of a Man with Red Hair*, were, by comparison, unexciting. *Cubwood*, by Mr. W. R. Sunderland Lewis, recaptured small-boyhood for his readers in incidents curiously gruesome and sensational for such a theme, and Mr. T. F. Powy's obsession with the cruelty and degradation of human beings was again displayed in *Mr. Tasker's Gods*. Critics disagreed as to whether Mr. Aldous Huxley's **Those Barren Leaves* was his master-

piece or evidence of a sad decline. *The Polyglots*, Mr. W. Gerhardt's second effort in the Russian mode, made exhilarating comedy with another finely confused household in Harbin during the post-Armistice period. Mr. Michael Sadleir represented an entirely opposite school with *The Noblest Frailty*, handling a straightforward romance of the 'sixties in quite the manner of the period, despite his disclaimer of having attempted a mid-Victorian pastiche. In **Cat's Cradle* Mr. Maurice Baring gave a close and crowded picture of half a century of social history. Two experiments in unauthorised Biblical exegesis appeared—Mr. Robert' Nathan's amusing version of the story of Jonah, *Son of Amittai*, and the more ambitious **My Head! My Head!* by Mr. Robert Graves. The strength and fanaticism of the old Jewish faith were dramatically displayed in Mr. Louis Golding's **Day of Atonement*. A first novel, *Piano Quintet*, by Mr. Edward Sackville West, was a striking study of the inter-relation and inward isolation of five musicians, one woman and four men, touring the Continent. Mr. D. H. Lawrence presented another of his strange fierce parables in **St. Mawr*. The outstanding achievement among works by American novelists was undoubtedly **Martin Arrowsmith*, by Mr. Sinclair Lewis.

Jane Austen found herself included among the women novelists of 1925 by virtue of her last work, *Sanditon*, a fragment in twelve chapters, written in 1817, remarkable for its unwontedly high spirits and its novel setting in a newly-launched bathing-place. Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith's **The George and the Crown* followed the fortunes of the homely, unheroic hero from Sussex to Sark and back again to the Downs. "Elizabeth" kept the inevitable painfulness of her theme in **Love* well subdued through two hundred pages of her book. Miss Naomi Royde-Smith, celebrated for her connexion with the old *Westminster Gazette*, published a first novel, *The Tortoiseshell Cat*, describing the getting of wisdom by a charming girl who had grown up aware of everything but realities. Miss May Sinclair was once more among the clergy in **The Rector of Wyck*, while Mrs. Virginia Woolf made another of her interesting technical experiments in **Mrs. Dalloway*. From America came Mrs. Edith Wharton's **The Mother's Recompense*, and an earlier novel by a dramatist, Mrs. Susan Glaspell's *The Glory of the Conquered*, the tale of the devotion of a brilliant wife who gave up her own art to help in the work of her husband, a blinded scientist. From far away and long ago came the first of the six contemplated volumes of *The Tale of Genji*, translated by Mr. Arthur Waley from the Japanese of the Lady Murasaki, who wrote in the eleventh century this story of an Emperor's son and his amours.

Short stories composed several memorable volumes, headed by *Tales of Hearsay*, by Joseph Conrad, to which Mr. R. B. Cunningham-Graham contributed an admirable preface. Mr. John Galsworthy's short tales were all assembled and attractively correlated in a single volume, *Caravan*. Mr. Walter de la Mare exerted his special enchantments in *Broomsticks and Other Tales*, to which Mr. A. E. Coppard's *Fishmonger's Fiddle* offered an effective contrast in solidity, strength, and earthliness, especially in his rural tales. Mr. John Metcalfe delighted amateurs of the shudder with

The Smoking Leg, and Mr. Gerald Bullett's originality and power made a success of *The Baker's Cart*. Two volumes of singular charm and artistry—Mr. Wilfranc Hubbard's * *Orvieto Dust*, and Mrs. Naomi Mitcheson's *Cloud-Cuckoo Land*—were devoted to studies from the antique. The chief characters in Mr. G. K. Chesterton's *Tales of the Long Bow* set out to demolish standard proverbs and achieve accepted impossibilities, and the author's combative fancy thus gave itself unlimited scope. There was plentiful entertainment in *Mayfair*, a dozen of Mr. Michael Arlen's richly, too richly, decorated revelations of what appeared to him "the real state of affairs existing in the very Heart of London." Lastly, though it was a 1924 book, the illustrated edition of * *The Twilight of the Gods*, by Richard Garnett had a spice and a charm of its own which set it in a category apart; so great was its excellence that it may fittingly serve as an addendum to the review of the literature of the year 1925.

Of the above books the following have been deemed suitable for special notice; they are given in the order in which they happen to appear in the General Survey:—

GENERAL LITERATURE.

King Edward VII. A Biography By Sir Sidney Lee. Volume I. (Macmillan).—These eight hundred pages cover the sixty years of the life of Edward VII. as Prince of Wales, and close with his accession to the throne, and the volume was read with avidity by an interested public. Sir Sidney carefully points out that his is not an "official" biography, and though it has been compiled at the request of the present King, and owes everything to the facilities His Majesty has afforded, the author himself bears the sole responsibility for its form and contents. This does not indicate that Sir Sidney has permitted himself any indiscretions: his work might well rank with that of a courtier, for all its lack of obsequiousness and its candid acceptance of the limitations of the personality with which it deals. To some extent Mr. Lytton Strachey had already stolen Sir Sidney's thunder. If the former's *Queen Victoria* had not appeared, the earlier chapters in the present volume would have caused considerably more excitement. Even now the father and mother who subjected their son to a training so utterly unsuited to his character and needs, appear almost sinister figures. If the passing of a legend of supreme benevolence and wisdom has thus done the author some service, the Great War has helped him in another particular by removing any obstacles to the open discussion of Anglo-German relations throughout the Victorian era. William II. is naturally handled with some severity, even with less recognition than might have been expected of the fact that the nephew's early environment was as unpropitious as the uncle's, if in a different way, and acted upon a far less stable mentality. It would be otiose to follow Sir Sidney step by step through the details of the career of the Prince of Wales—his public appearances, his part in ceremonial occasions, his travels, and the like—treated as they are with a fullness to which more picturesque qualities

have been sacrificed. It is the connexion between the slow reorientation of our foreign policy, and the Prince's relations to his mother, that emerges from these pages almost with the effect of a dramatic plot, and so presents a line the reader may follow to his great enlightenment. Perhaps the most important and illuminating part of the work is Sir Sidney's account of the relations between the Prince and William II. over a lengthy period. As for the personality of the Prince himself, Sir Sidney does not disguise its limitations, his preoccupation with matters of ceremony, physical qualities, manners, social standing, and dress, his acceptance of lower standards in more important respects, and his indifference to letters and learning. Nevertheless, he pays due tribute to the Prince's invincible charm, generosity, and open-mindedness, his power of assimilating and retaining information, and his ability to profit by any opportunities of travel or any intercourse with eminent men. His interest and activity in social and philanthropic work are also shown by Sir Sidney to have been greater than has generally been realised. In its whole plan the book naturally follows a more austere tradition than that at present in favour, but it is by no means difficult reading, and takes its place, not by right of its subject alone, among the most important biographies of our time.

Robert Owen, by Mr G. D. H. Cole (Benn), would evoke, if nothing more, a tribute of admiration to the industry of an author who could, in a single year, produce this study, a volume on Cobbett, an historical treatise on the Working Class Movement, and some part of an entertaining detective story. Mr Cole's book has not the scope of Podmore's lengthy biography; on the other hand it gives Owen his proper political importance, and the 1830-1834 period of his leadership of the militant trade unions has the benefit of the author's unrivalled familiarity with that movement. While he adds nothing to the story of Owen's life, which is treated quite adequately for his purpose in a brief opening chapter, Mr. Cole subjects his personality to a scrutiny no one could call too sympathetic, and explains his failure to inspire any warmer feeling by his too rigid devotion to principle. Yet this is the story of a great originator, perhaps the most remarkable pioneer of the social reconstruction of the nineteenth century, and Mr. Cole does him in that aspect every justice. He was not, says Mr. Cole, the great economist and financier so many of his contemporaries thought him: the economic basis of his colonies and Labour Exchanges was always unsound. But his ideas were germinal, and he came back from America to find that they had spread among the working classes of England, and that his place was at the head of the co-operative production movement which was to lead to his foundation of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, whose defeat involved his own. Mr. Cole views him as one who became progressively a little madder from 1817 onwards, and he has obviously an imperfect sympathy for Owen's essentially patronising, benevolently authoritarian attitude to the classes to whose interests he devoted such unwearying energy and ingenuity. He left them at least an inspiration that is not yet exhausted.

Cardinal Newman, by Bertram Newman (Bell).—This study of Newman is written almost entirely from the literary standpoint, theology being

regarded only as providing the subject of his most famous passages. It is curious that this aspect of him should have been so long ignored, for the Cardinal was a superb stylist, a moving poet, and a brilliant wit. Even the *Apologia* has overshadowed work of his that deserves quite as much attention, for a piece of polemics and self-analysis combined, written at a high speed, inevitably has its blemishes. Mr Bertram Newman has wisely lured his readers towards the original form of the *Apologia*, as it was before the onslaught on Kingsley's position was deprived of so much of its vigour. A very striking section of the present work is that dedicated to Newman's noble failure in his efforts towards a liberal Catholic University in Ireland, and the lectures on "The Idea of a University." The historical essays and the Discourses include many of his most trenchant pages, and the devotional writings have a fervour and beauty to which the harshest materialist could scarcely be insensitive. As a biographer Mr Bertram Newman shows a praiseworthy impartiality, his treatment of Kingsley and Manning providing an excellent test of that quality in this connexion. His Cardinal is an intelligible human being and a writer of rare gifts whose themes will, of necessity, limit the number of his admirers. To those who can remain indifferent to the religious issues evoking the best of Newman's work, his namesake's book should afford invaluable guidance.

Twenty-Five Years, 1892-1916, by Viscount Grey of Fallodon, K.G. Two volumes (Hodder & Stoughton).—Lord Grey's book was not intended as an autobiography, and such self-revelation as it contains is largely undesigned and correspondingly delightful. His aim was to give "a true impression of the course of events that led to Britain's part in the war," and he has provided what will surely be the leading exposition of its causes. As Under-Secretary to Lords Rosebery and Kimberley at the Foreign Office from 1892-1895 he had seen for himself that the position of Britain "was not isolation, and it was far from being splendid." Ten years later, when he came back to office, he found the Entente established, and devoted himself to its consolidation and to the destruction of all obstacles to good-feeling between this country and Russia, achieving both ends without in any way compromising Britain. But from the early days he had found it very hard to deal with Germany. In the matter of naval competition "we could come to no agreement, and," says Lord Grey, "it was not our fault." Campbell-Bannerman, Haldane, Churchill found their suggestions ignored, and the Foreign Secretary could reach agreement on such controversial points as the Baghdad railway and Portuguese Africa, but on the naval question no progress could be made. Our conciliatory efforts even caused alarm in Paris and St Petersburg, yet nothing could subdue "that inveterate and ineradicable distrust" prevailing in Berlin. So the tragedy neared. Lord Grey makes it clear that we had promised no co-operation whatever against Germany in the event of war; our military discussions were simply such as were in the circumstances reasonable and inevitable. His most fascinating chapter sums up the considerations dominating him during the days immediately preceding the outbreak of war. He knew that the catastrophe must, if possible, be averted; that everything depended upon Germany; that the Government

must support France in the event of war, but must give no pledge from which the country might recoil. He had grave difficulties with his fellow-members of the Cabinet, and he here sets down for the first time that if the decision to support France had not been taken he would have resigned. But, he says, our coming into the war at once and united was due to the invasion of Belgium. The Germans themselves brought it about, and though "the tragedy was great, it was for Britain the least of the immense perils with which the time was fraught." He confesses that he sometimes lay awake asking himself whether the war could have been prevented by anything he might have done in the preceding years. It may be that this has been his deepest motive for going once again through the intricate history of a doom-laden time. If so, he may be content: no man could have done more unless he had known, as no statesman knew, that a direct and definite threat to Germany would have had the country's unhesitating support.

More Chances, More Changes, by Henry W. Nevins (Nisbet).—This second volume of Mr. Nevins's autobiography continues the story from the end of the South African War to August, 1914. It is doubtful whether any other writer can look back upon a career as crowded with activity and adventure, or has ever identified himself with so many unpopular causes and lived to see so many of them victorious. The book opens in Macedonia, still the theatre of fearful atrocities, but the scene soon changes to Portuguese West Africa, where the author gathered the facts that resulted in the exposure of slavery in the cocoa plantations, despite his sufferings in the interior and all the machinations of the traders involved. Thence we pass to Russia and the pitiless suppression of the revolution of 1905-6. Though the street fighting in Moscow made Mr. Nevins a target for both sides, and he was many times arrested, he survived to be enthroned and garlanded by Indian admirers in Poona two years later during the ferment of the Swadeshi movement. In 1909 he saw the Spanish campaign against the Riffs begin its interminable course, and to this succeeded the two wars in the Balkans. At home his identification with the cause of the militant suffragists made him a figure in endless violent scenes, now almost incredible. If he ranks his noble self-imposed work in Angola as "the main enterprise of my life," he chooses as the two brightest dates in his calendar that on which women were granted the vote, and that of the creation of the Irish Free State. Once more abroad, he was at the heart of affairs until the ambassadorial train bore him away from war-crazed Berlin's acclamation of the greatest of all the disasters he has seen. Even so brief a summary will show how full and thrilling are Mr. Nevins's pages, and he is known for a man who writes with true passion of whatever has stirred him deeply. The volume is thronged with remarkable figures—public men of many nations, colleagues on the Press, artists, men of letters, Tolstoy, Meredith, Roger Casement, the Pankhursts, H. W. Massingham—and the personal portraiture is as vivid and sensitive as are the author's descriptions of that natural beauty which is most haunting in some of the most hapless lands.

The Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1840-1878, edited by G. P. Gooch (Longmans, Green & Co.), is an admirably chosen collection of

letters from the later political career of a statesman who represented at its best the Liberal England of the Mid-Victorian epoch. Some are touched with grace, others are studiously curt; all have the fascination of animating the period with the spoken voice of the actors. Mr. Gooch has enhanced their value by a brilliant historical introduction to the work as a whole, as well as by shorter explanations of the various episodes around which the correspondence centres. The correspondence should prove a mine to the research student, but to the general reader, too, the letters will clarify a period great with stirring events. For it contains the struggle for Italian unity, the foundation of the German Empire, the problem of dual control for Austria, the American Civil War, the revolutions and reactions of modern France, the crisis in the Eastern question which is a perennial crisis in itself, and the *Drang nach Osten* which foreshadowed the newer grouping of the Great Powers. At home, factories and cornfields, Chartism and anti-Corn Law meetings claimed the attention of the Government. "Finally Jack" found a cure for most of these ills in the extension of the franchise. Under Palmerston English foreign policy had been sure-minded if bellicose; under Russell there began the policy of "meddle and muddle" which made England play such a sorry part in Italy and Schleswig-Holstein. The letters also reveal the influence exerted by monarchy in public affairs; and if under Victoria England was governed by an aristocracy with a democratic façade, Royalty was still a sure ally of the governing families. The correspondence finally shows that Russell was a master of vigorous English, and this characteristic greatly adds to its value as a mirror of politics and as a source-book of facts.

The Cambridge Ancient History, edited by J. B. Bury, M.A., F.B.A., S. A. Cook, Litt.D., and F. E. Adcock, M.A. Volume III. The Assyrian Empire (Cambridge University Press).—This volume well maintains the high standard of its forerunners, though the difficulties of correlating its component papers have hardly been so effectively overcome. There is a certain lack of balance; the conquests of modern research have evidently provided almost too rich a spoil in one quarter, and in another are, for the moment, suspended, to the detriment of the original plan of the work. Vol. III. begins with Mr. Sidney Smith's account of the Assyrian Empire of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbampal, and its fall. The next few chapters are devoted to kingdoms whose chronicles are still, to a large extent, obscure. Dr. D. G. Hogarth is responsible for those on the Hittites in Syria; the history of Van (Urartu) is in the hands of its re-creator, Professor A. H. Sayce, who first deciphered its inscriptions; Dr. E. H. Minns deals with the Scythians and Northern Nomads. Dr. R. Campbell Thomson records the glories of a reinvigorated Babylon until its overthrow by the Persians, the wreckers of empire throughout this volume. Dr. H. R. Hall deals with the eclipse of Egypt, the Ethiopians and Assyrians in Egypt, its restoration, and the art of the Saite period. To Dr. R. A. Stewart Macalister's interesting monograph on the topography of Jerusalem succeed Dr. Stanley A. Cook's chapters on Israel and Judah from the era of David and Solomon till Israel falls a prey to Sargon, Judah to Nebuchadnezzar. The survey of Hebrew religion and thought, and the

influence and personalities of the Prophets (perhaps the most fascinating section of the volume), embodies the conclusions resulting from the latest discoveries and criticism. Dr. Hogarth treats of Lydia and her relations with Egypt and Assyria, and by way of Ionia we make the transition to Greece, with which the last five chapters are concerned. Mr. H. T. Wade-Gery's description of the growth of the Dorian States, Dr. E. A. Gardner's "Early Athens," and Mr. M. Cary's straightforward account of Northern and Central Greece, are supplemented by Professor J. L. Myres' chapter on Greek colonial expansion and Mr. F. E. Adcock's on the growth of the City-State. The aim of the editors has thus been to provide "a prelude to the history of the Greek world that faced Persia, which will be the theme of the next volume," and it must be added that they have done their work extremely well.

A History of England, by Hilaire Belloc. Vol. I., to 1066 (Methuen).—Mr. Belloc has embarked on a venture which is a bold one even for him, no less than to re-write the history of England from a new angle. His object, in the adequate words of his publisher, "is to emphasise the historical truth that the chief social and political phenomena of national history are religious in origin, not racial, and still less matters of language." He sees the hand of Rome everywhere, or of France, the spiritual heir of Rome. England is the child of Roman Christianity, and nothing that happened between the Roman era and the Norman Conquest mattered very much. A European culture was grafted on to an indigenous stock, civilising but not essentially altering it, and Saxon and Dane were but sporadic intruders, leaving no significant trace. This is a debatable thesis, which, it is hardly necessary to say, Mr. Belloc sustains vigorously and dogmatically. He has a very hearty contempt for Dry-as-dust, though it is possible that Dry-as-dust, if he could bring himself to regard the intrusions of a mere man of letters into his preserves as worthy of attention, would be able to set him some awkward posers. For many of his inferences are, to say the least, hazardous, and he has an arbitrary way in the acceptance or rejection of authority. On the philological side, for instance, he is content to lean on Professor Wiener, whose derivations are very far from being accepted by the experts. It will be interesting to see what Mr. Belloc, whose book is to be in four volumes, does with the ages for which the evidences are ampler and where there is less room for brilliant guess-work. Meanwhile he has written a volume which is far more readable than most more orthodox histories, and in linking England with Europe, instead of treating its story as an isolated growth, he is undoubtedly on the right track.

The Mediæval Village, by G. G. Coulton (Cambridge University Press).—Out of the fullness of his knowledge, and with the pen of a ready writer, Dr. Coulton has painted a vivid picture of the lives of the common people during the Middle Ages. His pages are alive with actual men and women: with lords and serfs, monks and peasants. It is no merry England that he depicts; on the contrary, the land was full of oppression and misery, dirt, disease, and ignorance. Landlords were harsh and greedy; the law of the time gave them power over the bodies, the labour, even the children, of their serfs. Bondmen, as Dr. Coulton shows, were sold and exchanged

freely; their offspring likewise were divided among their owners. They were not free from bodily chastisement. No wonder there were "rebellions of the poor," some of them as early as the thirteenth century. The only bright spot in the darkness was the Christian charity of some ecclesiastical landlords who, though in the main they were no better in their exactions than laymen, yet ordered their conduct occasionally by Gospel teaching. But if the monks were sometimes kindly landlords, they looked askance at popular sports and amusements. "The mediæval ecclesiastic," Dr. Coulton writes, "was prejudiced also, as a rule, against all forms of sport." Many an interesting problem of mediæval life is discussed incidentally by Dr. Coulton, as, for example, inbreeding. His appendices contain a mass of interesting material and his illustrations deserve high commendation. He has written a characteristic book which bids fair to become a classic.

Luther and the Reformation: Volume I. Early Life and Religious Development to 1517, by James Mackinnon (Longmans, Green & Co.).—The mental development of Luther, that motive power of self-assurance and religious faith which made possible the Reformation, has been made clear by Professor Mackinnon in spite of the Scholastic mists in which it was involved. When Luther left the secular life for the monastery, probably on an impulse of sheer panic which he was afterwards to regret, he found not peace, but spiritual storm and stress. He described his experience as martyrdom, under the unshakable conviction of sinfulness. He sought relief in self-mortification and the doctrines of the schoolmen, and here Dr Mackinnon's own erudition displays itself in the elucidation of teachings whose mere terms convey nothing to the modern reader. At last, after deep meditation, Luther had a message, as he believed, from the Holy Spirit, imparting to him the realisation of Divine justice and grace—the Gospel, in fine, as distinct from the Law. Accepting the message joyfully, and rushing to extremes as his temperament compelled him, he was soon thrusting a deterministic theory of salvation upon his fellows, and mightily belabouring his opponents, with a blessed unconsciousness of any real departure from orthodoxy. His testing-time came when he discovered that more material abuses he had attacked, conspicuously the sale of indulgences, were supported by his Church, and he learnt that he must stand alone. With this discovery and the nailing of the famous theses on the church-door at Wittenberg, the present volume ends. Professor Mackinnon's learning and historical severity do not make him destroy the human interest of Luther's ordeal and liberation, while his chapters on the movements of Luther's time—the New Learning, for example—are illuminating and instructive.

Life in Mediæval France, by Joan Evans (Oxford University Press).—Miss Evans has produced a book which does credit to her learning and is a respectable addition to English treatises on mediæval history. Her theme is not the story of wars or high policy, but rather the social, intellectual, and religious life of mediæval France. Each of the eleven chapters is a complete and methodical study in itself; perhaps that on Feudal Society is the best in the book. The growth of pilgrimages is well worked out, from the pilgrimages to Rome and Compostella to those of Jerusalem

which, combined with the warlike spirit of the age, produced the Crusades. There is an excellent chapter on Monastic Life, to which the two others, on Learning and Education respectively, are worthy companions. The volume has two admirable characteristics. To illustrate her points the author quotes extensively from mediæval writers of all sorts (furnishing an English version of Old French extracts); and there are no less than forty-eight plates in the book, which enhance its value considerably. The photographs are, without exception, beautifully reproduced.

Europe in the Seventeenth Century, by David Ogg (A. & C. Black).—The merit of Mr. Ogg's handbook on seventeenth-century European history is its comprehensiveness. While, for example, he does justice to the political aspect of the reign of Louis XIV., he also manages to find ample space for an adequate treatment of the conflict between the Jesuits and the Jansenists in a chapter which combines learning with clarity. Indeed, his clearness is one of his principal recommendations. Whether he is considering the policy of Richelieu, summarising the Treaty of Westphalia, analysing the doctrines of Calvin, or describing the philosophy of Spinoza, Mr. Ogg enables the reader to see clearly what is his meaning. Possibly the most interesting chapter in the book is the last, which attempts an evaluation of the seventeenth century in history. "The permanent things of the seventeenth century are neither its dynasties nor its politics, but its imaginative art and the constructive work of its thinkers." To these thinkers Mr. Ogg gives no small attention, especially to the political philosophers, chief among whom is Hugo Grotius. The student will find Mr. Ogg's volume a sure guide, and to the general reader it will serve as an adequate and up-to-date introduction to the comprehension of a troubled period in the history of Europe.

The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815-1822, by C. K. Webster (Bell), is a careful and painstaking study of the diplomatic relations between Britain and the European Alliance after the Second Peace of Paris. Based on fifteen years' research work in the archives of London, Paris, Berlin, Hanover, Vienna, and Petrograd, the book continues Professor Webster's previous narratives of the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15, and British diplomacy, 1813-15. Though he has not had access to the Londonderry archives, the author yet paints a full-length portrait of the diplomat who represented England during the period of Congresses following a generation of warfare. Castlereagh's distrust of democracy, his political blindness to the new forces of nationality and self-government, his belief in inter-State parleys as a cure for national illness when the malady took an anti-legitimist turn, made him a true friend of Metternich. Castlereagh, who has been described as an eighteenth-century diplomat on a nineteenth-century stage, yet believed in a "Confederation of Europe;" and though a diplomat when statesmanship was needed, he yet looked forward to the time when the Councils of the Powers would be endowed with "the efficiency and almost the simplicity of a single State." Mr. Webster's study is a worthy monument to a great diplomat.

The Heart of Aryavarta, by The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Ronaldshay (Constable).—The problem of Indian unrest has for many years provided

an ever-fruitful subject for discussion, both for Indian and British writers. In this volume, which completes a trilogy of Indian studies, Lord Ronaldshay deals with the mental revolt of the younger generation of educated Hindus against the tide of Western culture which threatens to sweep away the ancient philosophy of the Vedas. He goes to the root of the matter, laying bare the very heart of modern India, torn between natural tendencies inherited from long lines of ancestors, and characteristics acquired from contact with the foreigner and from education on Western lines. He has much of interest to say on this question of education. The whole system of higher education is, in his opinion, completely unrelated to Indian tradition. This anomaly is, strangely enough, the result, in the main, of efforts made by Indians themselves in the last century who, in a flush of enthusiasm for things of the West, began to despise their own learning and their own languages. Now the pendulum is swinging back, and India is beginning to appreciate once again the treasures of culture and knowledge which are her inheritance. But what if the pendulum swings too far? What if India, in her anxiety to free her soul from the encroachments of Western ideals, sinks back into a state of self-absorbed contemplation? The answer to this psychological problem which confronts Young India is to be found, the writer thinks, in the old doctrine of the Middle Way, preached and popularised by that greatest of all Indian sages, Buddha. The book throws light on many sidepaths puzzling to the Western mind—sex symbolism, Indian art, and monism; and four chapters are devoted to a study of the Vedanta. As an authoritative attempt to pierce the veil which hangs between East and West, Lord Ronaldshay's volume, written as it is with knowledge and sympathy, should appeal to a wide public, both in India and in this country.

A Grammar of Politics, by Harold J. Laski (Allen & Unwin).—Clearness of thought, aptness of illustration, a new and engaging attitude to an old theme—these are the characteristics of a book which certainly stands out as one of the important publications of the year. Thinkers of all schools will have to make themselves acquainted with Mr Laski's original ideas concerning the State, and whether they agree with him or not, he is a writer who counts. His concern is not so much with political institutions as with their effect on individuals. The worth of institutions, according to Mr. Laski, depends upon their contribution to the welfare of individuals. And, since freedom is regarded by this writer as the most vital element in the life of the citizen, to give men an opportunity for creative freedom is the ultimate purpose of all political institutions. This proposition he attempts to establish step by step by careful analysis, clear definition, and attractive application. What is Sovereignty? What is the precise meaning of Liberty and Equality? What is the value of Nationalism? What is the influence on the State to-day of Property? These are some of the large and fundamental questions that are considered in this volume, and the treatment is on a very high level of excellence. The concluding chapter is devoted to a consideration of the actual experiments in international organisation that are afoot, and in particular the League of Nations. "A new political philosophy is necessary to a new world:"

these are Mr. Laski's opening words. It is not too much to say that, greatly daring, he has furnished that new political philosophy.

Contemporary Political Thought in England, by Lewis Rockow (Leonard Parsons)—Those who desire a handy and well-informed guide to the trend of political thought in this country will find all they require in Mr. Rockow's pages. He begins with the past—Bentham, Austin, Mill, and the rest—and indicates how political thinkers of the present age have deviated from the ancient established principles. There are the Psychologists, typified by Graham Wallas and William McDougall; the Idealists, among whom Sir Henry Jones is a foremost exponent; the Collectivists, like Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb; and the Individualists, whose spokesman is Mr. Mallock. All these are reviewed in turn, and their attitude to the State described. Two of the most interesting chapters in the book are those devoted respectively to the State in modern drama and in modern novels. Mr. Rockow's essay provides a fairly comprehensive summary of the ideas of a number of writers who command a following among thinking people.

Industry and Civilisation, by C. Delisle Burns (Allen & Unwin)—It is a refreshing experience to be brought back to fundamentals in the economic questions of the day, and Mr. Burns has been eminently successful in his task. What is the place of industry in life, and what is its relation to civilisation? An older world limited to certain classes the labour of providing for the needs of society, and yet in many ways expressed a lofty public ideal. The system which succeeded this, giving the energetic and acquisitive man full liberty of action, had its own grim forms of servitude for the individual, and less than no regard for the community; it even, as Mr. Burns points out, related communal enjoyments, high days and holidays, to the economic scheme, no longer to natural seasons or historic events. The uncontrolled proliferation of industry was as dangerous as a malignant growth; there was never more wealth, never less welfare. The supremacy of society was at length asserted over even this unimagined power, and the difficult, still unachieved, work of adjustment began between the demands of industry and the widening ideals of the State for its citizens. It was simple and fairly reasonable to erect industry into a god, and it is also quite comprehensible that many workers should still see in it nothing but a Moloch. Mr. Burns thinks that we do not make sufficient allowance for the effect of the past on the proletarian mind; the worker has had a long and bitter struggle for what are to-day accepted as his basic rights, and the seeming truculence of his modern combinations is to a large extent the result of this historic complex, not the expression of revolutionary aims. On wage questions and the effect of recent developments, particularly in social insurance, Mr. Burns is as illuminating as in his chapter on Trade Unions. His discussion of the widest principles is kept in close relation with the facts of history or modern industrial practice, and will suggest many salutary reflections.

The Religion of Yesterday and To-Morrow, by Kirsopp Lake (Christophers).—Professor Lake has had a varied experience as a teacher of theology in this country, on the Continent, and in the United States;

to-day he ranks as a theologian whose views count. What he has to say, therefore, concerning Catholicism and Protestantism is bound to attract attention, as, indeed, it did. For Professor Lake is frank. He holds that the advances in modern science make it necessary for both Catholics and Protestants to review their respective religious positions and build up new forms of Christianity. Professor Lake suggests that there are three possible types of religion, the exponents of which he calls Fundamentalists, Institutionalists, and Experimentalists. The first include the Roman Catholic Church; the second are to be found in the Protestant Churches; the third is the term Dr. Lake applies to those who, like himself, profess the "Religion of To-morrow," which is a way of life, bidding men consecrate themselves to the service of the Kingdom of God. In an age when men's religious views are more and more uncertain, it is good to come across the freshness of view, backed by ample knowledge, which marks Dr. Lake's treatise—a book which is as stimulating as it is instructive.

Discussions on Travel, Art, and Life, by Osbert Sitwell (Grant Richards).—While Mr. Lytton Strachey has discovered, or re-discovered, the art of biography, a new art of travel-writing has sprung up, the exemplars of which differ as widely from the amateurish, if often entertaining, volumes which vie for popularity at the circulating libraries with the latest popular fiction, as does *Eminent Victorians* from the official panegyrics on deceased politicians and field-m Marshals. The exponents of this art have nearly all distinguished themselves in more purely creative fields, and one of the latest to join the little band, which includes Mr. Norman Douglas, Mr. Aldous Huxley, Mr. D. H. Lawrence, and Mr. Louis Golding, is Mr. Osbert Sitwell, poet, and the brother of poets. He proves himself worthy of his company. As with most of them, his chosen field of exploration is Italy and Sicily, and he has the fashionable taste for the baroque. Although his *Discussions* is not a deliberately creative work, like his brother's *Southern Baroque Art*, he has a power of picturesque description which is vividly evocative. But, as its name implies, there is much besides description in this book. Mr. Sitwell is steeped in history, both social and artistic, and he is full of prejudices which, whether one endorses them or not, at any rate give individuality to his matter. He has some pretty tilts, for instance, at some of his colleagues in verse whose poetry he does not like, or who presume not to like the sort of poetry which he himself writes. A few of his chapters are devoted to Southern Germany, where, being in the spiritual home of baroque, he is particularly happy. In Bayreuth he characteristically passes Wagner's opera house with a nod, and enlarges with enthusiasm on the charms of the theatre built in the eighteenth century by Giuseppe Bibbiena. There is also an extremely interesting chapter on D'Annunzio, whom Mr. Sitwell ardently admires and paid a flying visit to Fiume to see.

Letters from England, by Karel Capek, translated by Paul Selver (Bles), was, perhaps, to English readers, the most revealing volume of exploration published in 1925, and certainly the most entertaining. We shall never with our own eyes behold our own country as the distinguished

Czech dramatist beheld it, and we are grateful for being allowed to perceive its marvels and mystery at second hand. Mr. Capek found it anything but a Tibet. He visited its cities, its villages, the great shops, the clubs, the teeming slums, the parks, the lakes, the museums, Folkestone, and Oxford. He was the guest of many distinguished men, and he had a discerning eye and ear for the ways of lesser folk. He records his experiences haphazard with a sly humour and a taking affectation of ingenuousness; the same elements of superficial simplicity and infinite significance reveal themselves in the delightful drawings with which he has pointed his comments. Mr. Capek found just what he expected to find, and it astonished him; all that he had read about became fairylike and romantic when he saw it in being. Our commonplaces excited his delighted wonder, as when he saw men walking unchallenged and of choice across the grass in parks and over the fields. The trees impressed him mightily, and they became to him something of a universal symbol, the tall pillars sustaining all the traditions of the land, "the aristocratic instincts, the historical sense, Conservatism, tariffs, golf, the House of Lords, and other odd and antique things." When he visited the clubs, where three things won his admiration—the silence, the service, the absence of women—he reflected, "If we had such old leather chairs we should also have a tradition." He notes and praises everywhere English quiet, reserve, dislike of fuss, essential kindness. What he did not like were the dire contrasts of our social system, the gulf between the West End and the East End; the nightmare of the London traffic, on the surface or underground; our cooking; and the English Sunday, even in its mitigated London form. Mr. Capek has written an entrancing book, and Mr. Paul Selver's translation is beyond criticism.

Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century, by Joan Parkes (Oxford University Press).—Miss Parkes has provided an admirable compilation for the novelist or social historian of a century whose constitutional and international events have somewhat obscured the daily life of its ordinary citizens. Travel in England was a difficult business. In spite of excellent inns, hospitable country magnates, quaint and pleasing rural customs, the conditions were such as completely daunt the modern reader. Foot-pads, highwaymen, and lesser rogues haunted such roads as could be used, and there were whole regions where movement was next to impossible. To walk was to invite trouble (a chapter on the Watch shows what the Dogberries of the day were capable of), pillion riding was already stamped as perilous, and the ordinary coach was hideously uncomfortable. Uncomfortable, too, was the Channel crossing. It was possible to spend days over the passage and to be forced to submit to extortion at the hands of the crew in order to obtain food. The waves were no respecters of exalted personages in small boats, as witness the author's picture of Queen Henrietta Maria's voyage to England, when her suffering ladies in the extremity of terror shrieked out their confessions to the Capuchin fathers, who were no less prostrated. On land a Royal progress was a costly affair, and a hundred thousand pounds was spent by King James on a journey to Scotland. The London of 1635 must have had its own traffic

complications when the hackney coaches alone numbered 6,000. Stage coaches were an innovation, but one of them used to run from Oxford to London in a day, and was duly banned by the Vice-Chancellor of the University. Miss Parkes has assembled myriads of highly interesting facts from which one might go on selecting indefinitely. A road map of 1689 and nearly fifty plates complete a most attractive book.

English Comic Characters, by Mr. J. B. Priestley (John Lane).—It is the great attribute of most of the eleven characters Mr. Priestley has chosen that it is only by intellectual effort that one can persuade oneself that they really belong to the realm of fancy, and not that of actual life. It is, for example, much easier to believe in Micawber than in most of the personages of history. Mr. Priestley's chief virtue is that he has done everything to confirm this illusion in himself and can intensify it in the reader. The majority of them come, of course, from Shakespeare and Dickens. They have long been of our intimates, and we should resent any liberties with their august persons. Nevertheless, Mr. Priestley glimpses them from unexpected angles and thus seems to add to their solidity. Falstaff is their commander, and with him the commentator is particularly successful; truly we now have him in the round. We learn, too, why women do not like him and his "siren-song from the convivial circle, the tavern and the club." The essayist has also had particularly close access to the society of Bully Bottom and that strange creature of paper and ink, Pistol, to name no more; and if this generation knows not Parson Adams, here is a portrait that should mightily increase his congregation. Perhaps Mr. Priestley is less successful with the two Wellers and the two philosophies of rural and urban England he tries to incarnate in them, but he retrieves himself with Micawber, with whom the very page is vibrant. He has himself a delightful verbal felicity and a communicative gusto, with a fine range of quotation, not only from his originals but from earlier commentators and exegetists, to support him where direct interpretation finds its bounds. These papers prove in the most welcome fashion how "the humour of character goes down and touches, surely but tenderly, the very roots of our common human nature."

The Trial of Jesus. A Play. By John Masefield (Heinemann).—Mr. Masefield's new work is a rather surprising successor to his recent experiments with the French classics. Essentially it is a rationalised version of St. Luke's account, with some peculiar variations which the average reader will hardly accept without demur. Instead of the rhymed verse of his *Good Friday*, his earlier play, in which the presence of Jesus was only implied, we have for the most part prose dialogue which it would not have been astonishing to find over the signature of Mr. Shaw. The most exalted passage is the irregular verse dialogue between Jesus and the Spirit of Wisdom with which the book begins; but the later choruses, attractive enough in their deliberate naïveté in any other collocation, are out of keeping here. The words of Jesus, being those of the Gospel, have a force of association that defeats Mr. Masefield's ends, and their familiarity and authority react against the invented dialogue—much as though one heard a prose version of *Hamlet* in which only the Prince retained the

words of Shakespeare. The adaptations the author has made, presumably for greater dramatic effect, are curious. Pilate expressly condemns Jesus, for example ; in his scene with his wife Procula he is far more the curt, hard-minded servant of Cæsar even than he was in the similar passage in *Good Friday*. Annas and Caiaphas are represented as the embodiment of impartiality ; Herod might be an amiable sceptic out of Anatole France ; and even Judas is rehabilitated, a betrayer but a penitent. Admittedly Mr. Masefield had superhuman difficulties to surmount in modernising the central tragedy of Christendom for presentment on any small stage, and even his mistakes are interesting. It is only just to add that the play contains a couple of lyrics of surpassing beauty.

A Poetry Recital, by James Stephens (Macmillan).—Nearly everything that Mr. James Stephens writes, whether it be in prose or in verse, is worthy of consideration ; and there was a time when it looked as though he was destined to rank among the three or four most considerable poets of his generation. The crude violence and juvenile insolence of his earliest work would, one hoped, mellow into real power, and, coming from Dublin, it was a refreshing change from the rather anæmic plaintiveness and mysticism of the disciples of Mr. Yeats and A. E. But it cannot be said that this early promise has been altogether fulfilled. The impatience of *Insurrections* softened into the charm—a very genuine charm—of *Songs from the Clay* ; and in his few later volumes he has not struck any new note of significance. That he writes but little poetry is nothing against him : so many poets write far too much. But his tendency to repeat himself, instead of conquering fresh fields, is to be deplored. Some of the poems in his new book, which is a very slender one, have already appeared in earlier volumes, while others are but old songs re-sung. Nevertheless, there are half a dozen pieces, notably the delicately-drawn portraits, “Nancy Walsh” and “Peggy Mitchell,” which give the collection value ; and if Mr. Stephens is inclined to be carried away by the singing quality of words, to the detriment of his attention to their sense, there is usually grace in his metrical arrangements. He has so much fancy, so much wit, and so much skill, that all that is needed, to stultify our disappointment in him, is that he should use them to the full extent of his undoubted ability.

FICTION.

Christina Alberta's Father, by H. G. Wells (Jonathan Cape).—Mr. Wells the humorist, Mr. Wells the prophet, Mr. Wells the sociologist, Mr. Wells the historian, and Mr. Wells the teller of tales, have here collaborated in one of the most attractive works ever issued above their joint signature. Its hero is Mr. Albert Edward Preemby, a retired laundryman and a widower. Like Kipps and Mr. Polly, he is essentially something better than fate has allowed him to be ; he shares their thwarted faculty for self-expression, he has the same questing intelligence, and limited opportunities have made it produce the same alert but muddled mind. In due course he is married to Chris Hossett—and her laundry. Christina Alberta's arrival follows, and the way in which the reader is allowed to learn what

remains hidden from Mr. Preemby, the fact that she is not his daughter, is an artistic triumph. When his wife's death in 1920 releases Mr. Preemby from the uncongenial laundry, he ultimately removes himself and his queer concernment with Atlantis, the Pyramids, the Lost Tribes, and reincarnation to a boarding-house in Tunbridge Wells, and an undergraduate's prank at a spiritualistic séance reveals to Mr. Preemby that he is a reincarnation of none other than the mighty ruler Sargon, King of Kings, come back to be Lord of the World. He becomes more than a little deranged, and when the boarding-house grows uneasy, he returns to London, pays a flying visit to his former quarters (his daughter's choice) among the ineffectuals of Chelsea, and goes forth to declare himself, rally about him his rejoicing subjects, and set the world to rights. But first he wishes for a time of withdrawal and self-communing. He learns something of the sad realities of London before he finds a hermitage and the consoling heartiness and attentiveness of Bobby Roothing, a young "journalist of sorts." Then comes the tragi-comedy of his calling of the disciples, his enrolment of them in the streets, and his march with a motley following to the celebrated Rubicon Restaurant in Holborn, where they may sit at meat while he addresses them; and so Preemby-Sargon comes into the hands of the authorities, feels the ordered repulsiveness of a workhouse infirmary, and is sent to an asylum. Bobby rescues him, and the Dr. Devizes who tends him and teaches him that all greatness from the past is indeed in his veins and the veins of us all, and brings him back to sanity, is a great friend of Christina's and comes to know her for his daughter. Whether the parable of the illumination that came upon Mr. Preemby is accepted or ignored, his story is vivid, moving—at times harrowing—and in many respects noble. And Mr. Well's sense of character and gift of telling phrase have not been exerted in so masterly a manner for years.

Those Barren Leaves, by Aldous Huxley (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Huxley's is a dizzying book. The guileless reader in search of an intelligible story would soon retire bewildered, but that is rather the fault of Mr. Huxley's presentation than of his theme. Part I., "An Evening at Mrs. Aldwinkle's," suggests a symposium among the guests in that reluctantly ageing lion-hunter's Italian castle. We meet Miss Thriplow, the novelist, tirelessly posing even to herself; Cardan, the witty, sensual, elderly parasite; a new arrival, the seductive Calamy, a sportsman and man of the world, weary of most sensations; Mr. Falk, the reverend Labour leader, with his disciple, the shy, earnest, young Lord Hovenden; and Mrs. Aldwinkle's lovable niece Irene. Between Hovenden and Irene are developing the only natural and simple relations in the group. From this scene we are suddenly switched over to solitude and the first person in Part II., "Fragments from the Autobiography of Francis Chelifer." For a while we float upon his thought-stream, even as he lies floating on the warm Tyrrhenian sea, recalling the office in which he edits the *Rabbit Fanciers' Gazette*, his boarding-house, his old home at Oxford, his poems, his love affair, until a sailing boat runs him down and he returns to consciousness as the prey of Mrs. Aldwinkle. In Part III., "The Loves of

the Parallels," he is one of the party at the castle, pursued by his hostess, and dogged in her interests by her niece, much to the perturbation of Lord Hovenden. Calamy has been unable to suppress his habitual responses in the society of Miss Thriplow. Cardan sees what he wants, a guarantee against a proximate old age of penury and loneliness, and very nearly secures it by marriage with a wealthy but imbecile English girl, Grace Elver. In Part IV., "The Journey," the party are on the road to Rome by car. Irene and Hovenden have reason for their unsophisticated happiness, but Mrs. Aldwinkle's direct appeal to Chelifer is interrupted by the commotion caused by the sudden illness of Grace Elver, whose death upsets Cardan's agreeable scheme. Some high philosophising by Calamy, rather unreal in the circumstances given, opens Part V., "Conclusions"; he acts upon it so far as to go up alone into the mountains, leaving Miss Thriplow to enjoy a luxurious if momentary lapse into mysticism. Calamy will, at all events, try the life contemplative, he tells Cardan and Chelifer when they seek him out. If he finds it is not his path he will come back to practical life. Chelifer will go back to rabbits and reality. Mrs. Aldwinkle will console herself at Monte Carlo, nor will the sapient, the contemptible Cardan be missing from her train. Mr. Huxley's book is full of wit and of an erudition that loves to display itself in a comic mask and in the oddest collocations, and there are many descriptive passages of undeniable impressiveness and beauty.

Cat's Cradle, by Maurice Baring (Heinemann).—Mr. Baring's new essay in recapturing the past naturally suggests the work of Marcel Proust in more than its mere dimensions. None the less, it is not a static, introspective work; the external details of a period of nearly seventy years are rendered with affectionate care and fidelity; and a whole era of the history of fashionable and diplomatic society once more impresses the reader with its prestige, its security, and the loftiness of certain of its standards. It is the story of a woman, almost a *femme fatale*, Blanche Clifford, who, in her girlhood, is sent by her selfish father to Rome to recover from an attachment to a penniless subaltern of which he does not approve. She meets and fascinates an Italian prince, Guido Roccapalumba, and is persuaded to marry him. The result is unrelieved unhappiness. Her life is poisoned by the jealousy and suspicion of her husband, who is completely dominated by the odious Princess Julia, his mother, quite the most striking personage in the novel. Between the two Blanche becomes practically a prisoner, and at last she resolves to leave her husband. On the eve of her elopement, however, Guido is struck down by a form of paralysis and is bedridden for eleven years. Blanche's sense of duty makes her remain with him all this time. Whether his illness is genuine or simulated, he is able finally to surprise her with a man fifteen years her junior, Bernard Lacy, and though their relations are innocent he gets a separation. Blanche returns to England and thereafter lives with her uncle and her motherless cousin, Rose Mary, a callous lovely girl destined to be her antagonist. Blanche is freed by the sudden death of Guido, and she feels she is entitled to compensate herself for much unmerited suffering. Accordingly, when the fatuous Bernard consults her about his

contemplated advances to Rose Mary, she wilfully misinterprets his intentions, and herself becomes Lady Lacy. Rose Mary marries Bernard's best friend. The situation is fraught with certain mischief, and it comes about all the more surely because Blanche's own character cannot indefinitely support the strain of her experiences. Her story is the framework of an astonishing reconstruction of two generations of high society in England, Italy, and elsewhere. Mr. Baring takes his leisure on his way among the gracious scenes and figures of vanished days, and dwells upon every detail of his picture, "not as one who remembers, but rather as one who sees."

My Head! My Head! by Robert Graves (Martin Seeker) —The author tells us that he began to write this story because he wanted to face two Biblical problems which had long puzzled him: the exact relations between Elisha and the Shunamite woman, and the sequence of events that made necessary the death of Moses on Mount Nebo, and what form his death took. He dovetails his solutions by making the Shunamite ask Elisha, when he first visits her, to tell her the true history of Moses; she is not contented, as it were, with the official version. Speaking rather as the mouthpiece of the theories of Mr. Graves, Elisha gives a vigorous portrayal of Moses as the leader of the Jewish people and the seer to whom they owed their conception of a tribal deity. The story of the plagues is duly rationalised, and it is suggested that miracles are the effect of a mysterious power in men able to undergo the strain of using their stored-up psychic energy. When this section is concluded, the drama of the personal relationships of the prophet and the woman begins. She is the childless wife of an impotent husband, but Elisha prophesies that she shall bear a child, and himself makes the fulfilment of this prophecy a probability. It is therefore, his own son whom he restores to life seven years later. This free handling of the Old Testament narrative is not likely to commend itself to the orthodox, but Mr. Graves has obviously been moved by impulses far other than puerile irreverence, and his treatment of a difficult theme is at once dignified, restrained, dramatic, and humorous.

Day of Atonement, by Louis Golding (Chatto & Windus), opens with a flamboyant prologue in Sicily, where a wanderer among the Greek ruins by the sea encounters a goatherd who exchanges with him the greeting that passes between Jew and Jew on that penitential day. The goatherd is Reuben, the son of Eli and his wife Leah, and it is the tragic history of his father and mother related to his new acquaintance that forms this novel. It begins in the Jewish village of Kravno, by the Dnieper, where Eli, the young and earnest student of the Kabbala and the Talmud, and Leah Golda, the grocer's daughter, even more zealous for the ancient faith, live and love tranquilly amid the enmity that surrounds their race. Driven from Russia by a pogrom, the two come to Doomington in England, where Eli has to sacrifice his studies to the necessity of earning a meagre living, and turns carpenter. The crisis in their fates arises from the work of a Christian mission in the poor quarter they inhabit. Eli, whose study of the Scriptures has always been essentially a seeking after salvation, comes under its influence, and it is he of all men who embraces

Christianity, and even devotes his whole being to the conversion of his fellow Jews. Persecution and hatred are naturally the lot of such an apostate. In spite of her love for her husband, Leah can only see in him the insane ally of those who led the pogroms, and her rage and suffering are terrible. Reuben, growing up amid the misery that insensate bigotry has brought to pass, yet deeply attached to both his parents, comes to view both faiths with loathing. The climax is sensational in the extreme, dangerously on the verge of melodrama. On the Day of Atonement, Eli makes his way into the synagogue at Doomington, bearing a cross, bids a passionate defiance to all his persecutors there assembled, reviles their belief, and violates the Holy Ark itself. It is the hand of Leah that avenges this desecration with her husband's blood. An epilogue takes us back to their son, now the pagan Sicilian goatherd, self-exiled from his race, emancipated from the creeds, rejoicing in the beauty of the earth and sea. Mr. Golding has the courage to confront big issues and create situations that would test the finest literary gifts. When he has the leisure to be self-conscious he writes with irritating artificiality, but when he is at grips with the real difficulties of his art he displays a sincerity and dramatic force that justify the highest expectations.

St. Mawr, by D. H. Lawrence (Martin Secker), contains two stories, the one that gives the volume its title and the relatively brief "The Princess." The principal characters of the former are an Australian artist baronet, Sir Henry Carrington, known as Rico; his American wife, Lou; her mother, Mrs. Witt; two eerie grooms, Phoenix, a Navajo half-breed, and Lewis, a Welshman; and St. Mawr, a magnificent chestnut stallion. All these personages, including the horse, suffer from peculiar sex-complexes. The relations of Lou and Rico have gradually become platonic, "a source of uneasiness and chagrin to them both." Mrs. Witt is "organically angry," a description that also applies to the remainder of the company. She looks with loathing and contempt on most things—particularly the London social scene—and the only quality that seems to appeal to her is a primitive masculinity. This even attracts her to her grooms, who have, however, neuroses of their own. Mrs. Witt is quite reasonably disliked by her agreeable, if futile, son-in-law. Lou is at odds with life, but she encounters by chance something that moves her to tears almost at once and soon inspires her to worship: it is the heroic horse, St. Mawr, overwhelming to her in his bodily beauty and in the contrast his nobility presents to all the triviality about her. He has already killed two men when she buys him, but this does not deter her from forcing her husband to ride him, even after terrifying displays in Rotten Row. Eventually Rico is disabled for life by St. Mawr, and the two women with the grooms and the horse go to New Mexico, where Lou decides that what she has sought, what has sought her, is a spirit—"something big, bigger than men, bigger than people, bigger than religion. It's something to do with wild America." The second story, "The Princess," is a variation, in terms of Mr. Lawrence, on the familiar theme of the sophisticated woman, the primitive male, and the night in the lonely cabin. Dollie Urquhart received her title from her cranky Scottish father, who claimed Royal blood. She kept

herself icily perfect, splendidly null until she was thirty-eight, when an expedition into the mountains with the Mexican guide, Domingo Romero, produced a crisis. What happened was very much her own fault, but in the end the Princess was able to retrieve her position after her supposed adventure with a madman. "She married an elderly man, and seemed pleased." Mr. Lawrence's human beings are of a curious composition. His landscape passages can only be described as superb.

Martin Arrowsmith, by Sinclair Lewis (Jonathan Cape).—Like Mr. Sinclair Lewis's previous novels this is a satire on American standards, this time in science—an attack on the mania for quick material results, something with which to outdo rival institutions, on the hostility of commercialism to pure research, on the easy victories of any form of imposture and quackery that commands efficient publicity. Martin Arrowsmith is a young medical student with a passion for pure science; to him the greatest man in the world is Dr. Max Gottlieb, self-dedicated to patient, unconditionally accurate scientific investigation that aims at nothing but more knowledge and more. But Martin falls in love with a generous girl who devotes herself to his career, and he cannot afford to stay in the laboratory. He becomes a general practitioner in a small town in North Dakota where ignorance and hypocrisy and materialism make life unbearable. Equal disillusionment awaits him in his work as a public health officer in the pushful town of Nautilus, as a pathologist in a Chicago clinic, and even in the McGurk institute of scientific research in New York. Eventually he returns for a blessed period of laboratory work under Gottlieb, and there he makes his great discovery of a bacteriophage, a germ-devourer, which he is studying when news reaches him of an epidemic of plague on the West Indian island of St. Hubert. Accompanied by his wife, he goes out to Blackwater, the capital, to test his "phage" upon the victims—not wholesale, but on selected cases—verifying by comparison with uninoculated patients the scope of his discovery. In spite of the seeming ruthlessness involved, he adheres to his resolve until his *moral* is wrecked by the death of his wife; then he takes to drink, treats all and sundry with the serum, and thus betrays his scientific ideals, and, perhaps, humanity. For when the plague ceases no one can tell whether it had run its course or whether the "phage" alone had checked it. This is the finest section of the book, and Martin's struggle with a different range of temptations in the new world which he enters by virtue of his second marriage with the wealthy Joyce Lanyon is of necessity an anti-climax. It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to a work crowded with character and incident sharply realised and brilliantly presented. If some of them have a strong element of caricature, Mr. Lewis could probably find chapter and verse in the American Press to justify it abundantly. He has written what may justly be described as one of the great novels of the year.

The George and the Crown, by Sheila Kaye-Smith (Cassell).—The two inns face one another at Bullockdean, close to Newhaven. The "Crown" is a prosperous, highly respectable place belonging to the Munks. The "George" is a noisy inn, much lower in the scale; its proprietor, Tom

Sheather, formerly a sailor, is the husband of a woman from Sark, Kitty le Couteur, and the book follows the fortunes of their son Daniel. His friendship with Ernley Munk, the son of the owner of the "Crown," has led to his acting as go-between in Ernley's love affair with Belle Shackford, the daughter of a local farmer; in the process he has fallen in love with her himself, but he is too humble-minded a man to assert any rivalry. However, when Belle and Ernley quarrel for a time, Dan speaks out, only to suffer through them both and to have his heart broken by their reconciliation. Belle marries into the "Crown," and Dan leaves Sussex for Sark and the house of his relatives, the Le Couteurs. As a result of this break the story for a time loses momentum, despite the author's remarkable descriptions of the little island and its people and the moving story of Dan's marriage to the girl he rescues from a St. Helier dancing-hall. But Rose dies, and Dan returns to Sussex with her baby to find the "George" ruined and his father again at sea. Again he is involved in the fates of Ernley and Belle, the sensualist and the jealous wife taking every advantage of his patience and goodwill; meanwhile he lives in the Vicarage, earns his living as a bus-conductor, and cares for his child. In this last responsibility he has the help of a straightforward, simple woman to whom there is a hint of his ultimate return when he once more frees himself from Belle and her husband by taking to the sea. This is a tale of a plain man with no obvious heroic qualities, who is, nevertheless, one of Miss Kaye-Smith's most appealing characters. In its strength, closeness to reality, and restrained humour, the book is well worthy of its celebrated predecessors.

Love, by the author of *Elizabeth and Her German Garden* (Macmillan).—Catherine Cumfrit's is a sad story. It was bound to be sad, indeed, but the author has so deft a touch, and her characters so completely enlist the reader's affection that for the first part of the book one's forebodings seem to have no justification. This makes the tragedy of the second part all the more effective. "Elizabeth" can be peculiarly relentless to her characters where another writer, particularly a male novelist, would stake all on the sentimentality of the proverbially gentle reader. Catherine is an attractive widow with whom the youthful Christopher falls in love. She does what she can to defeat his ardent wooing, great as the temptation is to fall under the spell of the romance which her first marriage had denied her. She tells him of the difference in their ages, but he cannot realise that she is old enough to be his mother, and what the fact implies. Circumstances are on the side of Christopher, and in the end the two marry. After this Catherine's story is that of an ageing woman striving desperately to simulate physical youthfulness—which is the essence of Catherine's spirit—in order to retain her husband's love. There is nothing false in him, but there can be a heartbreak in trifles for such a woman as Catherine. She persuades him to take a holiday and submits herself to a rejuvenationist charlatan, undergoing a very martyrdom to her own undoing. She has to break off the treatment in order to nurse her daughter Virginia through childbirth. Virginia dies, and this tragedy decides Catherine to give up all pretences and be what she really is, whatever it costs. She has learnt

"that love has to learn to let go . . . makes no claims, sets free, is content to love without being loved," and so she brings Christopher to face the reality of the gulf between them. We are left with the situation as it confronts the young man and the worn woman. "Elizabeth" has rarely done better work than in the abundant comedy and the poignant tragedy presented in this volume.

The Rector of Wyck, by May Sinclair (Hutchinson)—Miss Sinclair chooses the quiet, humdrum atmosphere of a country vicarage for her latest novel. The interest centres round the lives of John Crawford, Rector of Wyck, and his wife, Matty, and their life-story unfolds a tragedy which is all the more moving for the restraint with which it is told. Marrying young, they share a deep faith in the beauty of human nature and in the goodness of God. As if to test them, there comes to them, through their two children, sorrow and grave disappointment. For Milly, the daughter, turns out an almost unbelievable prig, incapable of genuine affection, and blind to any claims but that of St. Ursula's, the almost unbelievably priggish settlement in Limehouse which she joins as a social worker. The son, Derek, is a character drawn with more sympathy, and, perhaps, even more insight. Wayward, warm-hearted, and original, his parents dream of a brilliant future for him. But their hopes are shattered when, as a mere boy, he gives unmistakable signs of having inherited the vice of drunkenness which taints his father's family; and he only rehabilitates himself by dying as a soldier on the battlefield in Flanders. But the book ends on a note of optimism. Death comes, first to Matty and then to John, but death no less than life is powerless to rob them of their all-conquering faith in God and in humanity.

Mrs. Dalloway, by Virginia Woolf (The Hogarth Press)—Mrs. Woolf's story is confined to the limit of a single June day in London, and in itself is exceedingly slight. Characters and events, most of the latter of necessity seen in retrospect, body themselves forth in soliloquy, and appear and vanish in that cinematographic manner of which this rapid evocation of memories always suggests the technique. The stream of impressions and recollections is at first flowing through the mind of Clarissa Dalloway, aged fifty-one, the wife of a husband of whom she can still be jealous in her own way, and the mother of an exquisite daughter, Elizabeth, desperately grudged her by the pitiful, grotesque, and vampirine governess, Miss Kilman. She is giving an important party that evening, and she sets out from her Westminster house to buy the flowers. The reader knows all about her by the time she reaches the shop—about her and about Peter Walsh, her husband's rival for her hand in the old country home at Bourton, but long since vanished from England. Peter's thoughts are flung on the same bright screen only a little later. He has returned from India, and is sitting on a bench in Regent's Park, remembering things past. Near him there sits a poor demented victim of the war, whose tragedy provides the element of contrast through the day until evening brings it to a close. Richard Dalloway is encountered at Lady Bruton's bright luncheon; Miss Kilman and Elizabeth are together at tea in the Army and Navy Stores. Peter and Clarissa meet after their long separation; their minds

go back to the old days, if anything with too great a range and avidity for the design of the book. What is it Mrs. Woolf has tried to seize and to convey? Life and lives running on concurrently, continuously, yet for ever apart, the riddle of difference in unity, the fluidity of being, and the rigidity of personality? Whatever the philosophic significance of the story, her treatment of externals is delightful enough to fascinate any reader who may be indifferent to the technical difficulties she has faced and so skilfully overcome.

The Mother's Recompense, by Edith Wharton (Appleton).—The word should rather be Retribution. Kate Clephane had gone into exile once already when she left her husband and her three-year-old daughter and ran away with Hilton Davies, of whom she was soon to weary. She was cut off from her world, and trailed her loneliness and remorse about the second-rate hotels of the Riviera. The society she met was not of the kind that encourages a belated rectitude; nevertheless, she had only one other lapse, and that was an idyll with Chris Fenno, six years before the opening of this story, and she had lived on the memory ever since. The telegrams she receives in the first chapter are not, however, the long-awaited summons from him; they convey the news of the death of her unrelenting mother-in-law, and a warm invitation to return sent by her daughter Anne. Thus, after nearly twenty years' absence, she goes back to a transformed New York, changed standards, and the rich and restless society surrounding Anne; and to her astonishment she finds that her episode with Chris, "the central fact of her experience," had passed utterly unnoticed, overshadowed by the outbreak of the War. Her relations with Anne, for all their tension, are deeply affectionate, and smoothness marks the first stage of her re-entry into family life. But Book I. ends with a sudden encounter with Chris Fenno, and Book II. presents a situation that has already attracted novelists and playwrights. Mrs. Clephane learns that Anne, her own daughter, is engaged to her old lover. It is through no treachery on his part; he did not know of their relationship. Kate extracts from him a promise to go away, and Book III. opens upon her travels with the broken-hearted Anne, who can only think that she was too rich for Chris to marry. The mother's attempt to dispel this idea almost estranges the two women, and the mystery in which she is compelled to shroud her objections to the marriage at last makes it necessary for Chris to return to clear himself. She is forced to allow the reconciliation and the marriage to take place, though it is clearly the prelude to another and final term of exile. She gives up everything, even inflicting "sterile pain" by a needless confession to an old and loyal friend. Mrs. Wharton's story is told with her wonted certainty and finish, and, though her characters are not very appealing, they excite more sympathy than a mere outline would suggest.

Orvieto Dust, by Wilfranc Hubbard (Constable).—As he showed in his first book, *Shadows on the Palatine*, Mr. Wilfranc Hubbard has the sense of the past. In a delightful modern frame-work he sets two stories, one of the sixth century, the other of the first, and both masterpieces of narrative and atmosphere. He introduces us first to a very pleasant group of

characters, Saturnino, the sceptical physician, an authority on Etruscan remains, Prudenizio, the monk, desultory historian of the Saints—bosom friends, these two, and inveterate disputants—and the waif Romoletto, their protégé, an altogether charming little scamp. It is an accident to Romoletto, fruit of his ineradicable naughtiness, which gives the doctor a sleepless night and leisure to read the two stories which Prudenizio has transcribed from a monastic palimpsest, the story of Humillimus the saint and the story of Lygdus the sinner. The first, with its vivid picture of Italy disturbed by barbarian invaders, is admirable if a little long. The second might be a recovered fragment of Petronius. Mr Cunningham-Graham, in a very characteristic introduction, says that “Pater could have written tales more or less in the style of Humillimus or Lygdus.” It would have been rather less than more, for Mr. Hubbard has a humour and a lightness of touch which were not among Pater’s great gifts. There is a real paganism, a Latin joyousness, about Mr. Hubbard’s tales which is far removed from the melancholy and discreet mysticism of Marius. A more pertinent comparison is with Anatole France, who might well have been proud to set his signature to this book.

The Twilight of the Gods, by Richard Garnett. Illustrated by Henry Keen (John Lane).—The twenty-eight stories in this book reach a level of excellence which it would be difficult to match. Each is, in itself, a gem, both as literature and as a story. Each has its own flavour and its own irony. All prove that to place Mr. Garnett as an author in the same class as Rabelais or Anatole France is no venturesome thing. Several of the stories are marked by rare beauty: the first in the volume, “The Twilight of the Gods,” is a case in point. Some are comedies, others tragedies, but all are fine literary compositions. Throughout Mr. Garnett is laughing at the vanity of humanity; and Mr. Keen does ample justice to the themes in his illustrations, of which there are twenty-eight, according to the number of the stories. This edition of Mr. Garnett’s tales is worthy of their quality; readers have reason to be grateful to the publishers for the binding, the paper, and the workmanship.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

ONE of the outstanding characteristics of the year was the interest taken in the question of evolution. In March the State of Tennessee made it unlawful to teach human evolution in any State-aided school, and this led, in July, to the trial and conviction at Dayton of a Tennessee High School teacher—Mr. Scopes. In consequence, much has since been published on the subject of evolution, and in July *Nature* issued an important special supplement, "Evolution and Intellectual Freedom." During the year a fossilised skull of a manlike-ape was discovered by Dart in Bechuanaland, and to this "Taungs Skull" has been given the name *Australopithecus Africanus*. This find was discussed in *Nature* by Dart, Keith, Duckworth, Smith-Woodward, Elliot-Smith, Broom, and Sollas. A Neanderthal skull was discovered by Turville Petre near Tabzha which marks an Asiatic extension for this type.

On the more general subject the method of evolution is still a matter of great controversy. Tate Regan (Presidential Address, Section D., British Association) maintained the view that evolution has been adaptive, change of structure following changes of habit, and these adaptive responses, repeated generation after generation, are, in consequence, made earlier and more effectively. Osborn (National Academy of Sciences, Washington) published a contribution entitled "The Origin of Species, as revealed by Vertebrate Palæontology," in which the importance in evolution of orthogenesis and adaptive radiation was emphasised.

The origin of new forms in relation to minute cellular structure was discussed in the *American Naturalist* by Gates, Blackburn, Rosenberg, Jeffrey, Ostenfeld, and Peacock. The problem is whether pure-bred individuals can give rise to new forms by mutation, or whether mutating individuals are always hybrids splitting up. The former view is usually accepted, following the researches of Morgan and his collaborators on *Drosophila* (Bibliographia Genetica); but evidence has been brought forward in support of the second interpretation by Jeffrey and Hicks (*American Naturalist*), and by Lotsy in his book, "Evolution in the Light of Hybridisation." Important contributions have been published by Kiesselbach and Petersen (*Genetics*) on their Maize studies, and by Turessen (*Hereditas*) who links the origin of new species with genetic selection of eco-types by the habitat.

In general genetics attention has been largely given to breeding for disease resistance, to problems of crossing over and linkage, and to sex

determination. Important general works have been published by Jones and Crew, and several monographs have appeared of *Bibliographia Genetica*.

In the *American Naturalist* there was a symposium on the question of sex determination, to which Schaffner, Bridges, Shull, and Moore contributed. The whole problem is still obscure, but the evidence seems to point away from a simple zygotic determination and to relate sex to complex physiological balances largely determined by internal secretions. Closely allied to these studies are those of Steinach and Voronoff on sex reversal, and the effects of castration and gonad implantation on the development of the secondary sexual characters and on the question of senile rejuvenation. An event of outstanding importance to be mentioned here is a third edition of Wilson's "The Cell in Development and Heredity."

In Botany much progress has been made. Ridley's "Flora of the Malay Peninsula" and Haime's "Botany of Bihar and Orissa" may be specially mentioned. The second volume of Rendle's "Classification of the Flowering Plants" has appeared, and Arber has published an important volume on "The Monocotyledons." Noteworthy is the new edition of Kuster's "Pathological Plant Anatomy" and the commencement of a new edition of Engler and Prantl's "Naturlichen Pflanzenfamilien." Of research memoirs, attention may be drawn to Schlechter's volume on the Orchids of Madagascar, Boulenger's critical study on "The Roses of Europe" (*Bulletin Jardin Botanique, Bruxelles*), and Petch's contribution to the fungus flora of Ceylon (*Annals, Royal Botanical Garden, Peradeniya*). Saunders has given a new interpretation of the morphology of the carpel (*Annals of Botany*) and Thomson and Sifton (Royal Society, London) have made an anatomical study of the resin canals in the Canadian *Gaspere*, paying special attention to wound reactions and to the phlogenetic bearing of the evidence. Knudson (*Botanical Gazette*) has shown that the presence of a symbiotic fungus is not necessary to the germination of orchid seeds, providing organic foodstuffs are available. In the *Annals of Botany* have appeared four valuable contributions on the physiology of apples. The main contributions to fossil botany are the memoirs of Thomas and Lang. The former has described (Royal Society, London) a new group of angiospermous plants, the *Caytoniales* from the Jurassic rocks of Yorkshire, and Lang (Royal Society, Edinburgh) continues his researches on the flora of the old red sandstone of Scotland. In his "Masters Lecture" to the Royal Horticultural Society, Seward discussed the living and the fossil Arctic floras. He considered that the contrast between them justifies the assumption of considerable climatic changes, but not such as changes in position of the earth's axis of a nature that astronomers are not ready to concede. An important contribution has been made by Fernald (American Academy of Arts and Sciences) to our knowledge of the distribution and persistence of Arctic plants in the unglaciated areas of boreal America.

In general physiology considerable attention has been given to muscular exercise. In a long series of papers (Royal Society, London), Hill and his collaborators have attempted to apply to the case of muscular exercise

in man the principles discovered during the last seventeen years by physical and chemical investigation of activity in isolated frogs' muscle. A summary of certain aspects of this question was given by Hill in his presidential address to Section I. of the British Association at Southampton.

Progress has been made in knowledge of the conduction of nervous excitation. From the plant aspect important studies have been published by Umrath (Academy of Sciences, Vienna), and by Snow and Bose (Royal Society, London). The method of conduction is still obscure, the question at issue being whether the transmission is purely physical by hormones, or from cell to cell, or, on the other hand, purely physiological, like the wave of protoplasmic excitation in animal nerve. From the animal aspect, Parker has published a series of important papers (*Journal General Physiology*) on the amounts of carbon di-oxide produced by quiescent and excited nerves.

Considerable advance has been made in our understanding of the physiology of gastric secretion. In a series of researches, Lim, Ivy, and McCarthy (*Quarterly Journal of Experimental Physiology*), have thrown much light on the separate phases (cephalic, gastric, and intestinal) of this process.

The same applies to the respiratory processes, a noteworthy contribution being that of Keilin (Royal Society, London) who has described a respiratory pigment, cytochrome, which appears to be common to animals, yeast, and higher plants.

The function of the spleen has been illuminated by the investigations of Barcroft and his collaborators (*Lancet*), who have shown that not only is this organ the fount and the destructor of blood cells, but that it acts as a store-house of the red cells, liberating them into the blood stream at time of emergency.

Barcroft has also interested himself in animal pigmentation, and in *Nature* (May) he published a useful summary of certain aspects of this problem. The question has also been discussed by Hogben in a monograph on the pigmentary effector system, and in a more general volume—"Camouflage in Nature"—by Pyeraft.

In regard to the general metabolism of the animal, considerable attention has been given to the part played by mineral elements in maintaining the physiological balance, and a summary of our knowledge and lack of knowledge on this question was given by Orr in his presidential address to Section M of the British Association.

The question of the part played by vitamins in the animal economy is still in the forefront, and a striking advance made during the year was that of Evans and Burr (National Academy of Sciences, Washington) and Parkes and Drummond (Royal Society, London), who showed that fecundity and sterility is largely conditioned by the presence of a vitamin.

Considerable progress has been made in our understanding of the problem of rickets, and Mellanby has published a memoir (Medical Research Council, Special Report 93) on "Experimental Rickets; the Effect of Cereals and their Interaction with Other Factors of Diet and Environment in Rickets." He showed that in dogs fed on a diet deficient in anti-rachitic

vitamin, the rickets produced is proportional to the amount of cereal eaten.

Largely arising out of the problem of Rickets, attention has been paid to the biological action of light, and a summary of knowledge to date was given by Hill in *Nature*.

Many researches during the year have added to our knowledge of the lower organisms. An interesting paper is that by Galtsoff (*Journal of Experimental Zoology*) in which an account is given of regeneration in sponges after complete dissociation of the individual cells. The daily migration of plankton has been made more comprehensible by Rose (*Archiv de Zoologie Experimentelle*), who studied the physical, chemical, and biological factors involved. A new point of view is gradually being accepted with regard to the life-history of the bacteria which are now seen to be much more complex than was previously thought. A number of researches appearing during 1925 have dealt with this question, but perhaps the most outstanding publications are those of Almquist, of Stockholm, and of Enderlein, of Berlin.

Lower still in the scale of size are the ultramicroscopic organisms or viruses, and it is in connexion with these that perhaps the most significant advances of the year have been made. In July the *Lancet* published the researches of Gye and Barnard on cancer, and it was shown that malignant growth results from the concurrence of two factors, a living virus and an accessory factor, neither singly being able to cause the disease. Photographs of the ultra-microscopic organism were obtained. The direct evidence of this dual causation of new growths has so far only been furnished for the Rous fowl sarcoma and for a transplantable sarcoma of the mouse; for other tumours the evidence is indirect. Should this new conception of the etiology and pathology of cancer be confirmed, it would introduce a new orientation in every aspect of the cancer problem. Important contributions to the study of cancer have also been published by Carrel (*Compte Rendu Société de Biologie*, Paris), by Kennaway (*British Medical Journal*), and by Lumsden (*Lancet*). The latter prepared an anti-serum which, injected into sarcomatous rats, not only caused the local tumours to disappear, but made the rats immune to reinfection.

At the Bath meeting of the British Medical Association, Gye, Barnard, Gordon, and McCartney contributed to a discussion on various filter passing viruses. The claims of Frosch and Dahmen to have cultivated on artificial media and photographed the virus of foot and mouth disease of cattle have been investigated both in England and Germany, but their results have not been verified.

Many investigations during the year have dealt with the virus diseases of plants, and various American students have published (*Journal of Agricultural Research*) on the virus diseases of sugar cane, tobacco, cucumber, and potato. Although progress has been made, this group of plant diseases is still very obscure.

In general laboratory technique important advances have been made by Chambers, whose micro-dissection apparatus makes it possible to experiment with the structural elements of single cells; by Barnard,

whose methods of photographing microscopic and ultra-microscopic organisms must inevitably lead to a new understanding of these forms, and by Strangeways and Fischer, on the cultivation of tissues *in vitro*.

One of the greatest difficulties in biological research is the vast amount of literature that accumulates from year to year. During 1925 plans were completed in America for the issue of *Biological Abstracts*, a new journal to cover the whole field of biology, and to make the current advances accessible to workers. The Rockefeller Foundation has pledged a large sum in support of the expenses of this venture, and the editorial work will be conducted by Schramm, and housed in the University of Pennsylvania. The first number is expected to appear in 1926, and will mark a definite stage in the history of biology.

Many useful conferences were held during 1925. In June the Second Imperial Entomological Conference met in London, and among other subjects discussed the aims and organisation of economic entomology, and the co-ordination of effort in Tsetse fly work. In July the Third International Congress of Entomology met in Zurich, and important contributions were made by Ris on the geographical distribution of insects in Switzerland, and by Poulton and Bemmelen on mimicry. Instructive papers on the history and progress of the study of Entomology were given by Escherich for Germany, Tragardh for Sweden, Mokozecki for Poland, Fletcher for India, and Urich for the West Indies. Other important conferences were the International Conference on Sleeping Sickness, in May, and the Inter-State Post-Graduate Assembly of the United States and Canada, held in London in June.

Many new biological laboratories were opened during the year. The Tohoku Imperial University, Japan, opened a new Biological Institute, and a Marine Biological Laboratory at Asamushi. In this country the new laboratories of the Experimental and Research Station at Cheshunt were opened in June, and the British Mosquito Control Institute, at Hayling Island, in August. Perhaps the most outstanding event was the opening, in June, of the new Institute of Plant Pathology at the Rothamsted Experimental Station, Harpenden. In the United States the new laboratories of the Marine Biological Station, at Woods Hole, were opened in August, and an Institute for biological research was established by the Rockefeller Foundation at the Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore. In Trinidad the Empire Cotton Experiment Station was founded.

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

. The year was not marked by any scientific discoveries or events which excited general interest, nor can it be said that there was any marked clarification of the many obscurities which obstruct the vision of those actually engaged on research in the physical sciences. Wireless telephony became more than ever a commonplace. The large increase in both the number and power of broadcasting stations on the Continent, all working on the narrow band of wave lengths allotted to the entertainment of the

public, began to cause inconvenience as a result of their mutual interference. In order to minimise this trouble as far as possible an international conference was convened and an attempt made to formulate a scheme for the allocation of wave lengths and for the regulation of the number of stations to be permitted in each country. The policy adopted by the conference included the replacement of the large number of small power stations by a smaller number working at higher power and an increase in the range of wave lengths allotted for broadcast purposes. It was proposed that these resolutions should take full effect in 1927, subject to the consent of the Governments concerned. Meanwhile a departmental committee appointed by the British Government sat to consider the procedure to be adopted when the contract of the British Broadcasting Company expired in 1926.

The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley again included a scientific exhibit arranged under the auspices of the Royal Society. The section devoted to Physics was, in the main, intended to illustrate the various aspects of electromagnetic radiations from the very long waves utilised in wireless transmission to the shortest waves associated with X-rays and the gamma-rays from radium. Many working demonstrations made the exhibit both attractive and instructive.

The British Association met at Southampton during the period August 26—September 2. The President, Professor Horace Lamb, chose as the subject of his address "The Figure and Constitution of the Earth." In it he explained that the estimate of the age of the earth given by radioactive data was none too large when considered from the thermal standpoint. The modern hypothesis regarding the constitution of the earth is due to Wiechert, and suggests that it consists of a dense central core extending three-quarters of the way from the centre to the surface, surrounded by an outer crust. Assuming the outer layer to have a thermal conductivity of the same order as that of the surface rocks it would take at least one hundred thousand million years for the temperature of the core to fall to half its initial value even if it were a perfect conductor of heat. This period is ten times greater than the maximum suggested by radioactivity so that in all probability the core is of a plastic nature. The propagation of earthquake waves and tidal data, however, show that the core possesses an almost perfect elasticity. We are thus led to two conclusions which are in apparent contradiction. The explanation may possibly lie in the high pressures which must exist in the earth's interior; pressures so high that we have as yet no experimental knowledge of the behaviour of matter exposed to them. The work of Section A (Physics and Mathematics) of the Association had rather a geophysical bias and, since geophysics is a science much neglected in this country, the number of members who could take an active part in it was rather restricted.

The Council of the Royal Society elected Sir Ernest Rutherford to be the President of the Society in succession to Sir Charles Sherrington. The decision of the Society to sell certain books of a non-scientific character presented to it in January, 1667, by Henry Howard, created a good deal of discussion (*e.g.*, *Times*, April 30). The sale, which realised 14,749*l.*,

was made necessary by the shortage of the funds available for the issue of the publications of the Society.

The Nobel prize in Physics for 1924 was awarded to Professor K. M. G. Siegbahn, of Upsala, whose work on X-ray spectroscopy had made it possible to determine the wave lengths of X-rays to six significant figures. The prizes for Physics and Chemistry for 1925 were reserved, and so also was the prize for Chemistry for 1924. As, under the conditions laid down by Nobel, no prize may be awarded after it has been twice reserved, this Chemistry prize lapsed, and the money was assigned to the reserve fund of the chemical section of the Nobel Institute.

On June 16, 1825, Faraday laid before the Royal Society the paper which announced the discovery of the liquid we now know as benzene, and so laid the foundation of a vast chemical industry. On June 16 the centenary of the event was celebrated by a special meeting in the Lecture Theatre of the Royal Institution, where Faraday carried out all his scientific work. Many famous chemists from all over the world attended, and the first award of a medal, struck to commemorate the event, was made to Mr. James Morton, of Grangemouth, for his work in connection with anthracene vat-dye-stuffs.

The foundation-stone of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich was laid on August 10, 1675, and the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the event was celebrated on July 22, when the King and Queen visited the Observatory, thus making the second Royal visit since its erection. The date of this visit was advanced in order to enable the delegates to the meeting of the International Astronomical Union to be present. The Union meeting was held at Cambridge from July 14 to July 22, Professor W. W. Campbell, of the University of California, being President. In the course of the discussions it was announced that measurements of the Einstein shift in the spectrum of the companion to Sirius had been made by Professor Adams, and were found to be consistent with the theoretical deduction that the star obeys the gas laws although 2,000 times as dense as platinum.

Many of the delegates expressed a desire that workers in Germany and Austria, who have been excluded from the Union since the war, should now be re-admitted, but no decision was reached. Members of these countries are also excluded from the International Research Council which met at Brussels (July 7-9) and, although there was a general feeling that they should be admitted, the number of delegates present at Brussels was insufficient to make the necessary alteration in the Constitution of the Council.

Among other important International Conferences held during the year were the sixth International Conference of Pure and Applied Chemistry, at Bucharest (June 22-25), with Sir William Pope as President; the sixth International Congress of Photography, in Paris (June 29-July 6), Professor Fabry being President; and the International Geographical Congress at Alexandria and Cairo (March 28-April 9). On April 3 the members of this congress joined in the celebration of the jubilee of the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt.

The most interesting discovery of the year was, without question, that of the presence of highly penetrating radiations in the upper layers of the atmosphere by Professor R. A. Millikan, of Pasadena, California. Indications of the existence of such radiations had been obtained previously by several physicists, but definite proofs were lacking. Millikan's conclusions were based on observations of the rate of discharge of an electroscope at various depths below the surfaces of two snow-fed lakes in the United States, Muir Lake (11,800 feet), and Arrowhead Lake (4,800 feet). Lakes supplied by water which had soaked through the earth could not be used on account of the possible contamination of the water by radioactive substances dissolved from the earth. The experiments indicated the existence of radiations capable of penetrating 68 feet of water, which is equivalent to 6 feet of lead. These radiations are thus about 100 times more penetrating than the most penetrating rays used in hospital work. Their wave length is some fifty times smaller than that of the gamma-rays from radium, the shortest waves hitherto known, and about one ten-millionth of that of ordinary light. They appear to enter the atmosphere from all directions and with equal intensity during both day and night.

According to modern theory the wave length of a radiation is inversely proportional to the energy change producing it, and even in the case of the gamma-rays, the energy changes are so large that they can be produced only by disturbances in the nuclei of the atoms. It must thus require a transformation of a very notable character to produce the newly discovered waves. Millikan suggested that there are two changes which might give rays of about the right frequency: (a) the formation of helium from hydrogen, a process which results in a loss of mass and, in consequence, a liberation of energy; (b) the capture of an electron by a positive nucleus. Dr. Jeans considered that the origin of the rays might be found in the direct transformation of stellar matter into radiant energy by the simultaneous disappearance of an electron and a proton.

Jeans elaborated a theory of stellar evolution based on the hypothesis that stellar radiation is due to the annihilation of matter. It must first be stated in this connexion that the appearance of the spectrum of the light emitted by a star is no longer regarded as an indication of its age or constituents; but merely of its temperature, different temperatures favouring the absorption and re-emission of radiation by different elements. Jeans considered the energy radiated per unit mass to be the important factor. When this quantity is large the star is young and still contains much of the unknown matter which transforms readily into radiation; when it is small the star is probably old, most of the easily transformable material having disappeared. On this basis Jeans worked out a theory of evolution which provided for many of the known facts of cosmography. Laboratory proofs of the assumptions upon which it was based were of course entirely lacking, and, indeed, may always remain beyond our reach. It must be added that the existence of the Compton effect referred to in the ANNUAL REGISTER of last year (Part II., p. 58), received general acceptance and that, on the annihilation of matter hypothesis, the visible radiations (*e.g.*, from a nebula) might result from the repeated

scattering of the short waves produced when the transformation from matter to energy takes place; such scattering causing a gradual increase in the wave length of the radiations.

In experimental astronomy the chief work of general interest related to the measurements of stellar and planetary temperatures which were made by Sampson at Edinburgh (stars only) and by W. W. Coblentz, in collaboration with Mr. C. O. Lampland at the Lowell Observatory. The Lowell observations were made in 1924, but were not worked out for publication until 1925. They gave the following values for the mean temperatures of the discs of the planets: Venus, 60°C. ; Mars, -30°C. ; Jupiter, -135°C. ; Saturn, -150°C. ; and Uranus lower than -185°C. ; that of the moon being 125°C. A prolonged study of the temperature of Mars during the opposition of 1924 indicated that the temperature on its night side may fall below -70°C. ; but that during the summer season the noonday temperatures probably range from 40°F. to 60°F. The observations suggested that 30 per cent. of the radiation from Mars is of planetary origin, while no less than 80 per cent. of the radiation from the moon has a similar source.

The results of two different series of experiments on the relative motion of the æther and the earth were published during the year. Professors Michelson and Gale gave the results of an experiment to test the effect of the earth's *rotation* on the velocity of light. The work was carried out on a very large scale, the light rays traversing a region where the air pressure had been reduced to about 1 inch of mercury. The result was in good agreement with that deduced theoretically on the assumption that the æther is not dragged round by the earth as it rotates about its axis. The result was, of course, in equally good agreement with the hypothesis that there is no æther at all. The second set of experiments was carried out by Professor D. C. Miller at Cleveland and at the Mount Wilson Observatory, and indicated that there is a definite and measurable motion of the æther relative to that of the earth *on its journey through space*. This motion increases with height and amounts to 10 kilometres per second at the altitude of the Observatory. The result is entirely antagonistic to the theory of relativity and also, it was claimed, to the well-established facts of aberration. In these circumstances it was generally considered that Professor Miller's observation required confirmation before they could be accepted.

The development of the quantum theory made the use of mechanical pictures more and more difficult, and the theory was formulated by Heisenberg in a manner independent of ordinary mechanical concepts, *e.g.*, without using a space-time description of the motion of atomic particles. (These developments are not yet sufficiently advanced to permit of simple exposition, and reference should be made to an address by Professor Bohr printed in *Nature* of December 5.) Kramers, an associate of Professor Bohr, succeeded in working out an explanation of dispersion in terms of the quantum theory of the atom; but the difficulties confronting the quantum theory of radiation still remained.

Problems provided by the phenomena of magnetism excited some

interest. Three years ago Gerlach and Stern succeeded in measuring the magnetic moment of the silver atom by a direct method involving the measurement of the deflection of a stream of atoms in a non-uniform magnetic field. This moment came out equal to a certain unit previously indicated by Bohr and now known as the Bohr magneton; but the fact that on entering the magnetic field only half the atoms directed themselves towards it, the other half pointing away from it presented a difficulty which may be explicable only by the increasingly probable assumption that energy is only conserved on the average. Very unexpected results were obtained by Glaser, who devised a method for measuring the susceptibility of gases at low pressures and found that, in the case of certain diamagnetic gases, the diamagnetism is independent of the pressure of the gas until it becomes fairly low, when the diamagnetism suddenly increases to about three times its previous value. This result, if confirmed, will open a new field for physical work and may produce quite new developments in physical theory.

The difference between the intensity of the reception of wireless signals during the hours of daylight and darkness has only been explained in a vague manner. To assist in the solution of the problem Appleton and Barnett conducted certain experiments between Bournemouth and Oxford in December, 1924, and February, 1925. They concluded that daylight reception, which does not vary very much in intensity, is due to waves proceeding directly from the transmitter to the receiving apparatus, while night reception is due both to these direct rays and to others which have suffered "ionic deflection" at the Heaviside layer. The two wave trains interfere with one another in the usual way (*cf.* Lloyd's mirror experiment), sometimes to reinforce each other and sometimes to oppose. The experiments suggested (a) that at night the height of the deflecting layer is about 85 kilometres; (b) that, in the daytime the layer is lower, the waves incident on it being absorbed; (c) that at distances greater than 100 miles reception of waves in the broadcast band is dependent almost entirely on the deflected rays.

The experiments on the transformation of mercury into gold referred to last year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, Part II., p. 58), were continued successfully both by Professor Miethe and by Professor Nagaoka in Tokio. However, other workers, in both Germany and America, using Miethe's method, failed to effect the transformation. These workers used mercury most carefully freed from gold beforehand (an operation which was shown to require far more care than was generally believed), and it was concluded that the mercury used in the successful experiments already contained gold. Further doubt was cast on the positive result obtained by Miethe in consequence of Hönigschmidts' determination of the atomic weight of the gold. It came out to be 197.26, a value identical with that of ordinary gold, whereas the formation of a definite isotope of gold was to be expected.

Dr. Aston, using an improved mass spectrograph, determined the mass numbers of the more important isotopes of mercury. They are 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, and 204. Thus, if gold were formed from mercury, a process

requiring the addition of one electron to the mercury nucleus, its atomic weight should be at least as high as 198.

The transformation of mercury into gold was not the only transformation considered during the year. Professor A. Smits and Dr. A. Karssen, working in the chemical laboratory of the University of Amsterdam, believed that they had effected the transmutation of lead into mercury and thallium. They used two distinct methods: (a) the passage of an electric current through a quartz lead lamp; (b) sparking between lead electrodes immersed in a liquid dielectric. In the first method the absence of mercury and thallium from the original lead was demonstrated by spectroscopic examination and the gradual growth of the new spectra was observed as the experiment proceeded. In the second case mercury only was detected, and that by the use of the very sensitive iodide test devised by Jannash.

The controversy between McLennan and Vegard regarding the origin of the green line in the spectrum of the aurora continued without reaching any definite conclusion. McLennan and Shrum claimed that the green line in dispute could be obtained from a mixture of oxygen and helium under suitable conditions of temperature and pressure, and considered that the line had its origin in oxygen. Vegard maintained his view that the line is due to solid particles of nitrogen of almost molecular dimensions.

Important conclusions regarding the origin of the light sensitivity of photographic plates were reached by Dr. Sheppard of the research department of the Kodak Co. in the United States. It had already been established that the sensitiveness is due to minute nuclei of a foreign substance present in the grains of the silver halide, and Sheppard showed that these consist of silver sulphide formed from allyl isothiocyanate (allyl mustard oil) present in minute quantities in the materials used for the manufacture of the emulsion.

A discussion on Photochemistry held by the Faraday Society at Oxford, on October 1 and 2, served to indicate both the importance of the subject and the limitations in our knowledge of the very considerable complexities which envelop it.

The Fuel Research Board published an account of experiments conducted by Mrs. Fishenden and Mr. Willgrass to determine the most comfortable conditions of temperature in rooms. Their results showed this to be 65° F., provided both air and walls are maintained at the same temperature, lower wall temperatures requiring a higher air temperature and *vice versa*. Radiation heating was found to be more satisfactory than air heating for sedentary work and, with an air temperature below 45° F., it was observed that an open fire always produced a sensation of excessive heat on one side of the body and of chilliness on the other.

A long statistical investigation, by the Bureau of Standards, U.S.A., of the connexion between the heating value of gas and its usefulness to the consumer showed that this usefulness is directly proportional to the heating value. The investigation thus provided an independent justification of the therm system of measurement and payment which has been adopted in this country.

The Annual Report of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research showed that the Fuel Research Station had involved a total expenditure of 400,000*L.*, and that its main object, the economic production of a smokeless fuel, had not yet been achieved. The Glass Research Association and the British Portland Cement Association were disbanded. Glass research was being conducted at the National Physical Laboratory by the Scientific Instruments Research Association and also in the Department of Glass Technology at the University of Sheffield, while an extensive scheme of cement research was included in the programme of the Building Research Board. The work of the National Physical Laboratory was being extended by the erection of a chemical laboratory with special equipment for the investigation of chemical reactions at high pressures, and it has been decided to remove the Geological Museum from Jermyn Street to new buildings adjoining the Natural History Museum at South Kensington.

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

THE outstanding event of 1925 was the death of John Singer Sargent, R.A., who for many years had been the most prominent of the artists working in England. [See Obituaries, under April 14.] He left a large collection of paintings and sketches, which was dispersed at Christie's in July, at the very end of the season. But late as it was, the Sargent sale was in some respects the most sensational ever held at the auction room in King Street, for although it was expected that high prices would prevail, no one anticipated that the works the artist left in his studio would realise over 175,000*l.*, especially as they included no large pictures.

Altogether 237 lots came under the hammer, of which seventy-eight were water colours or drawings in black and white. Some of the water colours fetched amazing prices. "A Side Canal, Venice," was run up to 4,600 guineas; "The Salute, Venice, with a Barge on the Canal in the Foreground," to 3,200 guineas; and "The Doge's Palace, Venice, with Boats on the Riva degli Schiavona," 2,300 guineas. Six other water colours were sold for sums ranging from one to two thousand guineas, and many for from 500 to 1,000 guineas. Of the paintings in oil, the "San Vigilio; A Boat with Golden Sail," size 22 by 28 inches, was knocked down to Messrs. Agnew for 7,000 guineas. This was the highest price of the day, but was less remarkable than the 6,000 guineas paid for a copy about 20 inches square of a head of Prince Balthazar Carlos, by Velasquez. The original study of Sargent's well-known portrait of Madame Gauthereau, which was expected to realise more than anything else in the sale, was withdrawn by arrangement and acquired by Sir Joseph Duveen, who presented it to the National Gallery of British Art. This collection was enriched by another Sargent, presented by the painter's sisters, *viz.*, "Claude Monet Painting by the Edge of a Wood."

Another noteworthy incident of the year was the long and heated controversy about the merits of a memorial to W. H. Hudson, the naturalist and author, erected in Hyde Park. The memorial was the result of a public subscription, and the organising committee placed the commission for its execution in the hands of Mr. Jacob Epstein. His design was accepted by the committee, but the unveiling of the memorial in May was followed by violent newspaper and other criticism of the artist's work, which, on the other hand, found many supporters equally vehement and outspoken. No work of art executed in England in modern times has caused such widespread discussion—in Parliament, in the Press,

and among the public at large. The memorial itself was attacked one night and disfigured with green paint, and in November an appeal was published asking that it should be removed from its position in the Park with as little delay as possible. The appeal, signed by many people of standing in the worlds of art and literature, was immediately answered by a counter petition, more numerous signed and accompanied by a protest against any interference with Mr. Epstein's work. Nothing was done in the matter, but the controversies in the newspapers were revived from time to time until the end of the year.

The exhibition of the work of Richard Wilson, R.A., held in the summer at the National Gallery of British Art, was more interesting to students of eighteenth century painting than to the general public. For Wilson, though a great artist, is not a popular one, and, moreover, we know comparatively little of his life, and of many of the pictures ascribed to him, the history is obscure. He had many copyists and imitators, and the collection at the National Gallery of British Art contained, with fine examples from his hand, works that were doubtful. The element of uncertainty made the exhibition all the more attractive to the student and critic, while to the historian of art the presence of the "View of Dover" was particularly valuable. This picture, bought not long ago at Christie's, is apparently the work from which Muller made an engraving in 1747, and shows how accomplished in landscape Wilson already was at a period when he was supposed to be a portrait painter. Several portraits by Wilson were included in the exhibition, among them a capital representation of his friend and patron, Admiral Thomas Smith.

The National Gallery acquired by purchase what is probably one of the best portraits ever painted by Joseph Highmore, an eighteenth century artist whose work gains steadily in appreciation. It was hung temporarily in the vestibule with other recent acquisitions, among others several of the works from the collection of the late Sir Claude Phillips, bequeathed to the nation by that eminent critic. Frank Holl, R.A., one of the best of our nineteenth century portrait painters, was for the first time represented in the National Gallery by a fine work, the well-known three-quarter length of Samuel Cousins, the famous engraver. A panel by Lorenzo Monaco, and a portrait of a lady by the French artist Perronneau, were also added to the collection in this year.

Wembley, for the second time, offered many attractions to the picture lover. The modern paintings shown in the Palace of Art were with few exceptions ordinary, but the retrospective section was almost, if not quite, as strong as in 1924. The Foundling Hospital lent the most valuable of its pictures, Hogarth's "March to Finchley;" and in the gallery of "Empire Builders" were portraits by Reynolds, Gainsborough, Hoppner, Millais, Romney, Lawrence, Cotes, Copley, Beechey, Sargent, Orchardson, and others. There were several important works by that interesting painter Zoffany, one of which showed Garrick and his wife taking tea on the lawn at Hampton. Another, and better known, Zoffany was that curious and highly coloured work, "A Music Party on the Thames." The Duke of Portland lent a remarkable Stubbs, a picture of the stable and

riding school of Welbeck Abbey, with the third Duke of Portland shown riding a white horse that only Stubbs could have painted. Other pictures in the retrospective section were Holman Hunt's "Hireling Shepherd," Wilkie's "Penny Wedding," Ford Madox Brown's "Work," and "The Last of England," and paintings by Richard Wilson, Constable, George Morland, Samuel Scott, Highmore, Rossetti, and Bonington.

The Royal Academy reduced still further the number of works in its summer exhibition, which were fewer by 161 than those shown in the previous year. The sales were not very good, and no pictures were sold for high prices, but nothing else was to be expected in the conditions that prevailed. The sold works included "A Street Accident" (600*l.*), by Mr. Glyn Philpot, R.A.; "Daughters of Eve" (500*l.*) and "The Last Parting" (200*l.*), by Sir Frank Dicksee, P.R.A.; "Horses at Grass" (300*l.*), by Mr. A. J. Munnings, A.R.A.; "A Ring o' Roses by the Sea" (350*l.*), by Mr. Gemmell Hutchinson, "Blue Girl" (315*l.*), by Mr. Stanley Thompson; "The Cloud" (350*l.*), by Mr. Arnesby Brown, R.A.; "La Tournette, Lac d'Annecy" (225*l.*), by Mr. Terriek Williams, A.R.A.; "The Rocks of La Mortola" (210*l.*), by Mr. Harry van der Weyden; "Towards Italy" (250*l.*), by Mr. Adrian Stokes, R.A.; "Silver Moonlight" (110*l.*), by Mr. Julius Olsson, R.A.; "Blythburgh from Henham" (157*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. Bertram Priestman; "Hester" (350*l.*), by Mr. Wilfred G. de Glehn, A.R.A.; "On the Bridge" (131*l.* 5*s.*), by Mr. Stanhope Forbes, R.A.; "Sunset on Dutton Hill" (263*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. George Clausen, R.A.; "A Provençal Flock" (300*l.*) and "The Thorn" (300*l.*), by Mr. H. H. La Thangue, R.A.; "The Nelson Touch" (450*l.*), by Mr. W. L. Wyllie, R.A.; "The By-road" (120*l.*), by Mr. Algernon Talmage, A.R.A.; "Marygold" (130*l.*), by Mr. Robert J. Swan; "The Passing of H. M. S. Lion" (150*l.*), by Mr. Norman Wilkinson; and "The Weighing Room, Hurst Park" (400*l.*), by Sir John Lavery, R.A.

Many works at smaller prices also found purchasers, especially in the water-colour room; and several were marked in the catalogue as sold to which no prices were attached. These included all the six landscapes and flower pictures contributed by Mr. Farquharson, R.A.; Sir William Orpen's "*Man versus Beast*;" and pictures by Mr. Harold Speed, Mr. Fred Roe, Mr. Charles Spencelayh, and Mr. Norman Wilkinson. The three pictures exhibited by Mr. Walter Sickert were all marked "Not for sale."

Three works by sculptors and two by painters were bought by the Council for the Chantrey Collection at the Tate Gallery. Of the sculptors' work, the most important piece, a graceful study by Mr. Alfred Gilbert for his well-known "Eros" at Piccadilly Circus, was bought privately for 500*l.*, and was added to the exhibition at the Academy after the purchase. The others were the "Christ at the Whipping Post" (300*l.*), a statuette in ivory and marble, by Mr. A. G. Walker, and the model of a bird, "Drake-statulette, Limestone" (50*l.*), by Mr. Richard Garbe. The two pictures acquired were both purchased at the Spring Exhibition of the New English Art Club, an exhibition that had not before attracted much of the attention of the successive Royal Academy Councils by whose members the Chantrey

purchases have been made. One of the pictures, "The Blue Dress" (350*l.*), was by Mr. W. W. Russell, A.R.A.; and the other, a portrait, "My Mother" (262*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. Ronald Gray.

The exhibition of the new English Art Club, where the two pictures mentioned above were shown, was the first held in the club's newly acquired gallery, at Spring Gardens, Charing Cross; a gallery that is believed to occupy in part the site of the large room hired by the old Society of Artists in 1761. It is interesting to recall that in that room were arranged the pictures and sculptures that formed the first exhibition held in England of works by modern artists. Of the other exhibitions held in 1925, two were at Burlington House, where the Royal Academy lent its galleries at the beginning of the year to the Royal Society of Portrait Painters, and at the end to the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers. A remarkable exhibition of old masters was held by Messrs. Agnew in their Old Bond Street gallery in aid of the Royal Northern Hospital. This was in the early summer, and in the autumn the second exhibition of the Magnasco Society was held at the same place, and was no less interesting than its predecessor. At Chelsea the new and admirably lighted Chenil Galleries were opened with a large collection of pictures and drawings representing certain phases of modern art by English, American, and French painters. There were exhibitions at the Leicester Galleries of landscape and figure painting by Paul Cezanne; of "Portraits of the 'Nineties," by Professor William Rothenstein; and of interiors in famous houses, by Sir John Lavery. The Fine Art Society in New Bond Street showed at different times water colours by Mr. W. Russell Flint, A.R.A.; landscapes by Mr. Tom Mostyn; and etchings by Mr. James McBey; and there were exhibitions at the Knoedler Gallery of pictures of China and Japan by Mr. Stewart Carstairs, and of sculpture by Mr. Herbert Haseltine.

Apart from the Sargent sale, the season at the auction rooms was more interesting than in 1924, in spite of the fact that the pictures and other works of art in Lord Leverhulme's collection at The Hill, Hampstead, were sent to New York to be disposed of there. Lady Carnarvon sold at Christie's some of the pictures, fine furniture, and objects of art bequeathed to her by the late Alfred de Rothschild; many of Lord Darnley's pictures were sold, and those belonging to the late Sir George Donaldson; and the fine collection of majolica formed by the late Sir Francis Cook. A Gainsborough, a full-length portrait of Anne, Countess of Chesterfield, was sold for 17,850*l.*, and a chalk drawing of a lady by the same artist for 1,312*l.* 10*s.* For a portrait by Sir Joshua of Lady Carnarvon and her child, 9,975*l.* was paid; and 10,710*l.* for a portrait of a child by Hoppner, in Lord Darnley's collection.

II. DRAMA.

The future historian of the theatre will surely set a black mark against the year 1925, in so far as the London stage was concerned. Under present-day conditions of unstable managements and mushroom syndicates, every year witnesses, as it seems, a greater disproportion between the plays that prove worthy of production and those for which failure appears almost in-

evitable. During 1925 the disparity assumed melancholy proportions, and in the long category of disappointments it was regrettable to find the names of practically the only representatives of what may be called the older generation of playwrights—one excepted—who ventured into the field. For those who justly admire the dramatic, as well as the literary, gifts of Galsworthy, his play, "The Show," was more than a slight disappointment, particularly in view of the fact that the author started off with a first act that held promise of genuinely interesting developments. As the action proceeded, however, the play steadily lost its dramatic grip. Even more unsatisfactory was Arnold Bennett's solitary contribution, in the shape of a play called "The Bright Island," which, whether regarded as sheer fantasy or satire, failed altogether of its intended effect. In the realm of quasi-fantasy (mixed with realism) another experienced and sometimes well-inspired dramatist, Monckton Hoffe, also courted success in vain; neither his "Crooked Friday," a play agreeable and entertaining in some of its features, nor "Christilinda" (a blend of the satiric and the ultra-sentimental) realised expectations. Again, although it secured a fair run at the Globe, with Margaret Bannerman in the leading part, Edward Knoblock's "Lullaby," in which he sought to repeat success on lines somewhat similar to those that served his purpose well in "My Lady's Dress," was found to be really far more suitable to a film scenario than to the requirements of the stage.

The one notable exception was Frederick Lonsdale, whose "Spring Cleaning," whatever might have been urged against it in respect of its moral tone, was at least a brilliant exercise in flippant cynicism. Although considerably less original and consistent in style, being, in fact, a rather curious blend of comedy and "crook" play, the same author's "The Last of Mrs. Cheyney" was at least characteristic in its neat turns of humour, and, helped by a star cast, in which Gerald du Maurier and Gladys Cooper were the protagonists, the piece drew crowded audiences to the St. James's. Perhaps it should be mentioned here that another distinguished playwright of the older generation (and incidentally a notable exemplar of modern cynicism), Somerset Maugham, was represented only by adaptations—neither of them his own—from two of his works of fiction. The first, "Rain," was, in some respects, a skilful and effective version of his absorbingly interesting short story of that title, and the other a far less satisfactory dramatisation of "The Moon and Sixpence," in which Henry Ainley came as near as was humanly possible to realising the portrait of the Gauguin-like "hero," as drawn with ruthless brutality by the creator. In the former piece, Olga Lindo's vivid acting as the victim of the fanatical missionary's relentless zeal deserves honourable mention.

If, however, the contributions of the elder dramatists were disappointing, both in quality and output, the year brought some compensation in the promise—and in one or two instances the definite achievement—that marked the work of some of the younger men. Prominent among them one must place Noel Coward, who, though he attempted nothing at all serious, as in the case of his powerful, but unpleasant, play, "The Vortex," at least betrayed a neat and nimble touch in the manipulation of the

ingredients of light comedy. True, his "Fallen Angels," the main fun of which centred in a rather long-drawn quarrel between a couple of society women under the influence of wine, could hardly be acclaimed a particularly brilliant effort. On the other hand, "Hay Fever," though light as thistledown, was not only extremely diverting almost throughout, but exhibited a remarkable adroitness on the author's part in the art of making bricks with an infinitesimal quantity of straw. Moreover, his comedy furnished admirable opportunities for the superb gifts of Marie Tempest in a part that became her like a perfectly fitting glove.

More noteworthy, however, than anything that stood to the credit of a young author who had already "proved" himself was the work of an almost unknown newcomer, Ashley Dukes, who, in "The Man with a Load of Mischief," first introduced by the Stage Society, and then presented at the Haymarket for a run, brought off the very uncommon feat of reproducing with complete fidelity and success, in a Georgian setting, all the characteristics of artificial comedy of what, for want of a better term, may be described as the costume period. In charm and distinction of literary style, Mr. Dukes's work was easily the best of the year's comedies. Among the latter, a quite typical, yet not wholly successful, example was A. A. Milne's "Ariadne" (an amusing trifle, but almost too tenuous even for the modest requirements of light comedy), also seen at the Haymarket, with a cast that included Fay Compton and Allan Aynesworth. To return to the young generation, one must give a place in the ranks of those whose future should be watched with interest to Mordaunt Shairp, whose play, "The Offence," while indisputably depressing, had the rare merit of being unconventional in theme; J. R. Ackerley, who also revealed undoubted skill and promise in a play ("Prisoners of War") too painful in subject and treatment to appeal to the general public; Neil F. Grant, whose "Possessions," while rather old-fashioned in the character of its plot, betrayed a very decided sense of the theatre; and Miles Malleston, who, in "The Conflict"—tentatively produced at the "Q" Theatre, a recent addition to the growing list of outlying houses partly dedicated to the interests of untried authors—gave us a play of considerably more than average merit. To this list must be added Sean O'Casey, a young Irish playwright, whose command of a blend of racy humour and realism, as expressed alike in the comedy and the almost poignant pathos of "Juno and the Paycock," justified the critical comparisons his play suggested with the highly individual art of J. M. Synge.

Plays of the lighter type abounded. In passing, mention has already been made of some of these; to the list there should be added H. F. Maltby's pleasant—and for him strangely unsophisticated—little comedy, "The Right Age to Marry;" "Beginner's Luck," a fairly ingenious, though unequal, play of an airy order by Fred. Jackson (an American author); Frank Stayton's "Mixed Doubles;" "A Cuckoo in the Nest," an amusing farce by Ben Travers, and "Lavender Ladies," an agreeable exercise in the sentimental by Daisy Fisher, which enjoyed a good deal of success. If only it had met with its deserts, the same would have to be said of the work of another woman dramatist, the gifted Cicely Hamilton,

whose play, "The Old Adam," freshly imagined, satirical, witty, and well constructed, was, in some respects, the cleverest play of the year. Two other women playwrights claimed attention—F. Tennyson Jesse, whose "Anyhouse" was a disappointment, and Gwen Johns, who gave us an interesting portrait of Queen Elizabeth, but a play dramatically weak, in her "Gloriana."

Of "mystery" and crook plays of the type familiarised to excess in recent times there were fewer specimens, perhaps, than usual. The best, as also the most successful of them, was J. Jefferson Fargeon's "No. 17," which, aptly described as a "joyous melodrama," was particularly notable for Leon M. Lion's acting in a part embodying Cockney humour of the purest brand. A goodly measure of constructive skill and ingenuity was shown also in "9.45" (Owen Davis and Sewell Collins), while "The Ghost Train," by Arnold Ridley, may also be cited as a favourable specimen in a not dissimilar category.

From America came more than the usual number of importations. Among fairly successful examples one may note "Lightnin'," a play for which the authors went to Nevada for their local colour, but which owed probably more to the finished acting of Horace Hodges in a part exactly suited to his reticent style than to anything it possessed in the way of atmosphere; "Dancing Mothers," theatrically effective in a rather garish way; Gilbert Emery's none too pleasant, but at moments forceful "Tarnish"; Martin Brown's "Cobra," in which a sex theme was by no means undramatically handled; and last, but certainly not least, Mrs. Lula Vollmer's "Sun Up," a sombre, admirably-wrought play dealing with strangely primitive inhabitants of Carolina and memorable for the sincere and beautiful acting of Lucille La Verne in the central character. After this, it was impossible to become enthusiastic over the no doubt realistic, but somewhat repellent, performance of a negro actor, Paul Robson, in Eugene O'Neill's forbiddingly gloomy play, "The Emperor Jones." It should be added that the year brought opportunities, in the way of a few isolated productions, for studying at close quarters, as it were, the art of another distinguished American dramatist, Susan Glaspell, whose qualities as a thoughtful and imaginative writer were laid bare in three plays, none of which was completely satisfying as drama.

Revivals were so plentiful in the course of 1925 as to suggest a difficulty on the part of managers in discovering new plays. There was quite a vogue in Shaw revivals, and some little interest attached to the production of "Mrs. Warren's Profession," performances of which had for so many years quite unreasonably been banned by the Censor. There were revivals of Ibsen's "The Wild Duck" and "A Doll's House"; Pinero's "Iris," which, resuscitated ostensibly to provide Gladys Cooper with an effective part, seemed hopelessly old-fashioned; Knoblock's "Kismet," lavishly and unsuccessfully reproduced at the New Oxford; Granville Barker's "The Madras House"; H. A. Vachell's "Quinney's," with Henry Ainley again as the protagonist, and, among other things, "The Man in Dress Clothes," in which Seymour Hicks reappeared. There were only two Shakespearean revivals. The first of these enabled Sir Barry Jackson to

carry through the curious and, as it proved, interesting experiment of staging "Hamlet" in modern dress; and in the penultimate week of the year a beautiful revival of "Henry VIII." was seen at the Empire in a thoroughly Holbeinesque setting, designed by Charles Ricketts. Sybil Thorndyke's Queen Katharine was a feature of arresting quality in a performance remarkable for all-round excellence.

A record of the year's chief theatrical doings would be incomplete without a brief reference to the interest shown—though not by a large body of playgoers—in works by the much-discussed Russian dramatist, Anton Tchekhov. For all its "hidden meanings" and apparent lack of form, "The Cherry Orchard" was found to possess qualities of the kind that compel thought, while "The Seagull," in the cast of which Miriam Lewes particularly distinguished herself, also proved an experiment well worth making in the interests of serious students of dramatic literature.

III. THE CINEMA.

Last year we noted the growing depression in the British film industry (*see* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 66). This year has been almost entirely taken up with attempts to revive trade.

The matter was first raised in May, when Lord Newton, in the House of Lords, proposed that a departmental committee should be appointed to inquire into British production. The question was quickly taken up by the Federation of British Industries, which was vitally interested for two reasons: first, because it was believed that "trade follows the film," and that the spread of American pictures in the colonies and dependencies is subtle propaganda for American goods; and, secondly, because in American pictures the Englishman is generally shown in a light so disadvantageous as to be damaging to British prestige abroad. The F.B.I., therefore, proceeded to draw up a scheme for the resuscitation of the industry. This was presented privately to the Board of Trade, in July, but definite action was deferred until some proposal should be heard from the industry itself.

Meanwhile the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association also appointed a committee which, by November, had formulated a scheme. The proposition was that every renter must hire, and every exhibitor must show, a quota of British films—the quota to begin with 10 per cent. Safeguards were laid down as to the quality of the films, and an exact definition of the term "British film" was given. As an attempt to combat "block booking" (*i.e.* the buying of films—often unmade—in bulk), a clause laid down a gradual lessening of the period between booking and exhibition. Finally, the scheme advocated a central studio.

The plan was submitted to a plébiscite of the C.E.A. branches, but was defeated by 70 votes (679 against the proposal and 609 in favour). The scheme was referred back to the committee, which was strengthened by the inclusion of three more members.

Meanwhile practical steps were taken towards the creation of a central studio. Mr. Behrens drew up elaborate plans for building a second Hollywood at Brighton. Mr. J. D. Williams, of British National Pictures, has

practically completed two of the eight studios which he proposes to erect near Elstree. In December, Mr. Ormiston, the president of the C.E.A., speaking at Sheffield, said that the Government was prepared to guarantee the interest on half of the 300,000*l.* necessary for a central studio, if the trade could raise the other 150,000*l.*

The position at the close of the year was that the C.E.A. were still seeking a scheme which would be agreeable to the industry as a whole, while the F.B.I. were waiting with some impatience to bring forward their own proposals.

In September the import duty on British films into Australia was abolished, and in October the Victorian Legislative Council agreed that a thousand feet of British film must be shown in every programme. The provision will be enforced as from June 30, 1926.

As an attempt to interest the general public in their own films, the "British Cinema League" was inaugurated in November. The members are to be kept advised, through a periodical, as to British film activities. Through this medium the public will be strongly urged to express their point of view, which, it is felt, should be a real guide to producers.

Designed especially to appeal to an intellectual public, another organisation, "The Film Society," was started in October. Their object is to show uncommercial films, unlikely to be seen in the ordinary cinema. Monthly performances are given on Sunday afternoons.

In December the London County Council proposed to increase the powers which they hold under the Cinematograph Act of 1909. It was suggested that they confine the issue of picture-house licences to British subjects, or to British representatives of capital, whereof the major part has been subscribed and is owned by British subjects. This was an attempt to check the increasing number of cinemas owned by American producing concerns, which they use as "shop-windows" for their goods. No decision had been taken on this question at the end of the year.

Among the best British pictures of the year were "Owd Bob," a Henry Edwards production, and "The Happy Ending," a George Cooper picture starring Fay Compton. Betty Balfour made three pictures, of which the most successful was George Pearson's "Satan's Sister." "The Only Way" was a good contribution from Herbert Wilcox, and gave Sir John Martin-Harvey a fine opportunity. Of British "interest" films the most outstanding were "Ypres," a war picture made in conjunction with the Army Council; "Livingstone," a screen biography; and the Mrs. Rosita Forbes travel picture, "From Red Sea to Blue Nile."

From America there came a very fine version of "He Who Gets Slapped," produced by Victor Sæstrom; D. W. Griffiths brought over "Isn't Life Wonderful?" an artistic, though not a commercial success; Eric von Stroheim contributed the realistic "Greed," and the frivolous "Merry Widow." Pioneering days in America were well depicted in "North of 36" and "The Iron Horse." Mary Pickford returned to her child roles in "Little Annie Rooney," and Douglas Fairbanks gave his customary acrobatic display in "Don Q. of Zorro." Among the comedians Charlie Chaplin led the way with "The Gold Rush;" Harold

Lloyd was seen in "Hot Water," and "College Days;" Syd Chaplin made a big success in "Charlie's Aunt;" and Buster Keaton scored heavily in "The Navigator."

From France we had "The Miracle of the Wolves," a stupendous historical picture; and the best German import was "The Last Laugh," starring Emil Jannings, who, at the close of the year, accepted an offer to go to America.

In February, the Capitol, a large cinema at the top of the Haymarket, was opened, and the Plaza, at the corner of Jermyn Street, is expected to be completed early in 1926.

On the technical side, C. Friese-Greene still further improved his colour pictures. In May the De Forest Phonofilms were demonstrated at Wembley, and it was found that the synchronisation was perfect. In July A. S. Cubitt showed a "stereoscopic" film at the Red Hall, Walham Green, and in August, at the Coliseum, a "plastic Cromatic film," the invention of an Italian, was shown.

IV. MUSIC

As in several years past, while musical activities have been great, they have produced little or nothing to make the year 1925 memorable. The rage for music of extreme newness and of native composers seems to have gone the way of all such crazes, and in its place we have now a marked return to the classics. Mozart and Haydn, and perhaps even more Bach, are the most popular composers of the day from the point of view of the general public. But even so, though they may be considerably less expensive to produce because of the comparative cheapness of the actual music, and of the fact that no author's fees are required, audiences have increased not at all in number or in numbers. The situation throughout the musical world was of peculiar interest. For while in England there was hardly a trace of curiosity among the public for new works, in the U S A orchestral concerts so abounded that there was a grave danger of the decay of orchestral music owing to the excessive repetition of the usual repertory. Conductors there were hard driven to find new works pregnant with a new and worthy idea. Here it was precisely those new works that failed to attract. It is true that during the year one solitary composition created an unusual impression. Gustav Holst's Choral Symphony, produced at the Leeds Festival under Albert Coates with the Leeds Festival Choir, and repeated a few days later in London with the same choir and conductor, was pronounced to be of the character that marks an epoch. But no further performance was given or even announced.

All this, however, does not indicate that music was at a standstill. The Royal Philharmonic, the New Queen's Hall Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, and several more or less amateur orchestras gave concerts in series as usual. But the programmes were of a somewhat stereotyped order. Herbert Howell's pianoforte concerto, produced early in the year in Queen's Hall, brought forth from a certain section of the audience a verbal protest. But for the rest, nothing came to a hearing that created the least stir. On the other hand, there were several revivals

of neglected older works. A newcomer, Paul von Klenau, was responsible for a brilliant performance of Delius's "Mass of Life." Eugene Goossens introduced us to Honegger's "Pacific, 231" (the title of a new railway engine), about which there had been some discussion; Joseph Szigeti played for the first time a violin concerto by the neo-Russian composer Prokofieff; Sir Hamilton Harty, whose new Irish Symphony was produced in Manchester, where he conducts the Hallé Orchestra, brought the work to London, where it was played under his direction without striking a very deep note; Vaughan Williams's "Flos Campi," done at a Queen's Hall Symphony Concert, also proved a disappointment, beautiful though some of it may be; Baron Frederic D'Erlanger's Symphonic Concerto for pianoforte had a slight but momentary success at a London Symphony Orchestra concert when played as the solo by José Iturbi; and Arnold Bax's choral work, "St. Patrick's Breastplate," was interesting. The British Women's Symphony Orchestra made considerable progress under the direction of Dr. Malcolm Sargent, and the British Broadcasting Company gave a series of orchestral concerts in Covent Garden with Sir Landon Ronald and Bruno Walter as conductors. A visit from the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra was most unduly timed for the summer, and unfortunately met with something like disaster.

In the realm of chamber music there was much to our credit, not, however, in the creative sense. We were visited by many foreign quartets, several of which were of first order of merit. Among them were the Lener from Buda Pesth, the Buda Pesth, the Rosé from Vienna, the Brussels and the Copenhagen, which played string chamber music. In addition there were concerts of high quality, also chamber concerts, but not restricted to string players, organised by Gerald Cooper, E. J. Moeran, and others. At these several new works were produced, namely, Van Dieren's Quartet, in which a double bass takes the place of the usual violoncello; Vaughan Williams's Concerto Accademico, played by Jelly d'Aranyi; and Herbert Howell's third violin sonata.

Choral societies were fully occupied, but generally in the revival or repetition of old and more or less familiar works. The Royal Choral Society revived Dame Ethel Smyth's "Mass in D" at one concert; the London Choral Society performed Elgar's "The Kingdom"; and the Alexandra Palace Choir, under Allen Gull, revived the same composer's "The Apostles." The Bach Choir, the Handel Society, the Westminster Choral Society, all did good work, as did the recently founded Civil Service Choir under Rutland Boughton. Much of the music of Orlando Gibbons was heard in the summer during the celebration of that musician's tercentenary.

As usual, many instrumentalists and vocalists visited this country from abroad, among them Paderewski, who early in the year gave several recitals in gratitude to the British nation, the proceeds, which amounted to many thousands of pounds, being given to the fund of the British Legion. He received a knighthood from King George.

Opera played a considerable part in the summer season, but the British National Opera Company again flew signals of very considerable distress.

Perhaps it would be right to say that there was more talk about potential opera than of actual performance. Many schemes were mooted for the mitigation of the present sad condition of opera in English, and for the propagation of opera in any language. Dame Ethel Smyth offered a scheme that was to bar "grand" opera and confine itself to *opéra comique* in the strict sense; further, there was the vast scheme for an Opera Trust, which, if successful, was to settle all differences by doling out sums required to make both ends meet to such companies as failed in that desirable object. The De Lara scheme of the previous year was also occasionally mentioned. The British National Opera Company confined its London visit to a short period at Golders Green. Here they repeated Holst's "At the Boar's Head," which just previously the company had produced at Manchester. The Carl Rosa Company had a very successful season at the Lyceum Theatre in the summer. But the chief operatic interest rested with the London Opera Syndicate's two months' season at Covent Garden in May and June. The season began with a very successful series of performances of opera in German, followed by an almost equally successful season of opera in Italian. Again, Strauss's "Der Rosenkavalier" proved a genuinely potent attraction, the house being sold out more than once. "Elektra" was completely unattractive from the public point of view, but there were heard fine performances of "Die Walküre," "Der Fliegende Holländer," "Lohengrin," "Die Meistersinger," and "Tristan," the last of which celebrated its hundredth performance at Covent Garden during the season. Most of the more distinguished singers of the previous year were again at Covent Garden in 1925—Lotte Lehmann, Gertrud Kapell, Deha Reinhardt (who made quite a sensation in "Aida," which she sang in Italian), Elizabeth Schumann, Olczewska, Richard Mayr, and Friedrich Schorr; while Bruno Walter again conducted. In the Italian season, Maria Jeritzka appeared with success in "Tosca," "Fédora," etc.; Toti dal Monte in "The Barber" and as Lucia; and Margaret Sheridan, an Irish girl from the Scala in Milan and a prime favourite in Italian opera houses, sang "Butterfly" and in "Andrier Chenier." The Norwegian Norena also reappeared as Gilda. The Royal College of Music revived Stanford's "Shamus O'Brien" and Nicholas Gatty's "The Tempest;" while at Cambridge Handel's "Semele," and at Oxford Monteverde's "Orfeo," were performed.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1925.

TAKING the world as a whole, a further improvement occurred in economic conditions in 1925, following the great depression which was caused by the European War of 1914-18. In some respects it was the most notable of the post-war years, for events of the greatest importance happened in Europe to mark the progress of economic reconstruction. The outstanding event was the restoration of the gold standard in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Holland, and the Dutch East Indies. The return to gold in Great Britain was made at the end of April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Winston Churchill) making the announcement in his Budget speech on April 28. He explained that since the spring of 1919, first under war legislation and later under the Gold and Silver Export Control Act of 1920, the export of gold coin and bullion from this country, except under license, had been prohibited. The Act was due to expire on December 31, 1925, and the question at issue was whether or not it should be renewed. Acting on the advice of a Treasury Committee, consisting of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Bradbury, Mr. Gaspard Farrer, Sir O. E. Niemeyer, and Professor Pigou, the Government decided to allow the Act to lapse and to permit exports of gold without license or restrictions of any kind. As the sterling exchange with American gold dollars had been steadily improving for months, and was within a few points of gold parity at the time of this announcement, it was decided to give a general license to the Bank of England for the export of gold and bullion from April 28. As, however, the issue of Treasury currency notes was uncovered to the extent of over 200 millions, Mr. Churchill explained it would not be possible, even after the system of license came to an end, to permit the full and unlimited convertibility of the note issue such as Great Britain practised before the war. Accordingly, a Bill was passed providing that Bank of England and Treasury notes should be convertible into coin only at the option of the Bank of England, and that the right to tender bullion at the Mint to be coined should be confined in future by law, as it had long been confined in practice, to the Bank of England. The Bank, however, was placed under an obligation to sell gold bullion in amounts of not less than 400 fine ounces in exchange for legal tender (currency notes and Bank notes) at the fixed Mint price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per standard ounce. The country thereafter did not, in actual fact, return to a full-blown gold standard; it was, in effect, a kind of gold exchange standard, since there was no obligation to give gold for domestic purposes but only for payments abroad and in minimum amounts. The Government, to some extent, followed historic precedent. It was on February 1, 1820,

or less than five years after the battle of Waterloo, that the Government of the day took the first step towards resuming gold payments. The Bank of England then began paying notes in gold bullion (not coin) at the price of 4*l.* 1*s.* of notes for every ounce of gold, with a minimum quantity of 60 ounces. As from October 1, 1820, the price was reduced to 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, and as from May 1, 1821, to the Mint price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.*, which meant that as from that date Bank notes were exchangeable pound for pound into gold bullion in amounts of not less than 60 ounces. In 1925, no premium was to be paid for gold, but the minimum was larger, and no coin payments were obligatory, only bullion payments. The Napoleonic programme provided for unrestricted convertibility to be resumed between May 1, 1823, and May 1, 1824. There was, however, no great demand for gold, and early in 1821 an Act was passed permitting the Bank to resume specie payments in full, without restriction of any kind, on May 1, 1821, instead of in 1823. On the present occasion, it was not possible to fix a definite period in which convertibility of the note issue should be resumed, as the gold reserve amounted to only 153,000,000*l.*, against a total note issue of about 400,000,000*l.* Mr. Churchill referred to the fact that Germany, Austria, and Hungary had re-linked their currencies to gold by a process of devaluation, that Sweden returned to the gold standard at pre-war parity in 1924 with no ill effects, and that Australia, New Zealand, Holland, and the Dutch East Indies were simultaneously adopting the British policy, while South Africa would return to gold payments on July 1. At first there was a withdrawal of gold from England, but that was quickly followed by an influx which, by August, had reached a total of 8,782,000*l.* It was then decided to reduce the Bank rate from 5 to 4½ per cent.; gold flowed out, but not rapidly, and as the discount rate was weak, a further reduction to 4 per cent. was made in October. Thence onwards until December, when the Bank rate was raised to 5 per cent., the efflux of gold continued, and by the end of the year had reached a total of 20,377,000*l.*, the net efflux since April 29 being 11,595,000*l.* Great Britain's decision to return to gold produced an excellent impression throughout the world, and enhanced the credit and prestige of this country. Foreigners and Englishmen who had transferred their balances into American dollars re-converted them into sterling, and the sterling bill again replaced the dollar bill as the international medium of commercial payment. There was a remarkable increase in the European demand for English bank acceptances. There was some criticism by commercial people that the return to gold would force down prices to gold world levels, but though this was true the ultimate effect was not harmful but good, since it helped to restore the competitive power of the country in international markets.

Another outstanding event of the year was the issue of the first report of the Agent-General for Reparation Payments, dealing with the first year's working of the Dawes Plan. This scheme provided for the economic reconstruction of Germany so as to permit of a rational settlement of the reparation problem. The report was satisfactory. The first year's

annuity in respect of reparation was paid, amounting to 50,000,000*l.*, but as four-fifths of this amount was provided for by loans raised abroad and only one-fifth was provided out of German resources, it will be seen that it provided no real test of Germany's capacity to make foreign payments without equivalent return. But the indications of payment in the second year were satisfactory; in the first few months of the second annuity period payments were made regularly and in advance of due date. The Budget was balanced, but the working of the Dawes Plan revealed some of the terrible consequences of the previous inflation. The country had been denuded of working capital, and even after borrowing about 150,000,000*l.* abroad in a year the scarcity of working capital was so marked that the discount rate of the Reichsbank was as high as 9 per cent., and current account credits, the normal form of commercial credit, commanded about 14 per cent. Not until the fourth year, when the German payment rises to about 87,000,000*l.*, will the reparation settlement be put to a real test.

Thanks mainly to the restoration of the gold standard, the course of prices in this country was downward. We reproduce below, as usual, *The Times* index number of commodity prices since January, 1925, based upon the price of nearly 60 commodities, with the percentage change each month, together with the number in April, 1920 (when the highest point was touched), and at the close of the years 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1924 :—

	Food	Materials	Total Index Number.	Inc. or Dec. per Cent
April, 1920 - - -	301.2	382.8	352.9	—
December, 1921 - - -	168.1	158.8	162.1	— 54.0
December, 1922 - - -	163.0	156.1	158.6	— 2.2
December, 1923 - - -	169.1	169.1	169.1	+ 0.6
December, 1924 - - -	178.1	180.1	179.3	+ 1.2
January, 1925 - - -	176.0	175.4	175.6	— 2.1
February, „ - - -	170.4	174.2	172.8	— 1.6
March, „ - - -	161.4	169.6	166.6	— 3.6
April, „ - - -	159.5	164.6	162.7	— 2.4
May, „ - - -	158.7	159.3	159.1	— 2.2
June, „ - - -	152.1	157.6	155.6	— 2.2
July, „ - - -	156.7	159.4	158.4	+ 1.8
August, „ - - -	163.1	156.6	159.0	+ 0.4
September, „ - - -	161.9	156.9	158.8	— 0.1
October, „ - - -	156.0	154.7	155.1	— 2.3
November, „ - - -	163.6	152.7	156.7	+ 1.0
December, „ - - -	160.1	148.6	152.8	— 2.5

The actual prices in 1925 and 1924 of the commodities included in the calculations are shown below :—

Commodities.	December 31, 1925.	December 31, 1924.
Food.		
Wheat, Eng. Gaz. Av. - - - - 112 lb.	12s. 5d.	12s. 2d.
„ No. 2, N. Man. - - - - 496 lb.	66s.	72s.
Flour, Ldn., Straights - - - - 280 lb.	51s.	54s.
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av. - - - - 112 lb.	10s. 6d.	14s. 5d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av. - - - - 112 lb.	9s. 3d.	9s. 6d.
Maize, La Plata, ex ship - - - - 480 lb.	36s.	46s. 3d.
Rice, No. 2 Burma - - - - cwt.	16s.	18s.
Beef, English sides - - - - 8 lb.	5s. 7d.	6s. 2d.
„ S. Amer. chilled - - - - 8 lb.	4s.	5s.
Mutton, N.Z. frozen - - - - 8 lb.	4s. 9d.	5s. 9d.
Bacon, Irish lean - - - - cwt.	134s.	110s.
„ Amer. Cumb. - - - - cwt.	112s.	82s.
Fish ¹ - - - - stone	5s. 9d.	6s. 2d.
Eggs, English - - - - 120	28s.	27s.
Sugar, Eng. ref., cubes - - - - cwt.	31s. 9d.	37s.
„ W. Ind. cryst. - - - - cwt.	24s.	33s.
Tea, Ind., auct. Avg. - - - - lb.	1s. 8½d.	1s. 10½d.
Cocoa, Trinidad, mid. - - - - cwt.	65s.	75s.
Cheese, Eng. Cheddar - - - - cwt.	125s.	100s.
Butter, Danish, fine - - - - cwt.	176s.	222s.
Lard, Amer. ref., pails - - - - cwt.	81s. 6d.	94s. 6d.
Potatoes, English, good - - - - ton	7l.	10l.
MATERIALS.		
Pig iron, Hemt. M'bro. - - - - ton	76s. 6d.	88s.
„ Clevel'd., No. 3 - - - - ton	68s. 6d.	81s.
Iron, marked bars, Staff. - - - - ton	14l.	15l.
„ crown bars - - - - ton	11l. 10s.	12l. 15s.
Steel, rails, heavy - - - - ton	8l.	9l.
„ boiler plates - - - - ton	11l. 10s.	13l.
„ galvzd. sheets - - - - ton	16l. 10s.	17l. 5s.
„ tinplates - - - - box	20s.	23s. 6d.
Copper, electrolytic - - - - ton	65l. 15s.	70l. 15s.
„ strong sheets - - - - ton	90l.	97l.
Tin, stand., cash - - - - ton	289l. 2s. 6d.	269l. 15s.
Lead, English - - - - ton	36l. 15s.	44l. 10s.
Spelter, foreign - - - - ton	38l. 12s. 6d.	39l.
Coal, lge. steam, C'diff - - - - ton	23s.	27s. 6d.
„ best gas, Durham - - - - ton	16s. 3d.	21s. 6d.
„ best hse., Yorks - - - - ton	28s.	27s.
Petlm., Amer. rfd., brl. - - - - gal.	1s.	1s. 1d.
Cotton, Am., mid. - - - - lb.	10-27d.	13-50d.
„ Egypt. f.g.f. Sak. - - - - lb.	17-65d.	29 65d.
„ yarn, 32's, twist - - - - lb.	16d.	23d.
„ „ 60's, „ Egp. - - - - lb.	30d.	42d.
„ shurtings, 8½ lb. - - - - piece	13s. 3d.	16s. 2d.
„ prnt., 17 × 17, 32 in. 125 yards - - - - piece	34s.	45s. 6d.
Wool, gsy. merino, 60's - - - - lb.	20d.	32½d.
„ gsy. crossbd., 46's - - - - lb.	15½d.	25½d.
„ tops, 64's - - - - lb.	48d.	82d.
„ „ 40's - - - - lb.	22d.	33d.
Flax, Livonian, Z.K. - - - - ton	71l.	123l.
Hemp, N. Zeal., h.p. fair - - - - ton	40l.	43l.
Jute, first marks, shipmt. - - - - ton	57l.	39l. 5s.
Hides, Eng., Ox, first - - - - lb.	9½d.	9½d.
„ Cape, dry - - - - lb.	12½d.	12d.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 × 9 - - - - stand	24l.	25l.
„ W'cot oak - - - - hn. ft.	1s. 4d.	2s.
Cement, best Portland - - - - ton	2l. 18s.	2l. 18s.
Rubber, Plant., sheet - - - - lb.	3s. 9½d.	1s. 8d.
Linseed oil - - - - ton	33l. 10s.	49l. 10s.
Soda, crystals, bags - - - - ton	5l. 5s.	5l. 5s.

¹ Plaice, cod, and haddock.

Although commercial failures were again fewer in number, they were heavier in amount. The number of receiving orders made in England was 4,719, a decrease of 115, and the number of deeds of arrangement 2,049, a decrease of 28. But in Ireland 43 more failures occurred and in Scotland 32 more than in 1924. For the United Kingdom as a whole there was a decrease in the number of failures of 68. In England and Wales the total liabilities disclosed were 6,432,782*l.*, against 4,780,603*l.*, and the deficiency in assets was much heavier—namely, 4,266,229*l.* compared with 2,577,316*l.* The number of bills of sale registered was 2,423 fewer at 13,910.

The year was a more prosperous one for companies, as shown by the record of industrial profits made by the *Economist*. The total profits of 1490 companies declared during the year 1925 was 154,993,223*l.*, an increase of 12,381,814*l.*, or 8·7 per cent. Of the total profits, the sum of 91,486,816*l.* or 59·1 per cent., was distributed in Ordinary dividends, and 29,414,415*l.*, or 19 per cent., in Preference dividends. The total profits were equal to 10·9 per cent. on the total Ordinary and Preference capital combined, against 10·3 per cent. in 1924, 9·8 per cent. in 1923, and 7 per cent. in 1922, and 15·2 per cent. in 1920, the year of the post-armistice boom.

Several events of importance occurred in connexion with national finance. The Budget (introduced by Mr. Winston Churchill, it being his first) made further remissions in taxation, including a reduction of 6*d.* in the income-tax, bringing the standard rate down to 4*s.*, as compared with 6*s.*—the highest figure reached—a few years previously. Relief to earned income was increased from a deduction of one-tenth to a deduction of one-sixth, subject to a maximum allowance of 250*l.* Reductions in super-tax were made varying from 9*d.* in the pound on incomes of 2,000*l.* to 2,500*l.* to 6*d.* on incomes from 10,000*l.* to 15,000*l.*; above the last figure no change was made. Increases were made in the death duties varying from 1 per cent. on estates valued at from 12,500*l.* to 15,000*l.* to 5 per cent. on estates from 85,000*l.* to 200,000*l.*, decreasing thereafter to 1 or 2 per cent. on estates up to 1,000,000*l.*; but no change was made above that total. The McKenna duties on motor cars, musical instruments, clocks and watches, and cinematograph films were reimposed. Duties were imposed for the first time on silk and artificial silk. A new duty was imposed on hops, and increased preferential duties were given on dried fruit, sugar, tobacco, and wine. The estimated revenue for the year 1925-26 was 801,060,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 799,400,000*l.* (including 50,000,000*l.* for the Baldwin sinking fund for debt redemption), leaving a hoped for surplus of 1,660,000*l.* But the granting of a subsidy to the coal industry in the summer upset the Budget estimates, and on December 31 the national accounts showed a deficit of 123,877,762*l.*, against 89,066,803*l.* on the same date in 1924. Three issues of 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan were made during the year: the first in January, for an amount of 59,660,000*l.*, which realised a price of 77*l.* 10*s.* 11·58*d.* per cent.; the second in April, for an amount of 30,000,000*l.*, which realised an average price of 76*l.* 16*s.* 11·82*d.*; and the third in September, for an amount of 40,000,000*l.*, realising an average price of 76*l.* 6*s.* 0·402*d.* per cent. But for

these issues the floating debt would have been considerably expanded. As it was, the floating debt was further reduced as follows :—

	December 31, 1925.	December 31, 1924
Ways and Means Advances :—	£	£
Bank of England - - -	16,500,000	24,750,000
Public Departments - - -	164,641,000	195,015,000
Treasury Bills - - -	635,500,000	626,060,000
Total -	816,641,000	845,825,000

The total of the National Debt on March 31, 1925, was 7,646,000,000*l.* The Budget for 1925-26 estimated the yield from customs and excise at 239,260,000*l.* (against an actual receipt of 234,472,000*l.* in 1924-25); that from income-tax at 262,000,000*l.*, and that from super-tax at 63,300,000*l.*, against actual collections in 1924-25 of 273,836,000*l.* and 62,680,000*l.* respectively. The total tax revenue was estimated to be 686,560,000*l.* (against 689,702,000*l.* in 1924-25). The National Debt services were estimated to require 305,000,000*l.* for interest and 50,000,000*l.* for sinking fund (against an actual 357,161,000*l.* for both in 1924-25); the total Consolidated Fund services 391,929,000*l.* (against 393,607,000*l.* in 1924-25); the Army, 44,500,000*l.* (against 44,765,000*l.*); the Navy, 60,500,000*l.* (against 55,625,000*l.*); the Air Service, 15,513,000*l.* (against 14,310,000*l.*); the Civil Services, 222,609,000*l.* (against 226,134,000*l.*); the Inland Revenue Services, 11,391,000*l.* (against 10,956,000*l.*); and the Post Office Services, 52,958,000*l.* (against 50,380,000*l.*). The net effect of the alterations in taxation on the year's Budget was estimated to cost the Exchequer 24,940,000*l.*, and 31,170,000*l.* in a full year.

A feature of the Budget of much importance was a big extension of State insurance. Beginning in January, 1926, pensions were to be payable to widows and orphans, and there was announced a reduction in the qualifying age for old age pensions from 70 to 65 in January, 1928, with the abolition of the means test and other disabilities. The State contribution to the new scheme increases from 5,750,000*l.* in 1926 to 15,000,000*l.* in the eleventh year, and 24,000,000*l.* in the twentieth year, declining to 21,000,000 in the thirty-fifth year. In the year of grace 2005 the scheme would become, it was estimated, self-supporting. The Chancellor was safe from any political backfire in making this guess. The present capital value of the additional liability of the State under this scheme was put at about 750,000,000*l.* The Budget year 1924-25 closed with a surplus of 3,659,000*l.*, against an estimate of 4,025,000*l.* made by Mr. Snowden.

The report of the London Bankers' Clearing House for 1925 revealed a further expansion in the turnover of money. The grand total of clearings, at 40,437,119,000*l.*, was a new "record," an increase of 2·2 per cent. over 1924. April 30, 1925, provided a new "record" for a day's clearings, with a total of 263,255,000*l.*, and the total for January, 1925—3,770,864,000*l.*—was a new monthly "record."

The rubber "boom" was partly the cause of this expansion in money business; another cause was the removal of the embargo on oversea loans

in November, which was followed by the offering of many new loans. The Metropolitan clearing, which affords a good index of the state of retail trade, showed the highest percentage increase of any of the clearings for the year—namely, 5·2 per cent. General trade conditions are reflected in the country cheque clearings, which, it should be noted, showed a large increase in the first quarter of 1925, a slower rate of increase in the next two quarters, and a trifling decrease in the final quarter. As 93·2 per cent. of the increase in the country clearings in 1924 occurred in the second half of that year, it will be seen that this increase was more than maintained in the corresponding period of 1925. The figures for the past three years demonstrate the gradual improvement of trading conditions :—

	1925	1924.	Increase or Decrease.
	£	£	£
Grand total - - -	40,437,119,000	39,532,864,000	+ 904,255,000 (2·2 per cent.)
Town clearing - - -	35,801,264,000	35,038,605,000	+ 762,659,000 (2·1 per cent.)
Metropolitan clearing - -	1,678,347,000	1,594,114,000	+ 84,233,000 (5·2 per cent.)
Country cheque clearing -	2,957,508,000	2,900,145,000	+ 57,363,000 (1·9 per cent.)

The totals for the ten provincial clearings were as follows :—

Clearing.	Total.	Inc or Dec
	£	Per Cent.
Birmingham - - - - -	133,043,000	+ 8·7
Bristol - - - - -	61,084,000	+ 1·2
Hull - - - - -	53,996,000	- 4·8
Leeds - - - - -	51,106,000	- 1·6
Leicester - - - - -	40,781,000	+ 7·7
Liverpool - - - - -	465,873,000	- 1·7
Manchester - - - - -	814,237,000	+ 1·4
Newcastle-on-Tyne - - -	81,515,000	- 13·6
Nottingham - - - - -	34,112,000	+ 5·2
Sheffield - - - - -	53,741,000	- 1·5

In the next table is shown the currency note position at the close of the three years 1923, 1924, and 1925 :—

	End December, 1925	End December, 1924	End December, 1923.
	£	£	£
Total outstanding - , -	295,460,511	295,025,311	291,263,999
Reserve :—			
Gold - - - - -	—	27,000,000	27,000,000
Silver - - - - -	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000
Bank of England notes -	56,250,000	26,950,000	22,450,000
Reserve ratio - - -	19·04 per cent.	18·29 per cent.	16·98 per cent.
Fiduciary issue - - -	239,210,511	241,075,311	241,813,999
Legal maximum issue -	248,145,386	248,190,953	270,183,800

In consequence of the transfer of gold from the currency notes reserve to the Bank of England, there was a large increase, nominally, in the note circulation of the Bank of England, as the next table shows :—

Bank of England	End December, 1925.	End December, 1924.	End December, 1923.
	£	£	£
Coin and bullion - -	144,556,367	128,560,002	128,019,382
Note circulation - -	144,730,510	128,295,915	128,142,780
Public deposits - -	8,362,323	8,511,485	15,682,705
Other deposits - -	160,680,681	165,779,092	116,779,958
Government securities - -	64,087,526	68,579,552	49,604,532
Other securities - -	103,280,596	103,600,354	81,072,961
Reserve (Notes and Coin) -	19,575,857	20,014,087	19,626,602
Ratio - - - -	11½ per cent.	11½ per cent.	14½ per cent.

Owing to the return to the gold standard money rates ruled higher and changes were more frequent. There were four changes in Bank rate, whereas in 1924 the official discount rate remained at 4 per cent. throughout the year. For 1925 the average Bank rate was 4l. 11s. 6d. per cent. There was a further expansion in the demand for credit, but it was not so marked as in 1924. The increase in bankers' advances was attributable, in part, to the greater activity on the Stock Exchange. Trade demands were uneven, some industries being active and others less active, while a few were distinctly depressed. The average rates for money for the past seven years is shown in the subjoined table.—

1919.	1920.	1921	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.
BANK RATE AVERAGE.						
£ s. d. 5 3 0	£ s. d. 6 14 3	£ s. d. 6 2 3	£ s. d. 3 14 0	£ s. d. 3 9 10	£ s. d. 4 0 0	£ s. d. 4 11 6
DISCOUNT RATE (3 MONTHS' BILLS) AVERAGE						
3 18 10	6 8 0	5 4 3	2 12 9	2 14 2	3 10 9	4 2 3
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.						
3 3 10	4 14 3	4 2 4	1 13 10	1 9 9	8 0 0	2 11 6
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.						
3 9 7	5 3 7	4 12 8	2 5 11	1 18 4	2 12 6	3 11 3

In the next table are shown the changes in banking figures of the ten London clearing banks, as revealed in the average monthly statements (in millions of pounds) :—

	January	April.	July.	October.	December.
Deposits - -	1693	1645	1671	1665	1684
Advances - -	835	864	868	855	863
Bills discounted -	248	194	231	247	234
Investments -	313	295	277	276	277

Thanks to the higher level of money rates generally, to a wider margin of profit, especially in the case of loans to the discount market, the charge for short loans being put 1 per cent. instead of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. below the Bank rate, the banks had a very prosperous year, profits being substantially higher than in the previous year. As a result dividends were easily maintained, and in the case of three of the big banks increased distributions were made. In two cases the banks decided to make an issue of bonus shares. Larger amounts were also placed to pension funds, this liability of the banks having been increased of recent years by the raising of salaries and the tendency of bank clerks to stick to their jobs, that is to say, there is less wastage than there used to be, and more men reach the pensionable age.

The amount of new capital issues was restricted by the fact that the unofficial embargo on overseas issues imposed in 1924 was strengthened by application to Colonial borrowers. In November, however, the embargo was entirely removed, and immediately ensued a great rush of foreign issues. As a result, the total emissions for the year showed little change as compared with 1924 :—

Destination.	1925.	1924	1923.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom - - - -	132,099,000	89,323,000	68,213,000
British Possessions - - - -	57,404,000	73,502,000	86,928,000
Foreign Countries - - - -	30,394,000	60,721,000	48,282,000
Total - - - -	219,897,000	223,545,000	203,759,000

The foreign exchanges showed much greater stability in 1925 than in previous years. There were only four currencies at the end of the year to occasion anxiety, and to present opportunities to those speculatively inclined. These were the French franc, the Greek drachma, the Polish zloty, and the Rumanian leu. In the case of Great Britain, sterling rose from $\$4.73\frac{3}{8}$ to $\$4.83\frac{7}{8}$ on April 28, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the return to gold payments. After the return the extreme range of the New York exchange was $\$4.86\frac{1}{2}$ and $\$4.83\frac{1}{8}$, whereas the extremes in 1924 were $\$4.30\frac{3}{8}$ and $\$4.73\frac{7}{8}$. German, Austrian, Hungarian, Dutch, Swedish, and Swiss exchanges were fairly stable in terms of gold almost as much so as they would be under normal conditions. The Belgian exchange broke away from the French franc, thanks to the measures taken by the Belgian Government to put an end to the period of unbalanced Budgets and to restore the autonomy of the Central Bank. In the closing months of the year the exchange on Brussels was fairly steady at about 107f. to the pound. Similarly, the Italian lira, after displaying much weakness early in the year, owing to large purchases of cereals from abroad due to the bad harvests in 1924 and also to inflation of credit which caused the rate on Milan to rise from about 111 to 146l. to the pound, finished the year at about 120l., at which figure it had stood for about three months. The Greek exchange, owing to inflation, rose during the year to 395dr. to the pound, after having begun the year at 264dr., and falling to 247dr.

On December 31 the rate was 375½dr. The French exchange touched a new high record, namely, 136fr. to the pound. On the year, the depreciation in French currency was about 50 per cent. Inflation was continuous, and a bad impression was produced by the falsification of the returns of the Bank of France early in the year, and subsequently by the political obstacles which were put in the way of effective financial reform. Norwegian and Danish currencies fluctuated widely, but a distinct improvement was shown on the year. The same remark applies to Japanese and Brazilian currency. The following tables are taken from *The Times Annual Financial and Commercial Review* :—

Place.	Parity	Dec 31, 1925	Dec 31, 1924	During 1925	
				Highest	Lowest
New York	\$4.86½	4.85½	4.73½	4.86½	4.73½
Montreal	\$4.86½	4.85½	4.74½	4.86½	4.74½
Paris	25f. 22½c	129½	87.17½	136.00	87.05
Brussels	25f. 22½c	106.97½	94.57	112.55	91.30
Milan	25lr. 22½c	120½	111.15	146.00	111.15
Berne	25f. 22½c	25.09	24.26½	25.19	24.25
Athens	25dr. 22½c	375½	264	395	247
Madrid	25m. 22½pf.	34.35	33.86½	34.40	33.00
Lisbon*	53½d.	2½d.	2½d.	2½d.	2½d.
Amsterdam	12fl. 107c.	12.05½	11.67½	12.14½	11.68½
Berlin	20m. 43pf.	20.37½	19.88	20.45	19.88
Vienna	34kr. 58½c.	34.38½	—	34.65	33.54
Budapest	24kr. 02c.	346.000	345.000	350.000	340.000
Prague	24kr. 02c.	163½	156½	164½	156½
Bucharest ||	25lei. 22½c.	1055	922½	1095	900
Belgrade	25d. 22½c.	273½	305	310	259
Kovno	48.66	49.12½	—	49.62½	48.00
Sofia	25d. 22½c.	675	645	690	640
Warsaw	25m. 22½pf.	42.50	24.60	52.00	24.50
Riga	25m. 22½pf.	25.19	24.55	25.30	24.52
Reval	—	1,820	1,750	1,850	1,730
Helsingfors	25m. 22½pf.	192½	187½	194	187½
Oslo	18kr. 159	23.90	31.37	31.43	21.50
Stockholm	18kr. 159	18.08½	17.56	18.18	17.55
Copenhagen	18kr. 159	19.62	26.83½	27.03	19.10
Constantinople	110	912½	875	965	805
Alexandria	97½p.	97½	97½	97½	97½
Bombay	24d.	1/6 1/10	1/6 1/8	1/6 1/8	1/5 1/10
Calcutta	24d.	1/6 1/10	1/6 1/8	1/6 1/8	1/5 1/10
Madras	24d.	1/6 1/10	1/6 1/8	1/6 1/8	1/5 1/10
Hongkong	—	2/4 1/10	2/3 1/10	2/7 1/10	2/2 1/10
Shanghai	—	3/1 1/10	3/1 1/8	3/4	3/0 1/10
Manila	24.066d.	2/0 1/8	2/1 1/10	2/1 1/10	2/0 1/8
Kobe	24.58d.	1/9 1/10	1/7 1/10	1/9 1/10	1/7 1/10
Singapore	2/4	2/4 1/10	2/4 1/10	2/4 1/10	2/3 1/10
Batavia	12 107	11.97½	11.80½	12.03½	11.78½
Rio de Janeiro *	27d.	7½d.	5½d.	7½d.	4½d.
Buenos Ayres *	47½d.	46½d.	46½d.	47d.	42½d.
Montevideo *	51d.	50½d.	50½d.	51½d.	46½d.
Valparaiso †	\$13½	39.80	40.40	44.30	38.70
Lima †	El. to Pl.	22 7/10	14 7/10	25 7/10	11 7/10
Mexico	24.58d.	24½d.	26d.	27d.	23½d.

* Telegraphic transfers. † 90 days. ‡ Nominal. § Premium. || In paper crowns : exchange quoted since January 2 in pengo (1p. = 12,500kr.).

In the next table are shown the New York quotations for foreign currencies, which give a fairer comparison, since dollars were on the gold standard through the period, whereas sterling was on the gold standard only from the end of April :—

New York on—	Method of Quoting	December 31, 1925	December 31, 1924	Rise or Fall per Cent in Foreign Currencies.
		\$	\$	
London - - -	\$ to £1	4 85½	4 73½	+ 2 5
Paris - - -	100f	3 71	5-42½	- 31 5
Brussels - - -	100f.	4 54	4 99	- 9 0
Berne - - -	100f.	19-34	19 48	- 0-7
Rome - - -	100lr.	4-00	4 25½	- 6 0
Madrid - - -	100p.	14 14	13 98	+ 1-1
Amsterdam - -	100fl.	40-22	40 50	- 0 7
Copenhagen - -	100kr.	24-75	17-65	+ 40-2
Oslo - - -	100kr.	20-34	15 11	+ 34-6
Stockholm - -	100kr.	26-84	26 97	- 0-5
Montreal - - -	Prem or dis %	dis.	dis.	+ 0-2
Yokohama - - -	100 yen	43-35	38-55	+ 12-4
Calcutta - - -	100rs	36 68	35-80	+ 2 4
Buenos Ayres -	P's per \$100	106 00	110-00	+ 3-7
Prague - - -	100kr	2 96	3 02	- 2-0
Berlin - - -	100mk.	23 81	23-81	—
Belgrade - - -	100dm.	1 77	1 54	+ 13-0
Athens - - -	100dr.	1-27	1-82	- 43 3
Rio de Janeiro -	Cents per ml.	14-70	11-75	+ 25-1

On the Stock Exchange the year was notable for two features : first, a definite change-over of public interest from fixed interest bearing securities to more speculative shares ; and second, a “ boom ” in rubber shares. Both had shown signs of developing in 1924 ; the first was due to higher money rates and the progress made by the recovery in trade, which increased the yields obtainable on industrial shares, while the second was caused by a steep rise in the price of rubber, due, in turn, to a great increase in American consumption of this commodity. According to the *Bankers' Magazine*, British and Indian funds showed a decline on the year of just under 3 per cent., and fixed interest bearing stocks as a whole a decline of 3½ per cent. On the other hand, variable dividend securities showed a rise of 4-3 per cent. The net result was that the 365 securities of various types covered by the *Bankers' Magazine*, calculations fell in value by 53,925,000l., or 0-8 per cent. Some disturbance to market values was caused by the three issues of 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan referred to on an earlier page, the minimum tender prices being fixed below market levels. In addition to other adverse factors, the banks were large sellers of investment stocks in 1925, owing to the increase in the demand for advances, so that in the circumstances the gilt-edged market may be considered to have done well in showing only slight depreciation on the year. In the foreign market, the reconstruction loans issued under the auspices of the League of Nations met with a steady investment demand and closed materially higher on balance. Brazilian bonds were also in demand, and towards the end of the year a notable recovery occurred

in Mexican securities as a result of the adoption of a modified debt agreement in place of the unsuccessful scheme of 1922. On the other hand, marked weakness was again displayed by French bonds owing to the fall in the value of the franc. On the year, foreign Government stocks showed a rise of 0·4 per cent. Under the influence of declining traffic receipts and threats of labour trouble, home railway stocks were sadly depressed. The Ordinary stocks lost 24 per cent. of their value, Southern Deferred alone showing real resistance, and the prior charges depreciated only less seriously, falls of 15 per cent. and 7 per cent. being recorded in the Preference and Debenture stocks respectively. Conditions for British railway companies working in South America were favourable. There were active dealings at rising prices in artificial silk shares, and the prosperity of the companies working in the tobacco and brewing trades was reflected in the prices of their shares, a rise of 35 per cent. occurring in brewery stocks. Coal, iron, and steel shares, however, were again weak, their values falling, on an average, by 20 per cent. In the case of Vickers, Limited, a drastic reconstruction of the capital account was effected. Rubber shares were buoyant, and many rose by 100 or 200 per cent. in the course of the year, the average advance of the shares included in the *Bankers' Magazine* calculations being $79\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Rubber, at one time, touched 4s. 8d. per lb. Tea shares, which were the strongest market in the "House" in 1924, showed a fall of $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 1925. While oil shares seldom experienced great activity, they nevertheless record an appreciation of more than 20 per cent. South African gold mining shares were affected by the disappearance of the premium on gold, but diamond shares improved on the formation of a new syndicate to regulate sales, and there was sporadic activity in the shares of companies reputed to own properties in the newly-discovered "platinum belt."

The chief features of our overseas trade were an advance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in imports and a similar decline in British exports. A rise of 58,858,626l. in the adverse balance brought the total up to 395,360,790l., imports amounting to 1,322,858,167l. (an increase of 45,419,023l.), exports to 773,086,410l. (a decrease of 27,880,427l.), and re-exports to 154,410,967l. (an increase, largely due to the rise in rubber prices, of 14,440,824l.). The increase in the adverse balance was due to abnormal monetary factors (chief among which was the rise in sterling due to the return to gold, which stimulated imports and discouraged exports), and it accrued entirely in the first half of the year. In the second half, when sterling had attained stability in terms of gold, the adverse balance was materially lower. Shipments of coal in 1925 were 21,600,000l. lower than in 1924, those of iron and steel fell by 6,400,000l., and those of woollen and worsted yarns and manufactures by 8,800,000l. There were advances of 4,300,000l. and 5,800,000l. in exports of machinery and vehicles respectively. Of the increase in imports, 25,000,000l. occurred under the head of raw materials and 20,000,000l. consisted of manufactured articles.

The Board of Trade calculated that the country had a favourable trade balance in 1925 of 28,000,000l. representing assets available for investment overseas as compared with 63,000,000l. in 1924 and 153,000,000l. in 1923. The figures are as follows :—

(IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS.)

Particulars.	1925.	1924	1923.
Excess of imports of merchandise and bullion - -	386	324	195
Excess of Government payments made oversea - -	15	28	25
Total - - - - -	401	352	220
Net national shipping income - - - - -	115	130	120
Foreign ships' disbursements in British ports - - -	9	10	13
Net income from oversea investments - - - - -	250	220	200
Commissions - - - - -	40	40	30
Other services - - - - -	15	15	10
Total invisible exports on balance - - - - -	429	415	373
Income available for investment oversea - - - -	28	63	153
New oversea issues on London market in year - -	88	134	136

The figures of oversea issues are taken from the monthly *Review* of the Midland Bank.

In face of declining prices and exports, the coal industry, in 1925, proved unequal to the burden placed upon it by the national wages agreement of 1924. In the seven months ended July there was a commercial loss on the industry as a whole of about 1s. per ton. In this desperate financial condition, the owners served notices to terminate the 1924 agreement. With owners and workers alike intractable, the Government intervened, and by the grant of a subsidy prevented a stoppage in August. The cost to the State for the five months, August-December, is estimated at 11,900,000*l.*, and the net commercial deficit on the operation of the industry during the year, including this sum, was over 12,000,000*l.*, against a profit of 13,300,000*l.* in 1924. Production amounted to approximately 244,700,000 tons (against 267,100,000 tons in 1924); home consumption was 173,400,000 tons (against 180,000,000), and exports amounted to about 71,300,000 tons (against about 85,000,000 tons in 1924), shipments to France and the North Sea markets declining by roughly 10,000,000 tons. The course of prices was steadily downwards, and the year's average pit head price was 16s. 9*d.* (against 18s. 3*d.* in 1924). The percentage of workers unemployed, which stood at 7.9 at the beginning of the year, touched 23.2 in September.

Severe depression overshadowed most branches of the British shipping industry last year, the one trade that fared well being the North Atlantic passenger service. There was a substantial increase in the volume of tonnage unemployed, and freight rates showed substantial declines, practically the only ones to be maintained or increased being those for coal from this country. The depression was such that in the summer the owners approached the representatives of the seamen with a view to obtaining some reduction of wages. The two parties to the discussion agreed that the increases granted in 1924 should be withdrawn, but many of the men repudiated their representatives' settlement, and a prolonged

strike, most severe in Australian ports (where trouble lasted from the end of August to the beginning of December) occurred. The losses caused, which were on a large scale, were aggravated by the fact that foreign ships were allowed free transit. At the end of the year a strike against a proposed reduction of wages began among the wireless operators.

Shipbuilding conditions were again unsatisfactory, the depression of the shipping trade and high production costs discouraging the purchase of new ships. The tonnage constructed in Great Britain and Ireland during the year was 1,084,633, or nearly half of the world production. While ships launched in Great Britain were 355,250 tons below the 1924 figure, foreign launchings increased by 300,900 tons. There was an increase in British launchings of motor ships and of vessels fitted for the use of oil fuel. At the end of the year the work in hand here amounted to 885,000 tons—the lowest figure since 1909—whereas in foreign yards there were 1,184,500 tons under construction. To inquire into the problem of costs of production, a conference was set up on which the Employers' Federation and the trade unions were represented. The inquiry was still in progress at the end of the year.

According to the estimate of the National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers, last year's production of pig-iron was 6,236,000 tons, and that of steel 7,397,000 tons. These figures show a reduction of 1,000,000 tons of pig-iron and of 804,000 tons of steel compared with the 1924 figures. There was a continuous fall in prices of iron and steel, with diminished exports and increased imports, the former falling by 120,000 tons to 3,731,000 tons, and the latter rising by 291,000 to 2,721,000 tons. The following table compiled by the Manufacturers' Federation shows the position of the industry month by month during the year :—

UNITED KINGDOM.

		Production		
		Furnaces in Blast at End of Month	Pig-iron	Ingots and Castings
			Tons.	Tons.
1913—Monthly average	- -	338	855,000	638,600
1920—	- -	285	669,500	755,600
1924—	- -	185	609,900	685,100
1925—January	- -	172	574,500	605,100
February	- -	165	541,900	652,300
March	- -	169	607,900	684,700
April	- -	158	569,800	597,600
May	- -	157	574,700	651,600
June	- -	148	510,300	585,400
July	- -	136	492,700	590,400
August	- -	136	444,500	477,100
September	- -	129	448,700	640,100
October	- -	136	473,700	652,400
November	- -	141	494,100	653,800
December	- -	141	503,400	606,800
Total	-	—	6,236,200	7,397,300

At the end of the year there were some signs of improvement. An application for protection under the Safeguarding of Industries Act was refused by a Cabinet Committee.

Figures of new life assurance again showed an increase over the preceding year. The Board of Trade Committee appointed to consider what changes might be desirable in the Assurance Companies Act, 1909, recommended, in an interim report, that companies which transact reinsurance business only, whether fire, accident, or employers' liability, ought not to be treated as doing these classes of business for the purpose of the 1909 Act. The Government announced their intention to introduce legislation giving effect to the recommendations of this interim report. For marine underwriters 1925 was an unsatisfactory year, owing to great competition and consequent low rates. There was also keen competition in fire insurance business. *The Times* estimate of home fire losses was 7,683,000*l.*, an increase of 157,000*l.* over the 1924 figure, but a decline of 3,105,000*l.* on the total for 1923. In North America, where British offices transact a large business, fire losses were again exceptionally heavy, the total for the first 11 months being \$330,000,000 (against \$333,000,000 in 1924).

LAW.

DURING 1925, with the exception of the King's Bench Division, considerable progress was made with the reduction of arrears of work. In the Court of Appeal a stage was reached which ensured the hearing of an appeal in the term following that in which it was entered. In the Chancery Division the Courts kept well abreast of their work, and in the Probate and Admiralty Division, owing to the appointment of a third permanent judge, the result of influential agitation, by the end of the Michaelmas sittings the lists were exhausted and the two puisne judges were detailed to assist the King's Bench. Even in the last-mentioned division there was some improvement, but at the end of the year four months was still the average period between setting down and hearing in the case of actions for trial.

Three reports of considerable importance were issued by their respective committees during the year. Owing to the increase of fraudulent trading and bankruptcy since the war, the Board of Trade desired information as to further amendments of the Act of 1914, and in their report many useful recommendations were made by the committee which should assist the discovery and punishment of offences. Poor Persons procedure was reconsidered, and a scheme evolved which adopted the principles of further decentralisation of the work, and placing its administration in the hands of the legal profession. At the end of the year an exceedingly important document was issued by the Home Office departmental committee on sexual offences against young persons. As was only to be expected, there was a division of opinion on two points of prime interest, namely, the age of consent and the defence of reasonable belief. Recent cases have shown the inadequacy of the maximum sentences for offences of this description, and a revision of this branch of the criminal law is probable in the near future.

There were several matters of considerable legal importance that came into prominence during the year. An attempt was made by the executive to obtain a blank cheque in the matter of search warrants, and a general right to search was sought where there was suspicion that an indictable offence was about to be committed. At the last stage of the Criminal Justice Bill, which was passed into law in December, the Home Secretary discovered that it was "a very contentious clause," and it was dropped accordingly. Again, on a free vote in the House of Commons, the grand jury was retained at Quarter Sessions as well as at Assizes; and the presumption of coercion of a married woman by her husband, when an offence was committed by her in his presence, was

abolished, but such coercion as a defence was still permitted to be proved. Although a short Bill was introduced by the Lord Chancellor to relieve husbands from liability for their wives' torts, time was not found to place it upon the statute book.

In marked contrast to the preceding year, the legislation for 1925 has created a record, both in bulk and in importance. First and foremost must be placed the monumental Property Acts, which, in seven chapters, consolidated the new law of realty and so much of the old law as is retained, and under which copyholds, the Statute of Uses, the heir at law, and other landmarks disappeared at midnight of December 31. Other Consolidation Acts placed on the statute book were, the Housing Act, the Town Planning Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, and the Supreme Court of Judicature (Consolidation) Act, which reproduced in 227 sections and six schedules all the enactments relating to the Supreme Court from 31 Edw. III. down to 1925. Many other measures of prime importance were passed during the year. The Administration of Justice Act gave power to dispense with redundant assizes, and fixed the statutory right to trial by jury both in the High Court and County Court; the Gold Standard Act facilitated the return to a gold standard; the further protection of birds was provided for by cap. 31, and the exhibition and training of performing animals was regulated by cap 38; the Finance Act of the year reduced the income tax and imposed the new silk duties and reimposed the so-called McKenna duties; and the Guardianship of Infants Act amended the law with respect to the guardianship, custody, and marriage of infants. In addition must be mentioned the Summer Time Act that fixed permanently the period of Summer Time; the Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act; the Criminal Justice Act that provides for the better administration of probation amongst other numerous amendments of our criminal law; and finally, the Rating and Valuation Act, which is designed to simplify and amend the law, the Irish Boundary Act to give statutory effect to what is hoped to be a final solution of this difficult subject, and an act to impose customs duties on certain goods with a view to the safeguarding of some industries.

From the point of view of the public, three cases attracted considerable attention. The arrest of Major Sheppard and his complete vindication was promptly followed by a thorough investigation by Mr. Rawlinson, K.C., who was appointed by the Home Office to inquire into the allegations made against the police. His report showed that existing regulations were unknown or ignored, that proper safeguards were not provided against the unnecessary detention of accused persons, and that supervision by superiors was wanting. To meet these points action was taken by the Home Secretary, and a section inserted in the Criminal Justice Act to extend the right of granting bail. In the autumn, after a hearing lasting eight days, twelve persons were indicted and convicted of conspiracy to publish and utter seditious libels; of conspiracy to incite breaches of the Mutiny Act; and of conspiracy to seduce from their duty and to mutiny persons serving in His Majesty's forces. Both at the trial and in the subsequent motion of censure in the House of Commons the

suggestion was made that the prosecution was "a violation of the traditional British rights of freedom of speech and the publication of opinion," but on both occasions it was made clear that freedom of speech is limited only by the law of the land, and that sedition is a criminal offence that knows no politics. While the Communist trial was pending attention was called to the withdrawal of the prosecution on a charge of larceny against four men in connexion with the seizure by them of a newspaper van containing part of the issue of the *Daily Herald* (see English History, p. 107).

Again, it must be recorded that from a professional point of view the number of leading decisions was not large. The House of Lords, in *Leconfield v. Thornely* upheld the Court of Appeal, and it must now be taken to be settled that the clerk of the peace and of a county council holds a freehold office for life terminable only on misbehaviour. Before the same tribunal the protracted litigation in *Harnett v. Band*—the lunacy case—was brought to an end, the ruling of the Court of Appeal being upheld. Combinations to protect trade interests were again considered by the final appellate tribunal in *Sorrell v. Smuth*. In that case the respondents were the circulating managers of the principal London daily newspapers, and it was laid down that if the real purpose of a trade combination is not to injure another but to forward and defend the trade of the combination, no wrong is committed if the purpose is not effected by illegal means.

In *Short v. Borough of Poole* the Court of Appeal defined the powers of the local education authority concerning married women teachers in public elementary schools. It was held that their dismissal was within the discretion of the local authority, and that the Court would not interfere with the exercise of that discretion unless their action was *ultra vires* by reason of *mala fides* or corrupt motives, or was clearly in excess of their authority. The duty of a medical man who undertakes the treatment of a patient was considered by the Court of Criminal Appeal in *Rex v. Bateman*, and it was laid down that before he can be held criminally responsible for the death of his patient the negligence or incompetence must show such disregard for the life and safety of others as to amount to a crime against the State. *Buckle v. Holmes*—the "cat and pigeon" case—may also be mentioned, for there a Divisional Court held that a cat, being a domestic animal, is *domitæ naturæ* and *scienter* must be proved before the owner can be held liable for its unprovoked trespasses. Owing to the heavy incidence of taxation, it is not surprising that a very large proportion of the cases in the professional reports relate to the Revenue. Most of these apply old principles to new facts, but a few demand special notice. In *Whitney v. Inland Revenue Commissioners*, the House of Lords decided that a non-resident alien is within the charge of super-tax on income derived from sources within the United Kingdom, and by a majority held that the "machinery" for assessment was existent; and the law lords, in *Brighton College v. Marriott* were of opinion that although the income and property of a school must be applied solely to the promotion of its objects, namely, education, the school carried on a trade or

business and the surplus school fees were liable to income tax. The Court of Appeal in *Grainger v. Maxwell's Executors* affirmed the two principles that to charge income tax there must have been some income during the year of charge, and that the charge of income tax was on actual receipts, and not on sources of income; and Mr. Justice Rowlatt held that an ordinary backer of horses was not assessable to income tax in respect of the proceeds of his betting transactions (*Graham v. Green*). An incident, happily of rare occurrence, arose in *Rex v. Freeman*, where the Divisional Court was called upon to intervene in a case of personal scurrilous abuse of a judge as a judge.

In the High Court, the vacancy created by the retirement of Mr. Justice Lush, was filled by the appointment of Mr. R. A. Wright, K.C., and Mr. Alexander Bateson, K.C., was selected for the additional judgeship in the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division. Mr. E. C. Burgis, Mr. T. B. Leigh, Mr. S. C. Leech, and Mr. T. E. Haydon, K.C., were made County Court judges; Mr. J. Sharpe, Mr. R. E. Dummett, Mr. Gattie, Mr. Snell, and Mr. Oulton, metropolitan police magistrates; Mr. W. W. Paine, Stipendiary of East Ham; and Mr. Ward Coldridge, K.C., a registrar in bankruptcy in succession to Sir Herbert Hope, who retired at the end of the year.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I.

THE LOCARNO TREATIES.

(October 16, 1925.)

No. 1.

Final Protocol of the Locarno Conference, 1925.

(Translation.)

THE representatives of the German, Belgian, British, French, Italian, Polish, and Czechoslovak Governments, who have met at Locarno from the 5th to 16th October, 1925, in order to seek by common agreement means for preserving their respective nations from the scourge of war and for providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes of every nature which might eventually arise between them,

Have given their approval to the draft treaties and conventions which respectively affect them and which, framed in the course of the present conference, are mutually interdependent :—

Treaty between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy
(Annex A).

Arbitration Convention between Germany and Belgium (Annex B).

Arbitration Convention between Germany and France (Annex C).

Arbitration Treaty between Germany and Poland (Annex D).

Arbitration Treaty between Germany and Czechoslovakia (Annex E).

These instruments, hereby initialled *ne varietur*, will bear to-day's date, the representatives of the interested parties agreeing to meet in London on the 1st December next, to proceed during the course of a single meeting to the formality of the signature of the instruments which affect them.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of France states that as a result of the draft arbitration treaties mentioned above, France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia have also concluded at Locarno draft agreements in order reciprocally to assure to themselves the benefit of the said treaties. These agreements will be duly deposited at the League of Nations, but M. Briand holds copies forthwith at the disposal of the Powers represented here.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain proposes that, in reply to certain requests for explanations concerning articles 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations presented by the Chancellor and

the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany, a letter, of which the draft is similarly attached (Annex F), should be addressed to them at the same time as the formality of signature of the above-mentioned instruments takes place. This proposal is agreed to.

The representatives of the Governments represented here declare their firm conviction that the entry into force of these treaties and conventions will contribute greatly to bring about a moral relaxation of the tension between nations, that it will help powerfully towards the solution of many political or economic problems in accordance with the interests and sentiments of peoples, and that, in strengthening peace and security in Europe, it will hasten on effectively the disarmament provided for in article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations

They undertake to give their sincere co-operation to the work relating to disarmament already undertaken by the League of Nations and to seek the realisation thereof in a general agreement

Done at Locarno, the 16th October, 1925 (Signed) LUTHER, STRESEMANN, EMILE VANDERVELDE, ARI BRIAND, AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, BENITO MUSSOLINI, AL SKRZYNSKI, EDUARD BENES.

ANNEX A.

Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy (Initialed at Locarno, October 16, 1925.)

(Translation)

The President of the German Reich, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Italy ;

Anxious to satisfy the desire for security and protection which animates the peoples upon whom fell the scourge of the war of 1914-18,

Taking note of the abrogation of the treaties for the neutralisation of Belgium, and conscious of the necessity of ensuring peace in the area which has so frequently been the scene of European conflicts ;

Animated also with the sincere desire of giving to all the signatory Powers concerned supplementary guarantees within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the treaties in force between them ;

Have determined to conclude a treaty with these objects, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries :

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows :—

Article 1. The high contracting parties collectively and severally guarantee, in the manner provided in the following articles, the maintenance of the territorial status quo resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and between Germany and France and the inviolability of the said frontiers as fixed by or in pursuance of the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles on the 28th June, 1919, and also the observance of the stipulations of articles 42 and 43 of the said treaty concerning the demilitarised zone.

Article 2. Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other.

This stipulation shall not, however, apply in the case of—

1. The exercise of the right of legitimate defence, that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the previous paragraph or to a flagrant breach of articles 42 or 43 of the said Treaty of Versailles, if such breach constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and by reason of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarised zone immediate action is necessary.

2. Action in pursuance of article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

3. Action as the result of a decision taken by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations or in pursuance of article 15. paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, provided that in this last event the action is directed against a State which was the first to attack.

✓ Article 3 In view of the undertakings entered into in article 2 of the present treaty, Germany and Belgium and Germany and France undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the manner laid down herein all questions of every kind which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy :

Any question with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted to judicial decision, and the parties undertake to comply with such decision

All other questions shall be submitted to a conciliation commission. If the proposals of this commission are not accepted by the two parties, the question shall be brought before the Council of the League of Nations, which will deal with it in accordance with article 15 of the Covenant of the League.

The detailed arrangements for effecting such peaceful settlement are the subject of special agreements signed this day.

✓ Article 4. 1. If one of the high contracting parties alleges that a violation of article 2 of the present treaty or a breach of articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles has been or is being committed, it shall bring the question at once before the Council of the League of Nations.

2. As soon as the Council of the League of Nations is satisfied that such a violation or breach has been committed, it will notify its finding without delay to the Powers signatory of the present treaty, who severally agree that in such case they will each of them come immediately to the assistance of the Power against whom the act complained of is directed.

3. In case of a flagrant violation of article 2 of the present treaty or of a flagrant breach of articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles by one of the high contracting parties, each of the other contracting parties hereby undertakes immediately to come to the help of the party against whom such a violation or breach has been directed as soon as the said Power has been able to satisfy itself that this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and that by reason either of the crossing of the frontier or of

the outbreak of hostilities or of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarised zone immediate action is necessary. Nevertheless, the Council of the League of Nations, which will be seized of the question in accordance with the first paragraph of this article, will issue its findings, and the high contracting parties undertake to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Council provided that they are concurred in by all the members other than the representatives of the parties which have engaged in hostilities.

Article 5. The provisions of article 3 of the present treaty are placed under the guarantee of the high contracting parties as provided by the following stipulations :—

If one of the Powers referred to in article 3 refuses to submit a dispute to peaceful settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision and commits a violation of article 2 of the present treaty or a breach of articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles, the provisions of article 4 shall apply.

Where one of the Powers referred to in article 3 without committing a violation of article 2 of the present treaty or a breach of articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles, refuses to submit a dispute to peaceful settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision, the other party shall bring the matter before the Council of the League of Nations, and the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken ; the high contracting parties shall comply with these proposals.

Article 6. The provisions of the present treaty do not affect the rights and obligations of the high contracting parties under the Treaty of Versailles or under arrangements supplementary thereto, including the agreements signed in London on the 30th August, 1924

Article 7. The present treaty, which is designed to ensure the maintenance of peace, and is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

Article 8. The present treaty shall be registered at the League of Nations in accordance with the Covenant of the League. It shall remain in force until the Council, acting on a request of one or other of the high contracting parties notified to the other signatory Powers three months in advance, and voting at least by a two-thirds' majority, decides that the League of Nations ensures sufficient protection to the high contracting parties ; the treaty shall cease to have effect on the expiration of a period of one year from such decision.

Article 9. The present treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the British dominions, or upon India, unless the Government of such dominion, or of India, signifies its acceptance thereof.

Article 10. The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be deposited at Geneva in the archives of the League of Nations as soon as possible.

It shall enter into force as soon as all the ratifications have been deposited and Germany has become a member of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, done in a single copy, will be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, and the Secretary-General will be requested to transmit certified copies to each of the high contracting parties.

In faith whereof the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at Locarno, the 16th October, 1925. (Signed) LUTHER, STRESE-MANN, EMILE VANDERVELDE, A. BRIAND, AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, BENITO MUSSOLINI.

ANNEX B.

Arbitration Convention between Germany and Belgium. (Initialled at Locarno, October 16, 1925.)

(Translation)

The undersigned duly authorised,

Charged by their respective Governments to determine the methods by which, as provided in article 3 of the treaty concluded this day between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy, a peaceful solution shall be attained of all questions which cannot be settled amicably between Germany and Belgium,

Have agreed as follows .—

PART I.

Article 1. All disputes of every kind between Germany and Belgium with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights, and which it may not be possible to settle amicably by the normal methods of diplomacy, shall be submitted for decision either to an arbitral tribunal or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, as laid down hereafter. It is agreed that the disputes referred to above include in particular those mentioned in article 13 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

This provision does not apply to disputes arising out of events prior to the present convention and belonging to the past.

Disputes for the settlement of which a special procedure is laid down in other conventions in force between Germany and Belgium shall be settled in conformity with the provisions of those conventions

Article 2. Before any resort is made to arbitral procedure or to procedure before the Permanent Court of International Justice, the dispute may, by agreement between the parties, be submitted, with a view to amicable settlement, to a permanent international commission styled the Permanent Conciliation Commission, constituted in accordance with the present convention.

Article 3. In the case of a dispute the occasion of which, according to the municipal law of one of the parties, falls within the competence of the national courts of such party, the matter in dispute shall not be submitted to the procedure laid down in the present convention until a judgment with final effect has been pronounced, within a reasonable time, by the competent national judicial authority.

Article 4. The permanent Conciliation Commission mentioned in article 2 shall be composed of five members, who shall be appointed as follows, that is to say: the German Government and the Belgian Government shall each nominate a commissioner chosen from among their respective nationals, and shall appoint, by common agreement, the three other commissioners from among the nationals of third Powers; these three commissioners must be of different nationalities, and the German and Belgian Governments shall appoint the president of the commission from among them.

The commissioners are appointed for three years, and their mandate is renewable. Their appointment shall continue until their replacement and, in any case, until the termination of the work in hand at the moment of the expiry of their mandate.

Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation, or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

Article 5. The Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be constituted within three months from the entry into force of the present convention

If the nomination of the commissioners to be appointed by common agreement should not have taken place within the said period, or, in the case of the filling of a vacancy, within three months from the time when the seat falls vacant, the President of the Swiss Confederation shall, in the absence of other agreement, be requested to make the necessary appointments

Article 6. The Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be informed by means of a request addressed to the president by the two parties acting in agreement or, in the absence of such agreement, by one or other of the parties.

The request, after having given a summary account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain the invitation to the commission to take all necessary measures with a view to arrive at an amicable settlement.

If the request emanates from only one of the parties, notification thereof shall be made without delay to the other party.

Article 7. Within fifteen days from the date when the German Government or the Belgian Government shall have brought a dispute before the Permanent Conciliation Commission, either party may, for the examination of the particular dispute, replace its commissioner by a person possessing special competence in the matter.

The party making use of this right shall immediately inform the other party; the latter shall in that case be entitled to take similar action within fifteen days from the date when the notification reaches it.

Article 8. The task of the Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be to elucidate questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of enquiry or otherwise, and to endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement. It may, after the case has been examined, inform the parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it, and lay down a period within which they are to make their decision.

At the close of its labours the commission shall draw up a report stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement and, if need arises, the terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement.

The labours of the commission must, unless the parties otherwise agree, be terminated within six months from the day on which the commission shall have been notified of the dispute.

Article 9. Failing any special provision to the contrary, the Permanent Conciliation Commission shall lay down its own procedure, which in any case must provide for both parties being heard. In regard to enquiries the commission, unless it decides unanimously to the contrary, shall act in accordance with the provisions of Chapter III (International Commissions of Enquiry) of the Hague Convention of the 18th October, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

Article 10. The Permanent Conciliation Commission shall meet, in the absence of agreement by the parties to the contrary, at a place selected by its president.

Article 11. The labours of the Permanent Conciliation Commission are not public, except when a decision to that effect has been taken by the commission with the consent of the parties.

Article 12. The parties shall be represented before the Permanent Conciliation Commission by agents, whose duty it shall be to act as intermediary between them and the commission; they may, moreover, be assisted by counsel and experts appointed by them for that purpose, and request that all persons whose evidence appears to them useful should be heard.

The commission, on its side, shall be entitled to request oral explanations from the agents, counsel and experts of the two parties, as well as from all persons it may think useful to summon with the consent of their Government.

Article 13. Unless otherwise provided in the present convention, the decisions of the Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be taken by a majority.

Article 14. The German and Belgian Governments undertake to facilitate the labours of the Permanent Conciliation Commission, and particularly to supply it to the greatest possible extent with all relevant documents and information, as well as to use the means at their disposal to allow it to proceed in their territory and in accordance with their law to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts, and to visit the localities in question.

Article 15. During the labours of the Permanent Conciliation Commission each commissioner shall receive salary, the amount of which shall be fixed by agreement between the German and Belgian Governments, each of which shall contribute an equal share.

Article 16. In the event of no amicable agreement being reached before the Permanent Conciliation Commission the dispute shall be submitted by means of a special agreement either to the Permanent Court of International Justice under the conditions and according to the procedure

laid down by its statute or to an arbitral tribunal under the conditions and according to the procedure laid down by The Hague Convention of the 18th October, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

If the parties cannot agree on the terms of the special agreement after a month's notice one or other of them may bring the dispute before the Permanent Court of International Justice by means of an application.

PART II.

Article 17. All questions on which the German and Belgian Governments shall differ without being able to reach an amicable solution by means of the normal methods of diplomacy the settlement of which cannot be attained by means of a judicial decision as provided in article 1 of the present convention, and for the settlement of which no procedure has been laid down by other conventions in force between the parties, shall be submitted to the Permanent Conciliation Commission, whose duty it shall be to propose to the parties an acceptable solution and in any case to present a report.

The procedure laid down in articles 6-15 of the present convention shall be applicable.

Article 18. If the two parties have not reached an agreement within a month from the termination of the labours of the Permanent Conciliation Commission the question shall, at the request of either party, be brought before the Council of the League of Nations, which shall deal with it in accordance with article 15 of the Covenant of the League.

General Provision.

Article 19. In any case, and particularly if the question on which the parties differ arises out of acts already committed or on the point of commission, the Conciliation Commission or, if the latter has not been notified thereof, the arbitral tribunal or the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting in accordance with article 41 of its statute, shall lay down within the shortest possible time the provisional measures to be adopted. It shall similarly be the duty of the Council of the League of Nations, if the question is brought before it, to ensure that suitable provisional measures are taken. The German and Belgian Governments undertake respectively to accept such measures, to abstain from all measures likely to have a repercussion prejudicial to the execution of the decision or to the arrangements proposed by the Conciliation Commission or by the Council of the League of Nations, and in general to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

Article 20. The present convention continues applicable as between Germany and Belgium, even when other Powers are also interested in the dispute.

Article 21. The present convention shall be ratified. Ratifications shall be deposited at Geneva with the League of Nations at the same time

as the ratifications of the treaty concluded this day between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy.

It shall enter into and remain in force under the same conditions as the said treaty.

The present convention, done in a single copy, shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, the Secretary-General of which shall be requested to transmit certified copies to each of the two contracting Governments.

Done at Locarno, the 16th October, 1925.

ANNEX C.

Arbitration Convention between Germany and France (Initialled at Locarno, October 16, 1925)

This convention is identical *mutatis mutandis* with the convention between Germany and Belgium.

ANNEX D.

Arbitration Treaty between Germany and Poland. (Initialled at Locarno, October 16, 1925.)

This Treaty is identical *mutatis mutandis* with the convention between Germany and Belgium so far as the first 20 articles are concerned. The Treaty then continues as follows :—

Article 21. The present treaty, which is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not in any way affect the rights and obligations of the high contracting parties as members of the League of Nations and shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

Article 22. The present treaty shall be ratified. Ratifications shall be deposited at Geneva with the League of Nations at the same time as the ratifications of the treaty concluded this day between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy.

It shall enter into and remain in force under the same conditions as the said treaty.

The present treaty, done in a single copy, shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, the Secretary-General of which shall be requested to transmit certified copies to each of the high contracting parties.

Done at Locarno the 16th October, 1925.

ANNEX E.

*Arbitration Treaty between Germany and Czechoslovakia.
(Initialled at Locarno, October 16, 1925.)*

This Treaty is wholly identical *mutatis mutandis* with the Treaty between Germany and Poland.

ANNEX F.

Draft Collective Note to Germany regarding Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations (Initialed at Locarno, October 16, 1925.)

(Translation.)

The German delegation has requested certain explanations in regard to article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

We are not in a position to speak in the name of the League, but in view of the discussions which have already taken place in the Assembly and in the commissions of the League of Nations, and after the explanations which have been exchanged between ourselves, we do not hesitate to inform you of the interpretation which, in so far as we are concerned, we place upon article 16.

In accordance with that interpretation the obligations resulting from the said article on the members of the League must be understood to mean that each State member of the League is bound to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account

No. 2.

Treaty between France and Poland.

(Translation)

The President of the French Republic and the President of the Polish Republic ,

Equally desirous to see Europe spared from war by a sincere observance of the undertakings arrived at this day with a view to the maintenance of general peace ;

Have resolved to guarantee their benefits to each other reciprocally by a treaty concluded within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the treaties existing between them ,

And have to this effect nominated for their plenipotentiaries .

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions :—

Article 1. In the event of Poland or France suffering from a failure to observe the undertakings arrived at this day between them and Germany, with a view to the maintenance of general peace, France, and reciprocally Poland, acting in application of article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, undertake to lend each other immediately aid and assistance, if such a failure is accompanied by an unprovoked recourse to arms. /

In the event of the Council of the League of Nations, when dealing with a question brought before it in accordance with the said undertakings, being unable to succeed in making its report accepted by all its members other than the representatives of the parties to the dispute, and in the event of Poland or France being attacked without provocation, France, or reciprocally Poland, acting in application of article 15, paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, will immediately lend aid and assistance.

Article 2. Nothing in the present treaty shall affect the rights and obligations of the high contracting parties as members of the League of Nations, or shall be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world. *

Article 3. The present treaty shall be registered with the League of Nations, in accordance with the Covenant.

Article 4. The present treaty shall be ratified. The ratifications will be deposited at Geneva with the League of Nations at the same time as the ratification of the treaty concluded this day between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy, and the ratification of the treaty concluded at the same time between Germany and Poland.

It will enter into force and remain in force under the same conditions as the said treaties.

The present treaty, done in a single copy, will be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, and the Secretary-General of the League will be requested to transmit certified copies to each of the high contracting parties.

Done at Locarno, the 16th October, 1925.

No. 3

Treaty between France and Czechoslovakia.

✓ This Treaty is identical *mutatis mutandis* with that between France and Poland.

II.

THE IRISH BOUNDARY AGREEMENT.

(December 3, 1925)

AGREEMENT amending and supplementing the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland to which the force of law was given by the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, and by the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) Act, 1922.

WHEREAS on the sixth day of December nineteen hundred and twenty-one Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland were entered into. ¹

AND WHEREAS the said Articles of Agreement were duly ratified and given the force of law by the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, and by the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) Act, 1922 :

AND WHEREAS the progress of events and the improved relations now subsisting between the British Government, the Government of the Irish Free State, and the Government of Northern Ireland, and their respective peoples, make it desirable to amend and supplement the said Articles of Agreement, so as to avoid any causes of friction which might mar or retard

¹ See ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 86

the further growth of friendly relations between the said governments and peoples :

AND WHEREAS the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State being united in amity in this undertaking with the Government of Northern Ireland, and being resolved mutually to aid one another in a spirit of neighbourly comradeship, hereby agree as follows :—

1. The powers conferred by the proviso to Article XII. of the said Articles of Agreement on the Commission therein mentioned are hereby revoked, and the extent of Northern Ireland for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and of the said Articles of Agreement, shall be such as was fixed by sub-section (2) of section one of that Act.

2. The Irish Free State is hereby released from the obligation under Article V. of the said Articles of Agreement to assume the liability therein mentioned.

3. The Irish Free State hereby assumes all liability undertaken by the British Government in respect of malicious damage done since the twenty-first day of January nineteen hundred and nineteen to property in the area now under the jurisdiction of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State, and the Government of the Irish Free State shall repay to the British Government, at such time or times and in such manner as may be agreed upon, moneys already paid by the British Government in respect of such damage, or liable to be so paid under obligations already incurred.

4. The Government of the Irish Free State hereby agrees to promote legislation increasing by 10 per cent. the measure of compensation under the Damage to Property (Compensation) Act, 1923, in respect of malicious damage to property done in the area now under the jurisdiction of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State between the eleventh day of July, nineteen hundred and twenty-one, and the twelfth day of May, nineteen hundred and twenty-three, providing for the payment of such additional compensation by the issue of Five per Cent. Compensation Stock or Bonds.

5. The powers in relation to Northern Ireland which by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, are made powers of the Council of Ireland, shall be and are hereby transferred to and shall become powers of the Parliament and the Government of Northern Ireland ; and the Governments of the Irish Free State and of Northern Ireland shall meet together as and when necessary for the purpose of considering matters of common interest arising out of or connected with the exercise and administration of the said powers.

This Agreement is subject to confirmation by the British Parliament and by the Oireachtas of the Irish Free State, and the Act of the British Parliament confirming this Agreement shall fix the date as from which the transfer of the powers of the Council of Ireland under this Agreement is to take effect.

Dated this 3rd day of December, 1925.

[The Agreement was signed by the following representatives of the three parties concerned :—

ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT :—Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Churchill, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Lord Birkenhead, and Mr. Amery.

ON BEHALF OF THE IRISH FREE STATE :— Mr. Cosgrave, Mr. O'Higgins, and Mr. Blythe.

ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND :—Sir James Craig and Mr. J. Blackmore (Secretary to the Northern Ireland Cabinet).]

III.

THE IRISH BILL, 1925.

On December 8, 1925, a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons in order to confirm and give effect to a certain Agreement amending and supplementing the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland to which the force of law was given by the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, and by the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) Act, 1922

The two clauses of the Bill are as follows .—

1 (1) The Agreement set forth in the Schedule to this Act [Document No. II. above] being an Agreement amending and supplementing the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, to which the force of law was given by the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, and by the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) Act, 1922, is hereby confirmed, and the said Articles of Agreement for a Treaty and the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, shall have effect accordingly.

(2) The date as from which the powers in relation to Northern Ireland, which by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, are made powers of the Council of Ireland, are to be transferred to the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland, shall be the first day of April, nineteen hundred and twenty-six, and that day shall, in relation to the transfer of those powers, be the appointed day for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 : and as from that day so much of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and the Irish Free State (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1922 (Session 2), as relates to the Council of Ireland is hereby repealed .

Provided that this repeal shall not affect the provisions of subsection (2) of section ten of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, as modified by paragraph 3 of the First Schedule to the Irish Free State (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1922 (Session 2) with respect to the rates, fares, tolls, dues and other charges authorised to be charged by railway companies in Northern Ireland or the powers of the Railway and Canal Commission thereunder, until fresh provision is made by the Parliament of Northern Ireland with regard to the amount of any such rates, fares, tolls, dues and other charges.

2. (1) This Act may be cited as the Ireland (Confirmation of Agreement) Act, 1925.

(2) This Act shall come into operation on the date on which the said Agreement is confirmed by Act of the Parliament of the Irish Free State, or if such an Act is passed before the passing of this Act shall come into operation on the passing of this Act.

IV.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE TREATY.

(January 20, 1925)

(Translated from the Russian.)

Convention defining the Fundamental Principles for the Regulation of mutual relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan, being desirous of consolidating friendly relations and economic collaboration between them, resolved to conclude a Convention regarding the fundamental principles for the regulation of such relations and appointed for that purpose their plenipotentiaries, *viz* , for the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Lev Mikhaelovich Karakhan, Ambassador in China ; and for His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Kenkiti Joshizava, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in China, Djoushia Knight of the Order of the first class of the " Sacred Treasure," who, on presenting to one another their respective credentials, found the same to be correct and in due form, and agreed as follows :—

Clause I. The High Contracting Parties agree that Diplomatic and Consular relations shall be established between them on the coming into force of the present Convention.

Clause II The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees that the Treaty concluded at Portsmouth on September 5, 1905, shall remain in full force.

It is agreed that all Treaties, Conventions and Agreements, other than the said Portsmouth Treaty, concluded between Japan and Russia prior to November 7, 1917, shall be revised at a conference which is to take place subsequently between the Governments of the High Contracting Parties, and that they may be modified or revoked as altered circumstances may require.

Clause III. The Governments of the High Contracting Parties agree that on the coming into force of the present Convention, they will enter upon a revision of the Fisheries Convention of 1907, taking into consideration any alteration in general conditions which may have taken place since the date of concluding the aforesaid Fisheries Convention.

Until the conclusion of such revised Fisheries Convention, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will follow the practice as established in 1924 regarding the granting on lease of fishing sections to Japanese subjects •

Clause IV. The Governments of the High Contracting Parties agree that on the coming into force of the present Convention, they will negotiate and conclude a Treaty of Trade and Navigation in accordance with the principles set out below, and that until the conclusion of such a Treaty, the general intercourse between the two countries shall be regulated by such principles.

1. Citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties will, in accordance with the laws of either country, enjoy (a) a full liberty of entry, transit and residence on the territory of either party, and (b) permanent and full protection, together with security of life and property.

2. Each of the High Contracting Parties grants on its own territory, in accordance with the laws of the country, to citizens and subjects of the other party, to the fullest and most comprehensive extent, and on condition of reciprocity, the right of private property, and also the right freely to engage in trade, navigation, business or other peaceful occupations.

3. Without prejudice to the right of each Contracting Party to regulate by its own laws its system of international trade in the given country, it is agreed that neither of the Contracting Parties shall apply against the other Party any special measures of prohibition, restriction or taxation, which might in any way become a hindrance to the development of the intercourse, economic or otherwise, between the two countries, both Parties desiring that the trade, navigation and industry of each country, shall as far as possible enjoy all the advantages of the most favoured nation.

The Governments of the High Contracting Parties further agree from time to time, as circumstances may require, to enter into negotiations regarding the conclusion of special agreements relative to trade and navigation for the purpose of better regulating and consolidating the economic relations between the two countries

Clause V. The High Contracting Parties solemnly affirm their desire and intention to live in peace and amity with each other, scrupulously to respect the indubitable right of each State to arrange its own affairs within the bounds of its own jurisdiction according to its own desires, to abstain and to restrain all persons in its Government service, and all organisations receiving any financial aid whatever from them, from any open or concealed action which may in any way whatsoever threaten the order or the safety of any portion of the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or of Japan.

It is further agreed that neither of the High Contracting Parties will allow the presence on any territory under its jurisdiction of —

(a) Organisations, parties or associations pretending to be the Government of any part of the territory of the other Party, or

(b) Foreign subjects or citizens, who are actually engaged in political work for any such organisations, parties or associations.

Clause VI. With the object of developing economic relations between the two countries, and taking into consideration the needs of Japan in respect of natural products, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is prepared to grant to Japanese subjects, companies and associations, concessions for the exploitation of mineral, timber, and other natural resources within the whole of the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Clause VII. The present Convention is subject to ratification. Such ratification thereof by each of the High Contracting Parties is to be communicated within the shortest possible period through its diplomatic representative at Peking to the Government of the other Party, and as from

the date of the later of these ratifications this Convention shall come into full force.

The formal exchange of ratifications shall take place at Peking within the shortest possible period.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention in two copies in the English language and have affixed their seals thereto.

Executed at Peking, this twentieth day of January, One thousand nine hundred and twenty-five.

(Signed) L. KARAKHAN.
K. JOSHIZAVA.

PROTOCOL (A).

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan upon the signing this day of the Convention defining the fundamental principles regulating relations between them, have thought it desirable to regulate certain matters connected with the said Convention and through their respective Plenipotentiaries have agreed to the following provisions :—

Clause I. Each of the High Contracting Parties pledges itself to deliver into the possession of the other Party all movable and real estate belonging to the Embassy and Consulates of that other Party and which is, in fact, on the territory of the first-mentioned Party.

In the event of its being proved that the land occupied by the former Russian Government in Tokio is so situated as to create any difficulty in the re-planning of the city of Tokio or in the provision of public requirements, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be prepared to consider any proposals which may be made by the Japanese Government for the purpose of disposing of such difficulty.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will grant the Japanese Government all reasonable facilities in the choice of suitable sites and buildings for the Japanese Embassy and Consulates which may be established within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Clause II. It is agreed that all questions respecting debts to the Government or to the subjects of Japan in connexion with State loans and Treasury obligations, issued by former Russian Governments, namely by the Imperial Russian Government and its successor, the Provisional Government, are to be left to be determined by subsequent negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Japan.

It is understood that upon adjusting these questions, the Government or subjects of Japan will not, all other conditions being equal, be placed in a position less favourable than those which the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may grant to the Government or to the citizens of any other country on similar questions.

It is also agreed that all questions relating to the claims of the Government of one Party against that of the other, or of citizens of the one Party

against the Government of the other, are to be left for adjustment at subsequent negotiations between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Japan.

Clause III. In view of the fact that climatic conditions in Northern Saghalien prevent the immediate return home of the Japanese troops at present stationed there, the whole of these troops shall be withdrawn from the said region by May 15, 1925.

Such evacuation is to commence as soon as climatic conditions permit, the full sovereignty of the competent authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics being immediately restored in each and every region of Northern Saghalien on its evacuation by the Japanese troops.

Details relating to the transference of administration and the cessation of occupation will be co-ordinated at Alexandrovsk between the Commander of the Japanese Occupation Army and the Representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Clause IV. The High Contracting Parties mutually declare that there is not now in existence any Treaty or Agreement respecting any military alliance, or any other secret Agreement whatsoever, concluded by either of them with any third Party which might be an infringement or a menace to the sovereignty or territorial rights or the safety of the state of the other High Contracting Party.

Clause V. The present Protocol will be considered as having been ratified with the ratification of the Convention defining the Fundamental Principles regulating the Relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan, signed on this date.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol in two copies in the English language and have affixed their seals thereto.

Executed at Peking, this twentieth day of January, One thousand nine hundred and twenty-five.

(Signed) L. KARAKHAN.
K. JOSHIZAVA.

PROTOCOL (B).

The High Contracting Parties have agreed upon the following provisions as to Concession Contracts subject to be concluded within five months from the date of the complete evacuation of Northern Saghalien by Japanese troops as set out in Clause III. of Protocol (A), signed this day by the Plenipotentiaries of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan.

1. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to grant to Japanese enterprises recommended by the Government of Japan a concession for the exploitation of 50 per cent. of the area of each of the oil fields in Northern Saghalien mentioned in the Memorandum submitted to the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the Japanese Representative on August 29, 1924. In order to define the area which is to be granted on lease to Japanese enterprises for such exploitation, each of the indicated oil fields is to be divided into chess-board

squares of a size from 15 to 40 dessiatines each, the Japanese being granted a certain number of such squares the area of which number will constitute 50 per cent. of the total area; it being understood that the squares thus subject to be granted on lease to the Japanese, are not, as a general rule, to be adjacent, but must include all bore-holes where boring or work is being done by the Japanese. With regard to sections of oil fields remaining unleased, mentioned in the same Memorandum, it has been agreed that if the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall decide to offer such sections, wholly or partially, for foreign concession, equal opportunities regarding such concessions shall be granted to Japanese enterprises.

2. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics allows to Japanese enterprises recommended by the Government of Japan, for a period of from five to ten years, the right to make explorations of oil fields on the eastern coast of Northern Saghalien on an area of one thousand square versts, which area has to be defined within one year from the date of concluding the Concession Contracts, and if, as a result of such Japanese exploration, oil fields shall be discovered, the concession for exploitation of 50 per cent. of the area of oil fields thus established will be granted to the Japanese.

3. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to grant Japanese enterprises recommended by the Government of Japan a concession for exploiting coal deposits on the western coast of Northern Saghalien over a certain area which is to be defined in the Concession Contracts. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics further agrees to grant to such Japanese enterprises a concession for the coal deposits in the district of Douz within a certain area subject to definition in the Concession Contracts. With regard to coal deposits outside the defined area mentioned in the preceding two sentences, it has been further agreed that, if the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall decide to offer them for foreign concession, equal opportunities in respect of such concession shall be given to Japanese enterprises.

4. The length of the term for concessions for exploiting oil and coal fields and deposits as set out in preceding paragraphs will be determined to be as from 40 to 50 years.

5. By way of payment for the indicated concessions, Japanese concessionaires will hand over annually to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from 5 to 8 per cent. of the gross output from coal deposits, and from 5 to 15 per cent. of gross output from oil deposits; it is agreed that in case of gushers, payment may be increased up to 45 per cent. of the gross output.

The percentage of output subject in this manner to handing over by way of payment, will be finally defined in the Concession Contracts, such percentage being liable to modifications in accordance with the scale of annual output, by methods to be defined in the said Contracts.

6. The above-mentioned Japanese enterprises will be permitted to cut timber necessary for the needs of the undertaking and to erect various works for facilitating communications and conveyance of materials and

products. Details connected therewith will be set out in the Concession Contracts.

7. In view of the above-mentioned rent payment and taking into consideration the disadvantageous conditions with which the enterprises will be faced, owing to the geographical position and other general conditions in these regions, it has been agreed that the import and export of any objects, materials or products necessary for such undertakings or produced at the latter, will not be subject to the imposition of duties, and that the undertakings will not be subjected to any such taxation or restriction as would, in fact, render the profitable exploitation of the same impossible.

8. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will grant to the said undertakings all reasonable protection and facilities.

9. Details connected with preceding clauses will be made dependent on conditions in the Concession Contracts.

The present Protocol will be considered as having been ratified with the ratification of the Convention defining the Fundamental Principles regulating the Relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan, signed on this date.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol in two copies in the English language and have affixed their seals thereto.

Executed at Peking, this twentieth day of January, One thousand nine hundred and twenty-five.

(Signed) L. KARAKHAN.
K. JOSHIZAVA

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1925.

JANUARY.

1. **Sir Francis Carruthers Gould**, aged 80, the famous caricaturist, was born at Barnstaple, the son of an architect. As a schoolboy he constantly made studies of birds and animals. In due course he became a stockbroker, but when, in 1879, he illustrated the Christmas number of *Truth*, he felt his powers and took up seriously the art which made him famous. In 1887 he began to work as a caricaturist for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and later for the *Westminster Gazette*. For his achievements on the last-named paper he was knighted in 1906. In 1869 he married Miss Emily Ballment, of Barnstaple, who died in 1920, leaving three sons and two daughters. As a caricaturist he was in the line of succession to Doyle ("H.B.") who refined and civilised the ferocious humour of English caricature in the eighteenth century. His art, simple and direct, appealed to every class. "Who Killed Cock Robin?" was published in 1897, "Tales from the Zoo" (written with one of his sons, A. C. Gould, R.B.A.) in 1900. His "Froissart's Modern Chronicles" was a humorous annual history of modern England. He found inspiration in nursery rhymes, "Alice in Wonderland," Brer Rabbit and Uncle Remus, and Dickens. He also made sparing use of the Bible, Shakespeare, and the Classics.

6. **Dr. Lilius Hamilton, M.D., and L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., Edin.,** one of the pioneer medical women of the last century, came of an adventurous stock, the Hamiltons of Sundrum. She was educated at Cheltenham College, and subsequently was trained as a nurse. She then studied medicine in Edinburgh and London. She went to Calcutta to practise, and in 1893, became physician-in-charge of the Dufferin Hospital. In 1894 she proceeded to Afghanistan and was for three years physician to the Court of the Ameer. During that time she did far-reaching work among the Afghans. But her health broke down, and she returned to England to practise in London as a consultant. As an interlude, she paid a visit to South Africa and started a farm there. In 1908 she became Warden of Studley Horticultural and Agricultural College for Women, which position she held till her death. In 1915 she left the College in charge of her sister and went to Montenegro, where she had charge of a hospital till the retreat through Serbia. She was a woman of forceful, brilliant personality, and of deep and generous understanding.

— **Professor Guido Biagi**, aged 69, was Director of the famous Laurenziana and Riccardiana Libraries at Florence, and a great Dante scholar. The son of a painter, he was educated in Florence, and afterwards became Librarian of the Vittorio Emanuele Library in Rome, with a post in the Ministry of Education. In 1885 he was appointed to the Florence Libraries. Already a Dante scholar of some standing, he was, in 1899, made hon. sec. of the Società Dantesca Italiana,

founded in 1808, and his most important work was done in this connexion. He died in the midst of a great undertaking, the publication of a folio-edition of the "*Divina Commedia*," illustrated from old MSS., and with comments from twenty-three selected scholars. Biagi (with Count Passerini) published, in 1895, the "*Codice Diplomatico Dantesco*," and afterwards many other works and commentaries on, and illustrations of, Dante. He was organiser of the Dante exhibition (of books, MSS., etc.) in the Laurenziana in 1921, the sixth centenary of Dante's death. He also took a deep interest in the life and works of Shelley, and was a lover of England.

8. **Sir William Edmund Garstin, G.C.M.G., C.B.E.**, the great Egyptian irrigation engineer, was born in India in 1849, son of Charles Garstin, Bengal Civil Service. He was educated at Cheltenham College and King's College, London, and in 1872 entered the Indian Public Works Department. In 1885 he was "lent" to Egypt for irrigation work on the Nile, and in 1892, on his retirement from the Indian Public Works Department, was appointed Inspector-General of Irrigation in Egypt. He became Under-Secretary of State for Public Works, and in 1904 Advisor to the Ministry of Public Works, continuing to work for Egypt until 1908. In Lord Cromer's opinion he was the greatest hydraulic engineer in this or any other country. The Assiut barrage and the Assuan reservoir were his greatest works.

11. **John Sinclair, first Baron Pentland**, was a distinguished Liberal politician. A Sinclair of Dunbeath, he was born in Edinburgh in 1860, educated at Edinburgh Academy, Wellington, and Sandhurst, joined the Royal Irish Lancers in 1879, served in the Sudan in 1885, earning medal and clasp; and retired in 1887 with the rank of Captain. In 1892 he became member for Dumbarton, retiring from the Commons three years later on his appointment as secretary to Lord Aberdeen, then Governor-General of Canada. In 1897 he re-entered the House of Commons, and was raised to the peerage in 1909. He was made Secretary for Scotland when the Liberal Government came into power in 1905. In 1912 Lord Pentland became Governor of Madras, and held this position till 1919. He was made G.C.I.E. in 1912 and G.S.S.I. in 1918. In 1904 he married Lady Marjorie Gordon, by whom he had two children, a daughter and a son.

14. **Camille Décoppet**, Director of the International Postal Bureau in Switzerland, was born in 1862 in Susevaz. After passing through the high schools of Susevaz and Lausanne, he studied Jurisprudence, and in 1886 became *Licentiate-en-droit*. In 1888 he qualified as an attorney, and at 26 became States-General-Attorney. In 1889 he was elected to the National Council, where he represented Waadtland politics. He held many public offices, including that of head of the Swiss War Department in 1914. Five years later he became instead Director of the Weltpostverein. He was an acute jurist, and a subtle and graceful orator.

— **Harry Furniss**, aged 70, caricaturist no less than serious artist and illustrator, was a man of extraordinary energy and vitality. Born at Wexford of English and Scottish parentage, he was at school at Dublin and at the Hibernian Art Academy. As a youth he tried to establish an Irish comic paper called *Zozimus*, whereupon Tom Taylor, editor of *Punch*, asked him for sketches of Irish peasantry, and he came to London at 19. He drew for *London Society*, *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, and later for the *Illustrated London News*. He began to draw for *Punch* in 1880, joined the staff in 1884, and illustrated Lucy's "*Diary of Toby M.P.*" till 1894. In 1910 he illustrated Dickens' works, in 1911 the works of Thackeray, and afterwards various other famous books. He wrote one novel, "*Poverty Bay*," and illustrated it himself. Furniss's drawings had a beauty of line and an individuality which made his work recognisable at a glance.

16. Sir Thomas Jewell Bennett, C.I.E., aged 72, was editor of *The Times of India*, and rendered conspicuous service to India by his shrewd judgment of public policy. The son of J. T. Bennett, of Wisbech, he learned journalism in the office of *The Isle of Ely and Wisbech Advertiser*. In due course he became a leader writer on *The Standard*, going out to India in 1884 to *The Bombay Gazette*. In 1892 he became editor of *The Times of India*. He received the C.I.E. in 1903, and was knighted in 1921. He entered Parliament in 1918 as member for Sevenoaks, and his speeches on Indian affairs in the Commons were of much weight. He was twice married.

18. The Right Rev. Louis Charles Casartelli, D.D., Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, and one of the foremost linguists of his time, was born in Manchester in 1852, the son of an Italian refugee. He was educated at Salford Catholic Grammar School and at Ushaw, and took his M.A. degree at London University with gold medal in classics. He studied at Louvain University, where he graduated as Doctor of Oriental Languages. For eight years he taught in St. Bede's College, but returned to Louvain, where he made a study of Zoroastrianism in the early Christian centuries. Later he became Rector of St. Bede's, Professor of Zend and Pehlevi at Louvain, and lecturer on Iranian languages at Manchester University. In 1903 Dr. Casartelli was appointed to the Roman Catholic bishopric of Salford. The Pope and he had been warm friends in Milan while both engaged in research work in the library there. Dr. Casartelli wrote many translations from Eastern languages, and a diversity of other works, such as "Lectures on Commercial Geography," "The Popes in the Divina Commedia," and also historical essays and poems.

— **Dr. John McTaggart Ellis McTaggart**, aged 58, an eminent English philosopher, was the son of Francis Ellis McTaggart, a County Court Judge. He was educated at Clifton and Trinity College, Cambridge, obtained a first class in the Moral Science Tripos in 1888, and became a Fellow and lecturer of his college. In due course he took the D.Litt., was made an hon. LL.D. of St. Andrews and a Fellow of the British Academy. He was a disciple of Hegel, and wrote "Studies in the Hegelian Dialectic" in 1896, and "Studies in Hegelian Cosmology" in 1901, works of solid worth. In 1906 he wrote in another vein, "Some Dogmas of Religion," a work of popular philosophy of a destructive kind. He published in 1910 his "Commentary on Hegel's Logic." In 1921 he brought out the first volume of "The Nature of Existence," but the sequel did not appear in his lifetime. He was eminent in the field of pure metaphysics, and as a teacher possessed an attractive lucidity of style.

21. Sir Guilford Lindsey Molesworth, a distinguished engineer, aged 96, was the author of the "Pocket-book of Engineering Formule." Born in 1828 at Millbrook, where his father, the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, was curate, he was sent to the King's School, Canterbury, and then to the College of Civil Engineering at Putney. He served his apprenticeship with Sir William Fairbairn at Manchester, and subsequently gained experience of railway engineering. He went out to the Ceylon Railway Company in 1859, and the Colombo-Candy railway was finished under his direction. In 1862 he became Chief Resident Engineer, and later Director-General of Railways and Director of Public Works in Ceylon, producing his famous "Pocket-book" in the same year. In 1871 he went into the service of the Government of India, and constructed under many difficulties several Government Railways there. In 1888 he received the K.C.I.E., and in 1889 he retired. Sir Guilford was a man of great vigour, and in 1899 went to E. Africa to report on the Uganda Railway. In 1904 he became President of the Institution of Civil Engineers. The decimal system of coinage in Ceylon owes its introduction to his efforts. He wrote "Reason and Instinct in Ants" and "Spiders' Spinnings." He married in 1854, and was survived by one son and two daughters.

24. General Kuropatkin, aged 77, Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief in the Russo-Japanese War, died at Ehenchurin, leaving behind him interesting

records. He was primarily a diplomat and military organiser, and less distinguished as a General. In his youth he did well in the campaigns in Central Asia and in the Russo-Turkish War of 1878, and he received later important commands in Turkestan. Notable as an instructor in military law, in 1898 he was nominated War Minister, whereupon he made ready for the inevitable war with Japan. In 1904 he took command of the army, but retired after the defeat near Mukden. His failure was caused by the corrupt state of the army, and the Czar did not withdraw his favour, and in the World War he was made Commander-in-Chief at the North front.

26. **Sir James Mackenzie, M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.P.**, aged 71, was a heart specialist and pioneer of the "separate science" of medicine. He came from his studies in Edinburgh to a general practice at Burnley in Lancashire, and quickly realised that he had not the knowledge necessary for medical prognostication. So he devised an amazing piece of research work—the following up for twenty years of the lives of thousands of patients, who were sufferers from diseases of the heart. For twenty years his labours never relaxed, and then he wrote a book on "Diseases of the Heart," which was translated into many languages. He was by this time a consulting physician in London, and Lord Knutsford offered him wards in the London Hospital for continued observation. When opportunity came Sir James retired to St. Andrews to resume the work he had begun in Lancashire. He gathered the practising doctors of St. Andrews round him and asked them to co-operate with him in his researches, and shortly afterwards founded the St. Andrews Institute for Clinical Research, where he worked to the end. Sir James, who was knighted in 1915, was consulting physician to the King in Scotland.

— **Lord Claud Hamilton**, former chairman of the Great Eastern Railway, was the second son of the first Duke of Abercorn. Born in 1843, he joined the Grenadier Guards from Harrow in 1862, retiring in 1867, when he became Colonel of the 5th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. He was also A.D.C. to Queen Victoria. In 1865 he became Conservative member for Londonderry, and he held various seats till he retired in 1918. Among his many distinctions he counted membership of the Privy Council (in 1917), and of the Order of St. John. Throughout his life he combined sport and business.

27. **Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell**, a distinguished veteran of the old army, was born in 1841. In 1859 he purchased his commission as ensign in the 60th Foot, and for the next twenty-two years he gained military experience in South Africa. In 1882 he went with Sir Garnet Wolseley to Egypt, received the brevet of Colonel, and was appointed A.D.C. to Queen Victoria. In 1883 he took service with the Egyptian Army, defeated the Dervishes in 1885 and 1889, and left the Egyptian Army a virile organisation of 14,000 men. He quitted Egypt in 1892 with a G.C.M.G. In 1897 he was again sent to Egypt to assist Kitchener. After the victories of Atbara and Omdurman he received the G.C.B. In 1899 he became Commander-in-Chief in Malta, and held that post during the South African War. He was raised to the peerage at Edward VII.'s coronation, returned to England in March, 1903, and assumed command of the 4th Army Corps. In 1904 he went to Ireland as Chief Commander for four years, was promoted Field-Marshal, and retired at the age of 67. Lord Grenfell held many foreign orders, and was an LL.D. of Edinburgh and Cambridge Universities. He was twice married, and was succeeded by his elder son, born in 1905. He left one other son and a daughter.

— **Friedrich von Hügel**, Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, was conspicuous as a great religious thinker and philosopher, and one of the best known supporters of the Modernist movement, who remained, nevertheless, within the Roman Catholic Church. Born in Florence in 1852, the son of the German Baron Karl von Hügel, who was Austrian Minister at the Grand Ducal court of Tuscany, and

of a Scottish mother, he remained there till the revolution in Italy in 1859. His father was appointed in 1860 Minister at the Belgian Court, retiring in 1867 to Torquay, where he lived till his death in 1870. Friedrich's education was thus of a miscellaneous character; he was never at a school or university. An attack of typhus in his young days left him deaf for the rest of his life. In 1873 he married Lady Mary Catherine Herbert, and for the rest of his life made London his home. Though interested in geology and entomology, his main studies were connected with religion, i.e., philosophy, psychology, and the critical study of the documents of Scripture. In "The Mystical Element of Religion as studied in S. Catherine of Genoa and Her Friends" (1909), we have a statement of his own philosophy of religion. His other published works include "Eternal Life" (1912), "The German Soul in its Attitude towards Ethics and Christianity, the State, and War" (1916), and "Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion" (1921). In 1904 von Hugel obtained British naturalisation. Four years before he died he accepted the Gifford Lectureship, but his health prevented him from giving the lectures. He was an honorary LL.D. of St. Andrews, and in 1920 became honorary D.D. of Oxford. He was survived by two daughters.

28. **Philip Henry Lee Warner**, aged 47, was a publisher and enthusiast for fine printing. The eldest son of Sir W. Lee Warner, G.C.S.I., he was at Rugby and University College, Oxford, where he took honours in Modern History. At first associated in publishing with a number of well-known firms, his enthusiasm for fine printing led eventually to co-operation with Mr. Herbert Horne, and the production of the "Riccardi" and "Florence" types, two most beautiful modern founts. He introduced the craft of colour printing into England, and the "Medici" prints, the manufacture of which he transferred to this country, are a monument of this enterprise. He married an American lady, by whom he had a son and two daughters.

30. **Sir Ryland Adkins, K.C.**, Recorder of Birmingham, who died at the age of 62, was an ardent Liberal and an active member of the Committee of the Congregational Union. He was educated at Mill Hill School and University College, London, taking B.A. in 1882. In 1890 he was called to the Bar, and became junior counsel to the Post Office in 1908. In 1911 he was appointed Recorder of Nottingham, and was transferred to the Recordership of Birmingham in 1920, the year he took silk. In 1911 he was knighted. He was an excellent speaker, but his success in Parliament, where he was member for the Middleton Division in 1906, and again in 1918, was due to his mastery of the intricacies of local administration and the education laws. He was chairman of Committee on the old age pension scheme.

— **George Unwin**, Professor of Economic History in Manchester University since 1910, began life as a clerk, and by his own assiduity and determination not only obtained an academic training, but rose to become an academic teacher of distinction. He wrote "Industrial Organisation in the 16th and 17th Centuries" (1904), "The Gilds and Companies of London" (1908), "Finance and Trade under Edward III." (1918), and "Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights" (1924). He was born in 1870, educated at University College, Cardiff, and Lincoln College, Oxford, and the University of Berlin. First private secretary to Mr. Leonard Courtney till 1907, he became lecturer on Economic History at Edinburgh University, whence, two years later, he proceeded to Manchester. He married, in 1902, a daughter of the Rev. Mark Guy Pearse.

FEBRUARY.

2. **John Lane**, a well-known publisher, first introduced to the public many writers and artists who have since become famous. Born at West Putford, North Devon, in 1854, he was educated at Chumleigh, and after some years of clerking

in London, feeling himself to be an instinctive connoisseur in *belles lettres* and objects of art, he started, along with Elkin Matthews, the publishing firm of "The Bodley Head." Lane prided himself as much on his illustrations as his literature. He was a great collector of first editions, pictures of all schools and periods, old glass, antique furniture, and prints. His partnership with Matthews lasted only seven years, and after that till 1921, when he turned his business into a limited company, he was sole head of the firm. In 1898 he married Mrs. King, an American lady, who was herself a writer of distinction.

2. **Sir James Yoxall**, aged 67, for long General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, was a notable educationist. He was sent to the Wesleyan School at Redditch, and at thirteen became a pupil-teacher at Sheffield, and as a boy tried to form an Association of Pupil Teachers for the betterment of their lot. He next went to the Westminster Training College, becoming a certificated teacher in 1878. He obtained rapid promotion, and at thirty-four was made President of the National Union of Teachers, and afterwards Secretary to the Union. In 1895 he was returned to Parliament as member for Nottingham West, and sat in Parliament for twenty-four years, devoting himself to the interests of school children and teachers. He was a keen student of art and literature, and brought to his work a humane outlook reflecting the ideals of Matthew Arnold, who influenced him in youth. He became honorary M.A. of both Oxford and Cambridge, and was knighted in 1911, being the first elementary school teacher to receive this honour. He married the elder daughter of Colonel Coles, R.E., in 1886, and was survived by his wife, one son, and two daughters.

5. **Arnold White**, aged 77, was a trenchant writer on social and political questions. From early days he was interested in colonisation, and, to study this problem, he visited South Africa six times, and also Canada, the United States, and Russia repeatedly. He acted for the late Baron de Hirsch in negotiating with the late Czar's Government for the Jewish colonisation of Argentina. It was as "Vanoc" of *The Referee* that he was best known, and under this pen-name he set forth weekly his imperialistic views, urging a strong Empire and a strong Navy. His writings include "Problems of a Great City," in 1886, and subsequently, "Tries at Truth," "English Democracy," "Efficiency and Empire," "The Navy and its Story," "The Modern Jew," "Is the Kaiser Insane?" He married Helen Constance, daughter of Lowell Price, who died in 1918.

6. **Emil Anner**, aged 54, was a painter and etcher of cosmopolitan reputation, and only less distinguished in the realm of music. He was born in Baden, in Switzerland, and studied art from 1886 to 1890 at Zurich, and then proceeded to the Art School at Geneva, where he studied water-colour painting. In 1892 he went to Munich, and under Raab became an etcher of the first rank, and the object of much adulation in Munich art circles. At 31 he returned to Baden and became a drawing teacher at Brugg. He wrote two volumes of songs from the text of a Chinese poet, and a diversity of other music.

8. **Lord Blyth**, aged 83, was the faithful champion of penny postage. A director of W. & A. Gilbey, wine merchants, he was made a baronet in 1895 and a baron in 1907. Lord Blyth's interests were multifarious and benevolent. He identified himself with farming in its widest aspects, and believed in the benefit of scientific education for agriculturists. He was a Liberal, and his love of peace led him to the advocacy of three ideals—penny postage, close friendship with France, and understandings between employers and employed.

9. **Sir George Anderson Critchett, Bt.**, was surgeon oculist to King Edward VII. (1901) and King George V. (1910). The eldest son of George Critchett, F.R.C.S., surgeon to the London Hospital and the Ophthalmic Hospital at Moorfields, he was born in 1845, educated at Harrow, in France, Germany, and at Caius College, Cambridge. He became a member of the Royal College of

Surgeons in England in 1872, and a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh in 1880. From the outset of his career he devoted himself to diseases of the eye, and held many distinguished appointments as ophthalmic surgeon to various hospitals and associations. Sir Anderson Critchett was noted for his steadiness of nerve and dexterity of touch, which enabled him to operate even in his eightieth year; and also for his charming personality. He married Agnes Dunphie, by whom he had three children.

9. **Dr. E. E. Klein, M.D., F.R.S.**, aged 80, was not only a pioneer in normal histology, but was one of the founders of the science of bacteriology which has revolutionised the theory of medicine and changed the practice of surgery. The son of a Hungarian merchant, he distinguished himself academically, and was chosen in 1870 by Professor Stricker of Vienna to translate his book, the "Manual of Human and Comparative Histology" for the British Government. He arrived in England with introductions but no knowledge of English, but was so highly thought of that he was invited to return the next year to undertake research work in this country. He quickly assimilated the language, became a lecturer on histology, and in 1875 an F.R.S. In 1876 he gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Vivisection, and in 1879 he published "Elements of Histology." His original investigations resulted in the publication in 1884 of "Micro-organisms and Disease; an Introduction to the Study of Specific Micro-organisms." In 1902 he was appointed lecturer on advanced bacteriology at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He was survived by a son and a daughter.

10. **Sir Robert Coryndon**, Governor of Kenya Colony, who died at Nairobi, spent his whole career in Africa. Born in Cape Colony in 1870, the son of Selby Coryndon, of Plymouth, he was educated at Cheltenham, joined the Bechuanaland Border Police at 19, and spent some years as a hunter in Mashonaland and Rhodesia. During the inquiry into the Jameson Raid he was Cecil Rhodes' private secretary; and later he was appointed British Resident in Barotseland in 1897, and Administrator of N.W. Rhodesia. In 1907 he was sent, at Lord Selborne's request, to Swaziland, to cope with the native authorities, and won the confidence of the Swazis by his firm and just administration. In 1916 he was made Resident Commissioner in Basutoland, in 1917 Governor of the Uganda Protectorate, and in August, 1922, he was appointed Governor of Kenya Colony and High Commissioner of the Zanzibar Protectorate. Coryndon's earnest desire was to promote the welfare of the Africans while safeguarding the interests of the whites, and also of the immigrant Indians of Uganda. He consistently advocated railway extension and harbour developments. He received his knighthood in 1919. In 1909 he married Miss Phyllis Worthington, by whom he was survived with three sons and one daughter.

17. **Dr. George Sigerson**, who died at Dublin, was formerly a member of the Free State Senate, and was the *doyen* of modern Gaelic scholarship. He was a specialist in nervous diseases, and lecturer in Biology in Dublin University. But his heart was in politics and poetry. In the eighties and nineties his wife held a literary salon in Dublin, where were found all the young Irish writers who have since become famous. His daughter is the poetess Dora Sigerson Shorter. Dr. Sigerson wrote translations from the Irish, *viz.*, "Ballads of the Gael and Gale," a book on Irish land tenures, and "Modern Ireland."

— **Sir James Ramsay, of Bamff**, the distinguished historian, who died at the age of 92, was tenth baronet of the Ramsay family whose ancestor received the lands of Bamff in Perthshire from Alexander the Second in 1232. He was educated at Rugby and Christ Church, and was called to the Bar, but never practised. His literary output, *viz.*, "Lancaster and York," "The Foundations of England," "The Angevin Empire," "The Dawn of the Constitution," and "The Genesis of Lancaster," make a complete history of England from the earliest times to the accession of the House of Tudor, and has been entitled by

the Clarendon Press, "The Scholar's History of England." Sir James was the recipient of many honours, being a member of the British Academy, an honorary Litt.D. of Cambridge, and LL.D. of Glasgow. His eldest daughter, Agneta Frances Ramsay, was placed in the first class in the Classical Tripos of 1887, and subsequently married Dr. Butler, Master of Trinity. His second daughter is the Duchess of Atholl, M.P.

21. Sir Clifford Allbutt, Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge, was a great figure in English medicine and an outstanding personality in his generation. Son of a Suffolk rector, he was born at Dowsbury in 1836, and educated at St. Peter's College, York, and Caius College, Cambridge. After taking his M.B. in 1860 he went to practise at Leeds. In 1868 he graduated M.D. and obtained a large consulting practice in the North of England. In 1889 he became a Commissioner of Lunacy, and in 1892 succeeded Sir George Paget as Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge. In 1881 Allbutt published an important work, "The Ophthalmoscope in Medicine," giving an outline of new forms of usefulness for this instrument, he having previously endowed the profession with the pocket clinical thermometer. Sir Clifford was learned in the history of medicine, on which he wrote many books. He received numerous academic honours, was made a Knight Companion of the Civil Division of the Bath in 1907, and a Privy Councillor in 1920.

23. Sir Edward Thorpe, F.R.S., was an eminent chemist who did remarkable work in magnetic surveys, and took part in four solar eclipse expeditions; in 1921 he gave a notable address to the British Association on the mechanism of the atom. Born at Manchester in 1845, he studied at Owens College, Heidelberg, and Bonn. In 1870 he became Professor of Chemistry at the Andersonian Institute, Glasgow, and afterwards filled the same position at Leeds and South Kensington. Amongst his distinguished scientific activities he determined atomic weights, including that of radium. He was a vivacious lecturer, and published many scientific works, including "Chemical Problems," "Inorganic Chemistry," and "Quantitative Analysis." But his monumental work was his "Dictionary of Applied Chemistry." He received his knighthood in 1909. In 1870 he married a daughter of Dr. Watts, of Manchester.

24. Hjalmar Branting, three times (Socialist) Prime Minister of Sweden, was a patriot, idealist, and leader of men. Born in Stockholm in 1860, the son of a teacher of gymnastics and a singer of repute, he distinguished himself at school and at the University of Upsala. Astronomy attracted him first, but he soon turned to politics and journalism. He may be said to have created the Social Democratic Party in Sweden. His Socialism was sane and practical, springing purely from disinterested love of the proletariat. In 1922 he became a Member of Council of the League of Nations, and he helped in 1924 to prepare the Geneva Protocol (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 88), which he styled the Magna Carta of Europe.

— **Joseph Rowntree**, an industrial and social reformer whose success in business enabled him to realise his ideals, was born in 1836 at York, the son of Joseph Rowntree. He was educated at Bootham School (the Friends' School), and entered his father's business in York, but in 1869 joined his brother in his cocoa factory; and when his brother died in 1883 became sole owner of the enterprise, which, when he died, employed 7,000 people. His philanthropy took very practical directions, such as the regulation of good wages and of suitable hours of work, the providing for unemployment and old age, and the determining of good working conditions. In 1891 he introduced welfare workers into his factory. Mr. Rowntree was much engrossed with the housing problem, and founded early in this century the beautiful Earswick village, containing 400 well-designed houses. This village is a real community, with a Folk Hall and a school. As a war memorial to his workers who had fallen in the war, he presented a park

to York, but he always maintained that the League of Nations was the best war memorial.

25. **Enrico Thobez**, who died in Turin aged 55, was an incomparable *causeur* in the columns of the Turin *Stampa* and other Italian newspapers. He was the critic of national and international literature and art, who had most influence with educated Italians of his day. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the German painter Bocklin's art and artistic ideals. Except for Dante and Leopardi, all Italian literature seemed to him to be rhetoric, and he admired the Greeks in literature always at the expense of the Latins. His principal works were lately republished: "Mimi," "Vangelo della Pittura," "Arce di Ulisse," "Il Viandante e la sua orme," "Filo d'Arianno," and "Il Pastore."

26. **Sir Everard Alexander Hambro**, aged 82, was for many years head of one of the leading banking houses of London. He was the third son of Baron Hambro of Denmark, who, after he had opened his London bank in 1839, assisted Cavour with loans to consolidate the modern kingdom of Italy. When Everard succeeded his father in 1877, the banking house of Hambro was in the forefront as issuers of foreign loans. He was early elected a director of the Bank of England, and his business talent and physical strength were such that he was actively engaged in business till over 80 years of age. He was created K.C.V.O. in 1908.

28. **Friedrich Ebert** was the first President of the German Republic. Ebert was born at Heidelberg of humble parentage in 1871. He was apprenticed to a saddler at 14, and as a journeyman he travelled from end to end of Germany in the practice of his trade. He settled at Bremen, and married there, and in 1894 he became editor of the *Burgerzeitung*, the local Socialist newspaper. He then became secretary of the Bremen branch of the German Socialist Party, and in 1905 its general secretary at Berlin. In 1912 he entered the Reichstag, and when war broke out he was President of his party. When the war left Germany defeated, he entered the Cabinet as Chancellor, and secured the adoption of the programme of the "Majority Socialists" rather than that of the extreme revolutionaries. Ebert was elected President of the German Republic in 1920, and the general and widespread sorrow at his death bore testimony to the success of his policy of moderation and firmness.

MARCH.

4. **Dr. James Ward**, Professor of Mental Philosophy and Logic at Cambridge, was a philosopher of high distinction and wide influence. He was born at Hull in 1843, educated at the Liverpool Institute, and was articled to a firm of architects, but left his profession to study for the Congregational ministry. After a year as pastor of Emmanuel Church, Cambridge, he resigned his charge in consequence of a change in his theological views, and entered Trinity College, Cambridge, thenceforth pursuing the vocation of a scholar. He was already an M.A. of London, and he gained many honours at Cambridge, becoming a Fellow of Trinity in 1874, and Lecturer in Moral Science in 1881. Before this appointment, Ward had studied at Berlin and Göttingen, not only theology and philosophy, but also physiology, so that he brought to the study of psychology a wealth of knowledge, and interpreted the phenomena of mind from a point of view systematically evolutionary. He vindicated for the psychologist a standpoint distinct from both that of physiology and that of philosophy, and his writings helped to bring about the recognition of psychology as a science. His treatise on Psychology in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and his "Principles of Psychology," are most important contributions to modern psychology. Ward lectured by preference on epistemology and metaphysics; and in 1897 he became Professor of Mental Philosophy and Logic at Cambridge. His Gifford lectures of 1896 at Aberdeen led to the publication of his "Naturalism and Agnosticism,"

showing that the physicist can never give a philosophy of reality, and clearing the ground for the establishment of a spiritual view of the world; and his Gifford lectures, delivered at St. Andrews, brought forth "The Realm of Ends, or Pluralism and Theism." Other of his works are the "Psychological Principles" of 1918 (partly a revision of his earlier work), "Sense Knowledge," and "A Study of Kant," published in 1922. He married Miss Martin, one of the earliest Newnham students, and she survived him with one son and two daughters.

6. **Prince George Evgenevitch Lvoff**, aged 65, was one of the great Russia landowners who strove in the years before the Revolution to adapt themselves to the new régime. Educated at Moscow, he worked all his life at organising District Councils in Russia, and in the Russo-Japanese War he led auxiliary expeditions furnished by these councils into Manchuria. He became a member of the Duma in 1905, and later President of the Provisional Government, an office he resigned in 1917 to make way for the Kerensky administration. When the Bolshevik revolution broke out he was imprisoned, but escaped, and reached France by way of Siberia and Japan. The remainder of his life was spent in Paris.

10. **Sir Alexander Hosie**, of the British Consular Service, possessed a knowledge probably unique amongst Englishmen of the interior of China. Born in 1853 he was educated at Aberdeen Grammar School and University, and in 1876 was appointed to the Consular service in China. His wide travels in that Empire resulted in valuable books, such as "Three Years in Western China" and "Manchuria: Its People, Resources, and Recent History." By reason of his masterly handling of British interests after the Boxer insurrection, he was made first Consul-General of Szechwan, and here he studied trade conditions, travelling as far as Tibet in his researches into the opium question. In 1905 he became Acting Commercial Attaché in China, and his immense knowledge of China's vegetable products increased British trade by hundreds of thousands of pounds. In 1908 he was a delegate to the opium conference at Shanghai, and his paper was the most valuable contribution to the conference. In 1912 he retired, and in 1915 he published "On the Trail of the Opium Poppy," and later a commercial map of China. He was knighted in 1907. Hosie was twice married, his second wife being a daughter of the Rev. W. E. Soothill, Professor of Chinese at Oxford, and the authoress of "Two Gentlemen of China."

— **Professor John Fillmore Hayford**, one of the most gifted men of science of the age, who, by establishing his Theory of Isostasy, extended by a clear and definite step the limits of human knowledge, was born in 1868 at Rouse's Point, New York, and graduated C.E. at Cornell University in 1889. In 1890 he was appointed a computer in the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and in 1900 he became chief of the Computing Division. Nine years later he published "The Figure of the Earth and Isostasy from Measurements in the United States of America," and thus at 41 entered the front rank of the world's geodesists. In 1924 the Victoria Medal of the Royal Geographical Society was conferred on him in recognition of his proof of the Theory of Isostasy. Hayford's grasp of masses of figures was remarkable, and his scientific motto was "Hold fast to observed facts." In 1894 he married at New York Miss Lucy Stone, sister of Professor W. K. Stone. His wife and four children survived him.

12. **Sir Francis Taylor Piggott** was formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Hong-Kong, and a well-known writer on public and private international law. Born in 1852, and educated at Paris, Worthling College, and Trinity College, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar in 1874. Three years later he was employed by the Foreign Office in connexion with a proposed convention with the Italian Government, and afterwards recommended by the Foreign Office to the Japanese Government as legal adviser for the drafting of their constitution. In 1894 he was made Advocate-General in Mauritius, and in 1905 was knighted and made

Chief Justice of Hong-Kong, where he remained for seven years. His principal works include "Foreign Judgments," "Exterritoriality and Consular Jurisdiction," "Behring Sea Letters," "Nationality and Naturalisation; and the English Law on the High Seas and beyond the Realm," "Letters on the Chinese Constitution," and "The Law of Sea Series."

12. **Dr. Sun Yat-Sen**, titular head of the Republican revolutionary Party in China, was born near Hong-Kong in 1867, the son of an agent of the London Missionary Society, and was thus acquainted with English from his youth up. At the age of 20 he entered the new College of Medicine at Hong-Kong, where he graduated five years later. His political opinions were too advanced for the days of the Dowager Empress, and he fled from China in 1895, remaining an exile till 1911, when the Manchus abdicated. On his return he was at once elected Provisional President of the New Republic, but retired in favour of the strong man Shih-Kai, with whom, however, he quarrelled in 1917, and got himself, at Canton, made President of a Southern Chinese Republic. In 1922 he was expelled through a military rising from Canton, and fled to Shanghai for a short time, but returned in the midst of the civil war in Canton, having made an active alliance with the Russian Bolsheviks. Full of private ambitions, and casting aside all scruples and Western ethics, he became one of the disruptive forces in China, taking part in Chinese politics entirely for his own hand. But his romantic and stormy career ended in pitiful failure.

14. **Dr. Manuel Peña**, the Paraguayan Minister of Foreign Relations, who died at Asunción, was born in Asunción on May 16, 1887, being the son of Don Jaime Peña and Doña Serapia Rojas, both descendants of distinguished families. At the age of 17 Doctor Peña graduated Bachelor of Science and Letters from the National College, afterwards going to Europe, where he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Paris in 1912. Upon his return to his own country he devoted himself for a time to the practice of his profession, serving for two years as director of the National Hospital and of the general office of the Public Health Department. In 1919, elected Deputy to Congress, he advocated the law for a sanitary campaign, and the contract with the Rockefeller Foundation for health work in Paraguay. He retired as deputy to assume the office of Director of Public Health. From this post he was appointed Minister of the Interior. In 1923 he was appointed Ambassador to Uruguay by President Eusebio Ayala. Upon his return he was made president of the Commission of Foreign Relations of the Chamber of Deputies, specialising in public international law.

16. **Professor John Arthur Platt**, a well-known Greek scholar, was born in 1860, educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, became a Fellow of Trinity in 1884, and worked with Wren, the famous army coach till 1894, when he became Professor of Greek at University College, London University. A brilliant and accurate scholar and a stimulating teacher, he contributed to the *Journal of Philology*, and published translations of the Agamemnon and Aristotle's "De Generatione Animalium," and also excellent texts of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey." He was a student of Calderon's plays, and was steeped in Persian lore and in Dante, and knew his way about all modern literature. He married, in 1885, Mildred Barham, daughter of Sir Edward Bond, K.C.B.

— **Professor August von Wassermann**, aged 59, of Berlin University, was widely known for his researches in infectious diseases. He studied medicine at Munich, Strasbourg, Vienna, and Berlin, where he was a pupil of Koch, in connexion with whose institute he worked all his professional life. He is best known for the Wassermann test, which made a revolution in the diagnosis of syphilis. He also developed the antitoxin treatment of diphtheria and inoculation against typhoid, cholera, and tetanus.

18. **Edward Lyulph Stanley, fourth Baron Sheffield of Roscommon**, did public work of permanent value on the old London School Board, and was a notable figure in the political and social world. Born in 1839, Edward Lyulph Stanley was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. He spoke in the Oxford Union with "absolute eloquence," and from that time the keenness of his intellect and the range of his knowledge were generally acknowledged though his caustic tongue limited the number of his friends. He did not enter the Commons till 1880, though long before this he had become an authority on educational and social questions, working on the old London School Board from 1876 onwards. He was made a member of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor in 1884, and of that on Elementary Education in 1887. His book, "Our National Education," appeared in 1899. He married, in 1873, a daughter of Sir Lowthian Bell, who survived him.

19. **Sir George Donaldson**, aged 79, was formerly a well-known art dealer and connoisseur in Bond Street, London, and was the donor to the Royal College of Music in 1894 of the collection of musical instruments forming the "Donaldson Museum." Of Scottish parentage, he received an all-round education on which to build up his knowledge of art and music, and he was also a great traveller in Southern Europe. After he retired to Hove his home became a veritable museum of old masters, old needlework, and historic French and English furniture. The collection of musical instruments which he presented to the Royal College of Music included the tortoiseshell guitar on which Rizzio played to Mary Queen of Scots. He married Alice Stronach of Edinburgh, who died in 1907, and he left two sons and four daughters.

— **Nariman Narimanov** represented the Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Republic on the Union Central Executive Committee of Four. Born in Tiflis in 1870 he became an elementary school teacher, and ten years later a medical student at the Novo-Rossick University. Always a revolutionary, he organised in 1904 the Persian Social Democratic Party, and had to leave the University. Later he was exiled for five years from the Caucasus to Astrakhan, but returned in 1913 and took a leading part in revolutionary politics. From 1917 to 1919 he worked to establish the Soviet régime in the Caucasus; in 1919 he was called to Moscow; and in 1920 was sent to the Genoa Conference as chairman of the Azarbaijan Council of People's Commissaries. Subsequently he was made chairman of the Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Republic. He ranked high as an orator, journalist, and writer; he translated Gogol into Turco-Tartar.

20. **Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K.G.**, Lord President of the Council, had a career of extraordinary distinction. Highly intellectual and of unremitting industry, his ambition was always for public service, which he esteemed to be the duty and privilege of his class. Born at Kedleston in 1859, the eldest son of the fourth Baron Scarsdale, he was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. He became President of the Union, and in 1883 was elected a Fellow of All Souls. Two years later he was made one of Lord Salisbury's private secretaries, and in 1886 he was elected M.P. for the Southport division of Lancashire, which he continued to represent till he went to India as Viceroy. Curzon was a great traveller. He went twice round the world, and paid four visits to India. In 1888 he made a tour through the Asiatic dominions of Russia, and in 1889 he became *Times* correspondent in Persia. His various books of travel are notable and interesting, both from a geographical and political point of view. In 1891 he was made Under-Secretary for India, and in 1895 Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The same year he married Miss Mary Leiter, the beautiful Chicago heiress. In 1898, when appointed Viceroy of India, he was gazetted Baron Curzon of Kedleston, in the peerage of Ireland, so that he could still sit in the Commons on his return. He went to India with a real knowledge of that country, and a determination to work as no Viceroy had ever worked before, and of this office he made a great success. His frontier policy and organisation of education,

commerce, and industry were masterly, and he was at the end of five years elected to an extension of office. But in 1905 he resigned, and in 1906 Lady Curzon died. In 1907 Lord Curzon became Chancellor of Oxford University, and in 1908 he gave up the idea of re-entering the Commons, and was made a representative Irish Peer in the Lords, though he seldom interfered in Irish affairs. In the early years of the war his oratory was effective in recruiting, and in 1916 he was included in Mr. Lloyd George's Government as Lord President of the Council, Leader of the House of Lords, and a member of the War Cabinet. After the war he took part in the Peace negotiations as a follower of the Prime Minister, and although he was made Foreign Secretary in 1919 he still allowed Mr. Lloyd George to frame the country's foreign policy, and confined himself to the administration of his own department. One of his last great acts was the Peace Treaty with Turkey at Lausanne in 1923. Curzon's sincerity of purpose and deep patriotism were beyond any doubt, but he was not a diplomatist, and when the Labour Government fell he was not again made Foreign Secretary, but Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords. His honours were multifarious. Outstanding amongst them were the highest Indian Orders, the Garter, which he received in 1916, the Marquisate (1921), and various academic honours. He married, secondly, the widow of Alfred Duggan, of Buenos Ayres, and left three daughters, the eldest of whom succeeded to the Barony of Ravensdale.

20. Percy Macquoid, R.I., aged 73, the artist, designer, and decorator, was the son of T. R. Macquoid and Mrs. Macquoid, the novelist. He was educated at Marlborough, at Heatherley's, the Royal Academy Schools, and in France, and began to exhibit at an early age. He used in turn as a pictorial medium oils, water colours, and black and white, but he will be remembered by his stage designs, which were strikingly beautiful, whether for historic or modern plays. In 1916 he published "Shakespeare's England," and in 1924 he brought out, along with Mr. George Edwards, the first volume of "A Dictionary of English Furniture from the Middle Ages to the Late Georgian Period."

— **The Rev. John Skinner, D.D.**, Principal Emeritus of Westminster College, Cambridge, and a distinguished Old Testament scholar, was born at Inverurie in 1851, educated at Aberdeen University, the Free Church College, Aberdeen; New College, Edinburgh; and Leipzig and Göttingen. He held two Free Church pastorates in Scotland, Fergus (1880-86) and Kelso (1886-90). In 1890 he became Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature in the Theological College of the Presbyterian Church of England, and from 1908 to 1922 he was Principal of the College. Dr. Skinner's various volumes on the Old Testament are profound and illuminating, and as a lecturer he was clear and impressive. He married in 1885 Miss Niven of Echt, Aberdeenshire.

22. Marie Brema, well known as a mezzo-soprano who possessed a highly dramatic temperament, was born in Liverpool in 1856 of German and Virginian parentage. She adopted the name of Brema for her musical career after her marriage to Mr. Arthur Braun. On concluding her studies under Sir George Henschel, she made her *début* at a concert in 1891, but decided on an operatic career, and almost immediately had a great success, singing at Bayreuth in 1894. Subsequently she sang at the Paris opera and in Brussels, in the provinces and at Covent Garden, always moving audiences to enthusiasm. Her principal parts were Ortrud, Kundry, Brunnhilde, Orphée, Dalila, and Amneris. During her later years she was a great teacher, giving instruction at the Manchester College of Music.

24. Dr. Arthur Dendy, aged 59, was Professor of Zoology at King's College, London, since 1905. The son of a Midland pastor, he was educated at Manchester Grammar School and Owens College, and afterwards obtained a Natural History post at the British Museum. But he went soon after to Melbourne University as assistant to the Professor of Biology, and six years later became Professor of

Biology in Canterbury College, New Zealand; in 1903 Professor of Zoology in Cape Town; and in 1905 returned to this country to the post he was holding at his death. Dendy was a clear and inspiring lecturer; in each of the countries to which his duties took him he extended his knowledge of the local fauna. His work on sponges gained him the F.R.S. In 1912 he published "Outlines of Evolutionary Biology;" and in 1919 edited a volume, "Animal Life and Human Progress." He married a daughter of Louis Courtauld, barrister, and left one son and two daughters.

28. General Lord Rawlinson, Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India, was born in 1864, the eldest son of Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson, soldier, scientist, and diplomatist, and was educated at Eton and Sandhurst. In 1884 he obtained a commission in the King's Royal Rifle Corps, and was Lord Roberts' aide-de-camp through the Burmese Expedition of 1886-87. In 1891 he exchanged into the Coldstream Guards, in 1892 he passed into the Staff College, and in 1895 he became Brigade-Major at Aldershot. He took part in Lord Kitchener's Sudan campaign, and was present at the Battles of Atbara and Khartoum, where he received honourable mention. In 1895 he succeeded to his father's baronetcy. During the South African War he served in Ladysmith throughout the siege, and thereafter Lord Roberts gave him an appointment on his own staff. In 1903 he was made A.A.G. at the War Office and substantive Colonel, his duties being to organise military education and training. When the Great War broke out Rawlinson was first Director of Recruiting, then commanded the 4th Division in Flanders, and afterwards was sent home to organise the 8th Division. On his return to the front he was engaged at Neuve Chapelle and at Loos. In 1916 he was selected to command the Fourth Army, and in 1917 he was made full General. After the repulse of his troops at Nieuport, he took over the Second Army. In February, 1918, he succeeded Sir Henry Wilson on the Supreme Council at Versailles, and when Foch was nominated to the Supreme Allied Command, Rawlinson was sent to reorganise the Fifth Army; then, returning to his command of the Fourth Army, he broke through Hindenburg's defences east of Cambrai. After the Armistice he was sent to Russia to withdraw our forces from Archangel. In 1920 he was given supreme command of the British forces in India, where his task was to reduce Indian military expenditure at the same time keeping the North-West Frontier secure. He was made K.C.B. in 1915, G.C.V.O. in 1917, K.C.M.G. in 1918, G.C.B. in 1919, in which year he was also made Baron Rawlinson of Trent in Dorset. In 1919 he received the thanks of Parliament for his services in the Great War, and a grant of 30,000*l.* He married, in 1890, Meredith Kennard, but left no children.

APRIL.

2. Sir William Mitchell Acworth, K.C.S.I., an expert on railway economics, was the third son of the Rev. William Acworth, of South Stoke, Bath, and was born in 1850, and educated at Uppingham and Christ Church College, Oxford. He was for eighteen months tutor to the ex-Kaiser and Prince Henry of Prussia, and afterwards became a master at Dulwich College. In 1890 he was called to the Bar. His first books, "The Railways of England" (1889) and "The Railways of Scotland" (1890) were descriptive, but subsequently he turned his attention to the economic and statistical aspects of railway transport. For many years he lectured on railway economics at the London School of Economics, and his textbook, "The Elements of Railway Economics," which he published in 1905, embodied his views. Mr. Acworth was knighted in 1921, and created K.C.S.I. in 1922. During the last twenty years he took part in many official inquiries into railway matters. In 1906 he served on the Vice-Regal Commission on Irish Railways, and on the Board of Trade Committee on Railway Accounts and Statistics. Ten years later he, with Sir Henry Drayton and Mr. A. H. Smith, made up the Royal Commission on Canadian Railways, which reluctantly advised the Canadian Government to take over the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk

Railways, then running at a loss. In 1918 he was entrusted with an inquiry into the administration of the Rhodesian Railways, and in 1920 he was chairman of the Committee on Indian Railway Policy and Administration. He made three unsuccessful attempts to enter Parliament as a Unionist.

3. **Jean de Reske**, the great tenor, who was born in Warsaw in 1850, began his operatic career as a baritone, but in 1874 and 1875 he was told by the London critics that he was a true tenor, and having left England he began, in 1879, to sing tenor parts in Madrid, and afterwards in Paris. In 1887 he was engaged by Sir Augustus Harris for Drury Lane, and one morning, after his first performance as Radames in "Aïda," he awoke to find himself famous. He was then 37, and he remained without a rival, singing principally in London and New York till 1900, when, after twenty-three years, he found his voice was failing. It was mostly in Wagner that he endeared himself to opera-goers. The later years of his life were passed in Paris and Nice as an enthusiastic and inspiring teacher. His wife survived him; their only son was killed in 1917 fighting in the French Army.

5. **Mohamed Ali**, formerly Shah of Persia and father of the present Shah, died at San Remo. He was born in 1872, and as heir-apparent resided at Tabriz where he was under Russian influence. In 1906, when his father granted a constitution to Persia, Mohamed Ali unwillingly signed it, and a few days later he became Shah, and with rage found himself subject to this new-fangled political contrivance. From his succession till 1909, when he was deposed in favour of his little son, his reign was simply a struggle to ignore the constitution and deplete the treasury for his own uses, in which struggle he did not hesitate to imprison, and sometimes to have assassinated, those who opposed his wishes. He made an unsuccessful attempt in 1911 to regain his throne, and afterwards was induced by Great Britain and Russia to leave Persia. He was an Oriental despot of a bad type, without any attractive qualities.

8. **Tikhon, the Patriarch of Moscow**, and Head of the Orthodox Church of Russia, who died at Moscow, became famous for the stand he made against the persecution of the Church by the Bolsheviks. Born in 1865, the son of a parish priest, he was educated at the Academy of St. Petersburg, became a monk in 1891, and in 1898 as Bishop Tikhon was appointed Head of the Orthodox Church in the U.S.A. In 1907 he returned to Russia as Archbishop of Yaroslav, and was thence transferred to Vilna, where he was when the war broke out, and after the revolution he was elected Metropolitan of Moscow. With the fall of Rasputin and his followers, the Russian Church resolved to restore the Patriarchate, which had been in abeyance for 200 years, and Tikhon was enthroned as Patriarch. But morally and politically the Russian Church had to experience great difficulties, and the Patriarch to defend the Church had no power to aid him but his deep piety, natural tact, and firmness. In 1922 there was a trial of clergy for obstructing the appropriation of Church treasures by the Soviet authority. Awaiting his trial, Tikhon was imprisoned for more than a year. In 1923 he was released through British pressure, the Soviet paying this price for commercial recognition.

10. **Friedrich Baedeker**, who died at Leipzig, aged 81, was the son of the famous Karl Baedeker, who in 1839 founded the firm of guide-book publishers. Friedrich became head of the firm in 1878, and under his guidance the business was developed to cover districts outside Europe. He turned the guide-books of his firm into a series of wonderfully accurate compilations which won respect for themselves all over the world.

13. **Malcolm Cherry**, the actor, aged 46, was the son of J. F. Cherry and Lady Emily Cherry, daughter of Lord Rothes. He became an actor at 18, taking to begin with small Shakespearian parts. In 1900 he joined the company

of Mr. Fred Terry and Miss Julia Neilson, and remained with it twelve years as Mr. Terry's understudy, frequently playing his parts with great success. He afterwards took a variety of parts with different London managers, and he was part author of two romantic historical plays entitled "Mr. Jarvis" (which was played at Wyndham's in 1911) and "Jack o' Jingles" (which was played at the New Theatre in 1919).

14. **John Singer Sargent, R.A.**, the greatest portrait painter of his time, was of American birth, his father being Dr. Fitzwilliam Sargent, of Boston, Mass., and his mother Miss Mary Newbold Singer, of Philadelphia. By a curious chance, however, he was born in Florence, the city of art, in 1856, and his youth was spent in Europe. He studied art industriously at Florence, and in Paris under Duran, and his first famous portrait, dedicated to Duran, was painted in 1877. In 1879 he went to Spain to study Velasquez, and as a result, on his return to Paris, painted the "Carmencita," now at the Luxembourg. In 1884 he settled in Chelsea, to be near Whistler. Many of his clients from this time onward were Americans, and amongst others he painted portraits of Roosevelt, Rockefeller, Ada Rehan, Mrs. Joseph Chamberlain, Miss Leiter, and Lady Randolph Churchill. In 1899 he held an exhibition of his works in Boston, and executed the famous mural paintings in the Boston Public Library. In 1897 Sargent was elected R.A. in London, and on the walls of the London Galleries, from then till 1910, the English public became familiar with his works. They form a noble series, marvellous in vitality, direct and yet free, dazzling in representation of textures, and vividly true as likenesses. His Wertheimer portraits are marvels of grasp of character, and those of Coventry Patmore and Henry James are similarly wonderful. Sargent's women's portraits are specially vivid and essentially true, though not so analytical of the feminine character. His Duchess of Portland will rank with the best Gainsboroughs, and his groups, such as "The Three Ladies Acheson" brought back a type of art dead since the days of Lawrence. After 1910 Sargent was reluctant to paint portraits. He lived much and painted much in Venice, often in water colours. Sargent was tall and burly, of sanguine appearance, and with dark hair. He gave the impression of strength and sensibility. He was a great linguist and a brilliant musician. As a painter he sums up and closes a period in art; and as an individual he was one of the most generous of men.

15. **Dr. C. F. Burney**, Oriel Professor at Oxford since 1914, was one of the foremost Old Testament scholars in this country, adding to his profound knowledge of Hebrew an intimate acquaintance with Syriac, Aramaic, Arabic, and Assyrian. He kept abreast of all recent archaeological research, being associated of recent years with the Palestine Exploration Fund. Burney was born in 1868, the son of C. G. Burney, Paymaster-in-Chief, R.N., and was educated at Merchant Taylors' School and at St. John's College, Oxford, which he entered as an exhibitor in 1887, and with which he was associated all his life. He took first classes in the final honours schools of Theology and Oriental Studies, and gained many prizes and scholarships. In 1893 he became Senior Scholar of St. John's and Lecturer in Hebrew, and was ordained to the curacy of All Saints, Oxford. Six years later he became a Fellow of St. John's, and afterwards held various lectureships in Oxford, proceeding to the D.Litt. in 1903. Burney won fame both as a teacher and a writer. His "Outlines of Old Testament Theology" (1899) is a luminous exposition combining the higher criticism with deep religious insight. Other of his works are "Israel's Settlement in Canaan: The Biblical Tradition and its Historical Background" (1918), "A Study of the Book of Judges" (1918), and "The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel" (1922). He left a widow, two sons, and a daughter.

17. **Godfrey Charles Isaacs**, aged 58, a brother of Lord Reading, and till November, 1924, managing director of the Marconi Company, was the son of J. M. Isaacs, a fruit and shipbroker in London. He was educated at Hanover

and Brussels, and entered his father's business, which entailed on him much foreign travel, at an early age, and thus became a good linguist and financier. In 1910 Mr. Marconi invited him to become managing director of Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Limited. There followed in 1912 and 1913 the so-called Marconi scandals, regarding the buying of shares in the American Marconi Company by various English politicians through Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, in a way that was challenged as not perfectly above-board. Various newspapers spoke of corruption, committees of inquiry were formed in both Houses, and in the end every one concerned was vindicated from anything worse than indiscretion. Mr. Isaacs was a wireless enthusiast, and employed a progressive policy for his company, causing the erection of wireless stations all over the world.

18. **James Rochford Maguire**, a close friend and associate of Cecil Rhodes, was the second son of the Rev. J. M. Maguire, rector of *Kilkeedy, Co. Limerick*. He was born in 1855, and educated at Cheltenham College and Merton College, Oxford, where in various ways he distinguished himself. He entered at the Inner Temple in 1878, though he never practised at the Bar. At Oxford he formed a friendship with Cecil Rhodes, and afterwards he became the connecting-link between him and the Nationalist Party. In 1890 he entered Parliament for North Donegal, but in 1895 he was defeated in a Parliamentary contest by Major J. E. Jamieson. Meanwhile Rhodes's schemes of British South African expansion were being carried through. Maguire was one of those he had sent to Bulawayo in 1888 to obtain from the Chief a concession over minerals, an undertaking of great adventure. Maguire held his ground at the kraal till April, 1889, by which time Rhodes had secured the backing of the Imperial Government, and the Charter of Incorporation of the British South African Company was granted. Maguire acted at first as alternate to Rhodes on the board of the Company; indeed, his whole life was linked with that of Rhodes till Rhodes's death in 1902. Maguire was no more than Rhodes a party to the Jamieson Raid. He and his wife, who, before her marriage in 1895, was the Hon. Julia Peel, went through the siege of Kimberley along with Rhodes. After the death of Rhodes, Maguire carried on much of his work in the business world, not only as a director of the British South Africa Company and of that of the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, but in the sphere of South African railway development.

19. **Dr. Reginald Stephen Copleston**, formerly Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, was held in the greatest veneration by all who knew him. Born in Barnes Rectory in 1845, son of the Rev. R. E. Copleston, he was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, from which he won a Postmastership at Merton College, Oxford, proceeding later to a Fellowship and Tutorship at St. John's College. While at Oxford he was one of three former schoolfellows who wrote and published "*The Oxford Spectator*," a little periodical full of satiric humour. He was ordained deacon in 1872 and priest in 1875, and two days after his thirtieth birthday was consecrated in Westminster Abbey to the See of Colombo. When State support was withdrawn from the Church in Ceylon in the eighties, it fell to the Bishop to reorganise the diocese on a synodical basis. In 1902 he succeeded Bishop Welldon as Metropolitan of India, holding the position until 1913, when he resigned for reasons of health. His tenure of office was marked by the gradual evolution of diocesan and provincial synods. In 1882 he married Edith, daughter of Archbishop Trench of Dublin, and had a son and two daughters, who became Mrs. Terpyll and Mrs. Gee.

20. **Sir Rickman John Godlee, Bart.**, an eminent surgeon and biographer of Lister, came of an old Quaker family. His father was a barrister, and his mother the sister of Lord Lister. He was born at Upton, Essex, in 1849, educated at Tottenham, and graduated B.A. of London in 1867 before he began to study medicine. At University College he proved himself an expert dissector and draughtsman; he made the drawings for the plates of Quain's "*Anatomy*."

He was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1872, and elected to the Fellowship in 1876, after having graduated as Bachelor and Master of Surgery at London University, where he won the gold medal at each examination. A little later he went to Edinburgh to learn Lister's new methods, and afterwards returned to the London hospitals. Godlee performed one of the earliest operations for the removal of a tumour from the brain. He became in time consulting surgeon at University College Hospital, surgeon to the Household of Queen Victoria, and Surgeon in Ordinary to King Edward VII. and to King George V. He was created a baronet in 1912, and K.C.V.O. in 1914. He married, in 1891, Juliet Mary Seebohm, but had no children.

21. Olga Novikoff was born in 1840 of an old Muscovite family, the Kireieffs, and brought up in a keenly intellectual atmosphere. At 20 she married Ivan Novikoff, an officer who shared her enthusiasm for the Eastern Church, but not her political aspirations. Before 1875 Madame Novikoff had often visited London, and had made friends with Gladstone, W. H. Stead, and other political and literary personages. It was during the long crisis in the Near East which ended in the Congress and Treaty of Berlin that she influenced public opinion in England. A beautiful woman, Madame Novikoff was called the "Russian Siren," and in all probability she did help to restrain Britain from defending "the sick man," Turkey. But it was soon apparent that the realisation of her ideals would tend to produce too great an increase of Russian power in the Balkans, and then her influence quickly waned.

22. Professor Karl Marti, a distinguished Swiss Bible scholar, who held the Chair of Old Testament Theology at Bern University, died on the eve of his seventieth birthday. Born in Bubendorf, he became a pastor in Buus and in Muttetz, but later he turned to academic activity. After a lectureship in Basle he went to Bern, where he spent thirty years in the service of learning and the Church. His investigations were mainly concerned with the problem of the age of the Priestly Code. At first he disputed Wellhausen's theory that the Law was younger than the Prophets, but subsequently he veered round to the new view. In the *Critical Commentary of the Old Testament*, which he edited, the new view was reflected; he himself contributed to the series the commentaries on Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, and Daniel. He wrote also "A Short History of the Israelitish Religion," an Aramaic Grammar, and "The Religion of the Old Testament amongst the Religions of the Further East" (which was also translated into Japanese).

23. André Caplet, French composer, was born at Havre in 1879. He studied under Woollet till 1897, when he went to the Paris Conservatorium, and at 21 he took the "Rome" prize. He became a director of chorus and orchestra first at the Odeon, and afterwards at Boston, U.S.A. His meeting with Debussy was a turning-point in his career. No one ever understood as did Caplet the works of the master. But when Caplet at a later stage was himself inspired to composition, he showed himself sentimental and mystical. He loved the human voice, and through it gave expression to his religious feelings. He wrote much church music: "The Psalms," a Mass, the "Miroir de Jésus," "Epiphany," and some fine but half-finished sonatas.

28. The Rev. J. S. Pollen, S.J., was a learned Jesuit who devoted himself to historical research. Born in 1858, a nephew of Sir R. H. Pollen, Bart., he was educated in Germany and at the Oratory School, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1877. He made prolonged studies in the Vatican, and wrote "Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot," "The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," and other works. He left six brothers who have in various ways distinguished themselves.

— **Sir Eyre Crowe**, Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, spent his whole career in the Foreign Office. His father, Sir Joseph Archer Crowe,

K.C.M.G., C.B., was Consul-General at Leipzig in 1864, when his son Eyre was born. His mother was Fraulcin Asta von Barby. He was educated at Dusseldorf and Berlin, and then came to London to prepare for the Foreign Office examination. He entered the Foreign Office in 1885, and his ability, industry, and punctiliousness brought him to the forefront. In 1907 he was British Delegate at the Second Hague Conference and in 1908 at the International Naval Conference in London; in 1911 he was British Agent at The Hague, receiving the K.C.M.G. in the same year. In 1912 he was promoted to be Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and in 1920 he became Permanent Under-Secretary. He had few interests beside his work, music being his recreation. He left a widow, a son, and three daughters.

MAY.

3. **Clément Ader**, aged 84, was one of the pioneers of aviation, to the study of which he devoted himself from quite an early age. Towards the end of last century his efforts and researches caused the French Government to put funds at his disposal, and in 1897 he produced a machine known as the "Avion," which flew 300 yards in the presence of representatives of the Ministry of War. The French Government, however, did not feel enough confidence in his achievement to develop it further, and this disappointment caused M. Ader to give up his researches. But his pioneer work was more and more appreciated, and at the present day all French military aircraft are referred to as "Avions," in recognition of Ader's services.

6. **Alfred Lister**, aged 50, was a comedian of genius. He was born at Nottingham of theatrical parents, and began to act as a child. Sir Alfred Butt saw him in "The Officers' Mess," recognised his gift, and engaged him for the Palace Theatre. Since then he had a prosperous career, and his gift for imitable comedy increasing, he was for many years established high in the affections of the public. He died in Spain, whither he had gone for his health.

7. **Lord Leverhulme** was one of the great captains of industry of the last forty years, who, to intense energy, added an extraordinary power of initiative and system. William Hesketh Lever was born at Bolton in 1851, the son of a grocer, a markedly religious man. At 20 he entered his father's business, and at 30 he started for himself. In five years he sold his shop at Wigan for 60,000*l*. Prior to this he had bought a small unsuccessful factory at Wigan, and resolved to use it for soap-making. His soap he decided to call "Sunlight Soap," and this was the first of the many great factories in various parts of the world possessed by Lord Leverhulme. As his fortunes grew he had much opposition to his projects of grouping various concerns under one control, particularly from Lord Northcliffe, who wrote against the unpopular idea of trusts and combines. Mr. Lever was an intense individualist, and had a contempt for nationalisation and State enterprise of all kinds, and he did not see anything inconsistent with this attitude in rearing up his model industrial township of Port Sunlight. Mr. Lever was created a baronet in 1911, and raised to the peerage in 1917 as Baron Leverhulme. In 1922 he was advanced to a Viscounty, taking "of the Western Isles" as an addition to his title, though his attempt to play providence in the island of Lewis was a failure. Like so many self-made men, Lord Leverhulme took a keen interest in art, and was a great collector. His munificence was remarkable. He bought Stafford House and presented it to the nation for the London Museum. He was a generous donor to Liverpool University and to his native town of Bolton, and he showered gifts on Port Sunlight. In 1874 he married Elizabeth Ellen Hulme, of Bolton, a lady of marked ability and kindness, who was no small support to her husband. Lord Leverhulme was succeeded by his only child, the Hon. William Hulme Lever, educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, to whom, apart from certain considerable gifts to charity, he left all his property.

7 Admiral of the Fleet Sir Doveton Sturdee will be remembered for the naval action at the Falkland Islands, in which he defeated and sank the German squadron of von Spee. Born in 1859, the son of Captain Sturdee, R.N., Frederick Charles Doveton Sturdee entered the Navy at the age of 12, and from the first began to make his way up by sheer merit, taking prizes and medals at the Royal Naval College and the Royal United Service Institution. He married at 23, and was sent to Egypt the same year, gaining distinction in the war against Arabi Pasha. In 1899 he commanded the British force in Samoa, when von Tirpitz complained of violence to German ships from British and Americans. For his handling of this delicate situation he received the C.M.G. In 1905 Sturdee became Chief of Staff to Lord Charles Beresford in the Mediterranean, and was transferred to the Channel Fleet that year. He attained the rank of Rear-Admiral in 1910. The outbreak of war found Sturdee in Whitehall as Chief of the War Staff. Lord Fisher became First Sea Lord in November, 1914, and when the news came of the defeat and death of Sir Christopher Cradock at Coronel, Fisher sent Sturdee as Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic and South Pacific stations to the neighbourhood of the Falkland Islands. Sturdee's fleet had hardly begun to coal at Port Stanley when von Spee's squadron appeared. In the famous ensuing action almost the whole of the German squadron was destroyed, and the British had but a short list of casualties. In recognition of this great success Sturdee was created a baronet "of the Falkland Islands." In 1915 he became Commander of the Fourth Battle Squadron, and in 1916 he was present at the Battle of Jutland in this capacity, and afterwards was created K.C.M.G. and Commander of the Legion of Honour. Many other honours fell to him, and in 1918 he was promoted to be Admiral, and hoisted his flag as Commander-in-Chief for three years. In 1921 he was promoted to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet, receiving 10,000*l.* from Parliament in recognition of his services. In 1922 Sir Doveton Sturdee became President of the Society for Nautical Research, and threw himself into the schemes for preserving and restoring Nelson's ship the "Victory."

10. W. F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, was born in Ulster in 1856, educated at Londonderry, and in 1870 he joined his family in New Zealand, whither they had emigrated years before. He eventually settled near Auckland and became a successful farmer and a political power in his circle. His natural ability, force of character, and general attainments led in 1893 to his being chosen as President of the New Zealand National Association, and in 1894 he entered the New Zealand Parliament as member for Waitemata. Since then he sat continuously in the New Zealand Parliament—from 1903 as Leader of the Conservative Party against Mr Seddon and Sir Joseph Ward. In 1912 his party defeated the Mackenzie Government, and Mr Massey formed a Cabinet and took control. When the Great War broke out Mr. Massey instantly called on New Zealand to throw all her resources into the support of Britain. Conscription was enforced, and he commandeered for war purposes all the produce of the Dominion. With Sir Joseph Ward, Massey came twice to England to attend meetings of the War Cabinet, and afterwards he came to represent New Zealand at the Peace Conference at Paris. When in 1923 he paid his last visit to England, he already showed signs of overwork. In Parliament he was a vigorous, direct, and keen debater; and he was a great student of the Bible. He left a widow, three sons, and two daughters.

— **Sir Isidore Spielmann**, a benefactor of British art, gave his valuable services to the administration of art exhibitions in Europe, America, and the British Colonies. The son of a Jewish banker of Lombard Street, he was born in 1854, educated in England and Germany, and practised as an engineer till he was 40. He then turned his attention to the Arts, as an organiser of exhibitions. His services were in demand in Paris (1900), Glasgow (1901), Bruges (1902), St. Louis (1904), New Zealand (1906), Brussels (1910), Turin (1911), the British Empire Exhibition (1924), and on many other occasions. He arranged the

British Pavilion at the Rome Exhibition, and this resulted in a permanent home for the British School of Rome. He was instrumental in securing various masterpieces for our national collections, such as Holbein's "Duchess of Milan." Mr. Spielmann was knighted in 1905, and became a C.M.G. in 1907. He married a daughter of Sir J. Sebag-Montefiore.

12. **Miss Amy Lowell**, poetess and latest biographer of Keats, was born at Brookline, Mass., in 1874, and was privately educated, though she won many academic honours in her own country. From her study of certain French poets she began to write, and write about *vers libre*, and her influence and enthusiasm spread the cult. Among her works are "Sword Blades and Poppy Seed," and "Men, Women, and Ghosts," and others written in "polyphonic prose." To English readers she is best known as the author of the comprehensive and original life of Keats, published this year, in which she incorporated much material collected by herself.

— **General C. M. E. Mangin**, a distinguished French Commander in the Great War, and creator of the Black Army recruited from the French colonies, was born at Sarrebourg in 1866, the son of an Inspector-General of Forests. Having obtained a commission in the Marine Infantry, he served almost entirely in the French Colonies. In 1914 Mangin was given command of the 8th Infantry Brigade, and distinguished himself at Dinant, the Battle of the Marne, and at Verdun, and was made for the Verdun achievement a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. After the Nivelle offensive in 1917, which ended in failure, Mangin was given command of the 10th Army, and checked the German advance upon Compiègne in April, 1918. In the counter offensive he regained much French territory, and it was intended that he should command the French and American force in its march to Berlin when the Armistice was signed. He then commanded the French Army of Occupation on the Rhine, and became a member of the Supreme War Council. He was subsequently sent on a propaganda mission to the South American Republics, and for his tact and chivalrous feeling on this occasion he received a note of thanks from Great Britain. He was a military historian of some note.

13. **Lord Milner**, distinguished as an imperial statesman, was best known for his part in keeping South Africa within the Empire. Born in 1854, the son of Charles Milner, M.D., and the daughter of Major-General John Ready, he was educated in England and Germany and at King's College, London, whence he gained a scholarship to Balliol College, Oxford. His academic career was most creditable, and in 1881 he was called to the Bar. After some years of journalism and an attempt to enter Parliament, he became private secretary to Mr. Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer; in 1890 he was sent to Egypt as Under-Secretary for Finance in the Khedive's Government, and during his two years of office the Egyptian Government entered on an era of assured solvency. His services in Egypt were great; no less great was his book, "England in Egypt," published in December, 1892. At Somerset House (1892-97) Milner was the author of the original scheme of death duties introduced by Sir William Harcourt, and for this he was made K.C.B. In 1897, after the Jameson Raid, Mr. Chamberlain chose Sir Alfred Milner to be Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner in South Africa. He found that the Dutch politicians had adopted a policy of "Hands off the Transvaal," and that Kruger's obduracy and military preparations were both growing. Milner appealed to the Dutch on the ground of their enjoyment of full political rights in a British colony to remain loyal to the Government. This appeal, at least, secured the loyalty of the British colonists, which had become uncertain because of party politics at home. The new spirit of confidence led to the formation of a British-minded party, and of this party Rhodes was the real head. Rhodes' attempt to end the domination of the Afrikaner Bond failed. In 1898 Milner came to England to explain the situation to the authorities at home, returning a year later to bear the brunt of the South

African War. In 1900 Milner was raised to the peerage, and the work of reconstruction in South Africa was placed in his hands. His genius appeared in the speed and efficiency with which he carried this through. He secured in the face of prejudice the aid of Chinese labour when things were at a deadlock. He repaired with incredible speed all the devastations of the war. He organised the State railways, so that within three years South African finance was safe and sound. When the Great War broke out he was once more ready to shoulder great responsibility. He became a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, and it was he who brought the heads of the colonies into the British Empire conferences and war decisions. He it was, too, who was among those who arranged that Foch should command the Allied armies. As Secretary for War he was continually at the Front on the general work of administration. Indeed, Milner's efforts and his powers behind the scenes in the war were of enormous value. After the Armistice he was transferred to the Colonial Office, where much heavy work had to be done, and then followed a call to Egypt with a Commission of Inquiry. By this he was almost overwhelmed, but he went, and his commission resulted in the substitution of an "alliance" for the "protectorate" constituted during the war, as the basis of Egypt's relationship to the British Empire. Milner resigned from the Government on February 7, 1921. For his services in the Great War he was given the Garter, and then came his unexpected marriage with Violet, daughter of Admiral Maxse and widow of Lord Edward Cecil. For three years thereafter he took up all his various interests, both private and in the city. But a visit to South Africa last autumn overtaxed his strength, and the end came after a hopeless illness.

14. **Sir Rider Haggard**, novelist, farmer, and social worker, was born at Bradenham Hall, Norfolk, in 1856, and privately educated. He became secretary to Sir Henry Bulwer, Governor of Natal, and in 1877 went with Sir Theophilus Shepstone to the Transvaal, where he had much adventure, political and otherwise. In 1880 he married the daughter of Major Margitson of Ditchingham House, Norfolk, and went again to South Africa to farm there. Meanwhile he had also been turning his attention to the law, and in 1884 he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn. In 1882 appeared "Cetywayo and His White Neighbours," and afterwards "Dawn" and "The Witch's Head." In 1886 "King Solomon's Mines" took the town by storm. After this great success Haggard wrote "She," "Cleopatra," and a long list of enthralling romances. Sometimes he also wrote stories of modern life. He himself loved best his historical novels, such as "The Lady of Blossholme." Between 1912 and 1917 he made a tour of the world as a member of the Dominions Royal Commission, receiving the honour of knighthood in 1912, and being gazetted K.B.E. in 1919. He left a widow and three daughters.

16. **The Rev. Aloysius Laurence Cortie, S.J.**, a distinguished astronomer, was born in 1859, and educated at Stonyhurst. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1878, ordained in 1892, and succeeded Father Sidgreaves as Director of the Observatory of Stonyhurst in 1919. His work related to the connexion between terrestrial magnetism and solar spots, and he travelled all over the world on astronomical expeditions to observe solar eclipses. In 1922 he was appointed a member of committee on the Solar Atmosphere, and attended a congress at Rome. As representative of Stonyhurst Observatory he was made doctor of all the faculties at Padua on the seventh centenary of that University. Beside being a distinguished astronomer, Father Cortie was also a skilled musician.

20. **Margaret Haldane**, aged 100, the great-niece of one Lord Chancellor and the mother of another, was remarkable for rare gifts of character. She was born in Sussex in 1825, the daughter of Mr. Richard Burdon-Sanderson. The death of her grandfather, Sir Thomas Burdon, caused a family migration to Northumberland when she was very young. There she had the severe education of the period, and in 1853 she married Mr. Robert Haldane, W.S., a widower

with four children. She had five sons of her own, two of whom died young, and one daughter, Miss Elizabeth Haldane, C.H. Of her surviving sons the eldest is Viscount Haldane, the second Professor J. S. Haldane, F.R.S. of Oxford, and the third, Sir William Haldane, is a W.S. and was formerly Crown Agent for Scotland. Her husband dying young, Mrs. Haldane had the main concern with the education of her children, and her devotion to children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren was as great as theirs to her. Both in her youth and age she was beautiful, and the list of her friends included many famous men, of whom George Meredith was one.

22. Field-Marshal the Earl of Ypres, the first Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force in the Great War, was John Denton Pinkstone French, born in 1852, the son of Commander J. T. W. French, R.N., of Co. Roscommon, who had settled in Ripple in Kent. He was educated for the Navy, but after serving for four years in the senior service he decided to join the army. He entered the militia, obtained his first commission in the 8th Hussars in 1874, and was then transferred to the 19th Hussars. In this corps he served through every rank until he eventually gained command. In 1884 he commanded the party sent in the Sudan Expedition to the relief of Gordon, being mentioned in despatches. In 1897 he received the command of the new 2nd Cavalry Brigade, and in 1899 he was transferred to the 1st Cavalry Brigade at Aldershot. The outbreak of the South African War gave him an opportunity of achieving a reputation as a cavalry leader. He won the victory at Elandslaagte; he stemmed the invasion of Cape Colony; and he proved a main factor in Roberts' advance from the Orange River to Koomati Poort. As an immediate recompense his promotion to Major-General's rank was made substantive from September, 1899, and he also received a K.C.B. His next task was the clearing of the Transvaal, and his services during two years of tedious guerrilla warfare were rewarded in 1902 with the rank of Lieutenant-General, together with a K.C.M.G. Between the end of the South African War and the beginning of the Great War, Sir John French aimed at improving the efficiency of each arm. He became Field-Marshal in 1913, and was selected to command the Expeditionary Force in 1914. He was in supreme control until late in 1915, when, after many vicissitudes (Mons, the Marne, Ypres, Loos), he was succeeded by Haig. Sir John French was made a Peer in January, 1916, and given the command of the home army. In May, 1918, he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, an office he relinquished in May, 1921, when he was advanced to an earldom. In 1919 he had been voted 50,000*l.* by the Commons for his services to the nation. He married, in 1880, Eleanora, daughter of R. W. Selby-Lowndes, by whom he had two sons and one daughter.

23. Sir Edward Hulton, Bart., aged 56, the owner of a group of newspapers, began his journalistic career in Manchester at 15 under his father, who had founded *The Sporting Chronicle* and other papers. In 1897 he brought out the *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, and in 1900 *The Daily Dispatch*. His father, who had begun life as a compositor on *The Manchester Guardian*, died in 1904, leaving over half a million. Edward Hulton progressed on the same lines, starting *The Daily Sketch* and *The Illustrated Sunday Herald*, and eventually acquiring *The Evening Standard*. In 1923, owing to ill-health, he retired, and obtained six millions for his newspapers. He was successful on the turf, and when he received his baronetcy, in 1921, he chose for his coat of arms a horse courant, and a greyhound courant for crest.

25. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Repington, aged 67, who was for fourteen years military correspondent of *The Times*, came of a distinguished family, and was educated at Eton, in Germany, and at Sandhurst. He saw service in Afghanistan and Burma, with Kitchener in the Sudan (1898), and in the South African War. In 1900 he was appointed Military Attaché at Brussels and The Hague; two years later, for private reasons, his military career ended. In 1904 he joined the staff of *The Times*, transferring his services to the *Morning Post* (in 1918), and afterward to the *Daily Telegraph*.

26. Sir William Fletcher Barrett, F.R.S., was a physicist who had devoted much attention to alloys and their electric and magnetic properties, and was also well known for his researches in the art of the divining rod, and for his interest in psychical research. Born in 1844, the son of the Rev. W. G. Barrett, he was educated in Manchester, and in 1863 he became assistant to Professor Tyndall. He was afterwards Lecturer on Physics at the Royal School of Naval Architecture, and in 1873 he went to Dublin as Professor of Physics. He held this chair till 1910. In 1899 Professor Barrett discovered a silicon-iron alloy now known as stalloy, which has been of much service to electrical engineers. He was one of those who founded the Society for Psychical Research in 1882. In 1912 he was knighted, and in 1916 he married Mrs. Florence Willey, M.D.

— **Mr. J. E. C. Bodley**, the historian and interpreter of France to the English public, was born in 1853, the son of Edward Fisher Bodley, J. P., of Dane Bank House, Cheshire. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, and looked forward to a political career under the auspices of Sir Charles Dilke, whose private secretary he became. But with Dilke's fall Bodley abandoned politics and devoted himself to study and research. In 1898 he published "France," and subsequently many other volumes on thought and life in both England and France, amongst which are "L'Anglomane et les traditions françaises" (1899), "The Church in France" (1906), "L'Age Mécanique et le déclin d'idéalisme en France" (1913), "Romance of the Battle Line in France" (1920). By command of King Edward, he prepared an account of His Majesty's Coronation, as a chapter in European History. Bodley was twice married, and left two sons and a daughter.

JUNE.

1. Thomas Marshall, Vice-President of the United States during the eight years (1913-21) that Mr. Wilson was at the White House, was the son of a physician and was born in Indiana in 1854. He first became prominent in 1908, when Mr. Taft was elected President, for he scored a victory for the Democratic Party by wresting the government of Indiana from the otherwise triumphant Republicans. Marshall was an opponent of woman's suffrage, and though himself a total abstainer, a disbeliever in prohibition. From the very beginning he advocated American participation in the Great War. A quiet and unassuming man in private life, he was a distinguished orator and was known as "The Little Giant."

— **Lucien Guitry**, the great French comedy actor, was born in Paris in 1860, and made his first appearance in 1878 as Armand in "La Dame aux Camélias." He then spent nine years at Petrograd, returning to Paris to become manager of the Renaissance Theatre, where he established his fame first in "strong man" parts in Bernstein and Capus drama, and afterwards in a variety of characters in a long list of notable French plays. Guitry was also a dramatist. He produced several of his own plays, amongst which were "Grand-père" and "L'Archêve et ses Fils," and he wrote others in association with M. Paul Bourget.

3. Sir Steuart Colvin Bayley, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was the most eminent survivor of the Indian civilians who went out before the Mutiny. He was born in 1836, the son of William Butterworth Bayley, for many years a director of the East India Company; and the combined official service of father and son in India spanned the whole of the nineteenth century, leaving six years over. Steuart Bayley was sent to Eton at the age of 10, but in 1851 he was removed to the East India College at Haileybury, and went out to the Bengal Civil Service at 19. For his work in the Bihar famine he received the C.S.I., and later, for other famine work, the K.C.S.I. In 1878 he became Chief Commissioner of Assam, and in 1879 he was Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

He was made British Resident at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad from March, 1881, and in 1887 he became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. So successful was he during his term of office, that when he left Bengal his statue was erected by public subscription. He married, in 1860, Miss Anna Farquharson, and had five sons and three daughters. Lady Bayley predeceased her husband by six months, after sixty-four years of married life.

4. **Camille Flammarion**, the astronomer, aptly named the "poet of the heavens," was born in the Haute Marne in 1842. He was trained for the priesthood, but on concluding his studies went to Paris to the Sorbonne. At 16 he obtained a position as Computer of the Paris Observatory. He varied his prosaic calculations by writing imaginative works such as "Voyage Extatique aux Régions Lunaires" and "La Pluralité des Mondes Habités." For this Le Verrier, the director, dismissed the lad, who then found computing work at the Bureau des Longitudes, but his books were so successful that he turned to a literary career. By the end of 1865 he had produced five successful works, published by Didier, who took Flammarion's brother Ernest as his assistant. Ernest Flammarion eventually succeeded to the business, and it became the great house of to-day. Camille next set up a small observatory at Juvisy, and from there made his first balloon voyage. Of these voyages he made twelve before 1880. Seven years later he founded the Astronomical Society of France, and astronomical honours were showered upon him. Max Wolf named the planet 605 "Juvisia" in honour of the astronomer of Juvisy, and one of the plains of the moon was also named after him. Of Flammarion's explanatory writings on his own observations, that on the planet Mars is the most valuable. Flammarion was a great populariser of the science of astronomy, but he was also deeply interested in psychic phenomena, and he was made President of the Society for Psychical Research in 1923. In his address he said that research into the nature and destiny of the human soul had always seemed to him to be associated with astronomical knowledge.

6. **Colonel George Taylor Denison**, aged 85, the great Canadian Imperialist, was born at the old family homestead at Toronto, where he lived till his death. Denison was one of the organisers of the "Canada First" movement, which proclaimed loyalty to the Confederation and the maintenance of the tie between Great Britain and Canada as the duty of Canadians. Here his influence was enormous, and it has been claimed for him that but for his powerful advocacy, Canada might have joined the United States. Denison was an enthusiastic soldier, and for nearly fifty years was in the Canadian Militia. He served under Wolseley during the Fœmen raid of 1866, and in the West during the Riel rising of 1885. Amongst his multifarious offices, for forty-five years he was a police magistrate of Toronto. He wrote several books on political and military topics, including "The Struggle for Imperial Unity," "Soldiering in Canada," "Modern Cavalry" (1868), and "The History of Cavalry" (1877). In "Recollections of a Police Magistrate" he told the story of his own life with his usual candour and courage. He was twice married, and left three sons and four daughters.

9. **Lord MacDonnell** (Antony Patrick MacDonnell), an administrator of extraordinary ability and industry, both in India and in Ireland, belonged to an old Roman Catholic Irish family, and was born in County Mayo in 1844. Educated at Athlone and Queen's College, Galway, he attained the fifth place in the Indian Civil Service examination of 1864, and went to Bengal in 1865. As a result of the famine work he did there he wrote "Food Grain Supply and Famine Relief in Bihar and Bengal." In 1884 he was appointed Revenue Secretary to the Bengal Government, and he earned through much legislation for the protection of the Bengal cultivators, and became the champion of Indian tenants against unscrupulous Indian landlords. In time he came to rule in turn four great Indian provinces, Bengal and Burma each for a few months, the Central Provinces for a longer period, and, finally, the United Provinces of Agra and

Oudh. On his return home, in 1901, he became a member of the India Council and a Privy Councillor. Because of his strong Indian record, Mr. Wyndham took him as Under-Secretary for Ireland "with exceptional powers." At first MacDonnell was successful in his dealings with his turbulent compatriots, but in the end he aroused the hostility of the Irish Unionists, who said he had weakened and disheartened the Royal Irish Constabulary and encouraged the Nationalist movement by his clandestine support of the "Devolution" scheme. But he remained in office until 1908, when it became evident that his views of governing Ireland differed from those of Mr. Balfour. He was rewarded with a peerage; in the Lords he still interested himself in Indian and Irish affairs; and in 1920 was a member of the Irish Peace Conference. Lord MacDonnell married, in 1878, Henrietta MacDonell, of the Keppoch family in the Highlands, and as he left an only daughter, the peerage became extinct.

10. **Dr. H. M. Burge**, Bishop of Oxford, who was born in 1862, the son of the Rev. M. R. Burge, of Fort William, Calcutta, was educated at Marlborough and University College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself, proceeding from there as a master to Wellington College. Soon, however, he returned to Oxford as a Fellow and Tutor of his old college, and he was appointed Dean of University College in 1895. Ordained Deacon in 1897, and priest in 1898, he became Headmaster of Repton in 1900, and the next year Headmaster of Winchester. Dr. Burge won golden opinions as a headmaster. He studied the boys individually, and educated them according to their tastes and abilities. When, after ten years as Head of Winchester College, Dr. Burge was appointed Bishop of Southwark, it was feared his health would be unequal to the strain. But he gave himself to the oversight of the diocese with immense energy, and endeared himself to clergy and laity alike by his cheerfulness, sympathy, and simplicity of manner. When in 1919 he succeeded Dr. Gore as Bishop of Oxford, he was welcomed both for his gifts as a bishop and for his interest in the university. Dr. Burge married, in 1898, Evelyn Bright, daughter of the Master of University College, Oxford, by whom he had one son and one daughter.

16. **Chitta Ranjam Das**, Swarajist leader, Mayor of Calcutta, and President of the Indian National Congress, was born at Calcutta in 1879 of a wealthy high-caste family. He was educated at Calcutta University, came to this country, and was called to the Bar. He built up a lucrative practice at Calcutta, and took little part in politics till 1919, when, abandoning the Bar, he threw in his lot with the non-co-operating Nationalists. In 1924 he became the first mayor of Calcutta. Das died at a moment when his policy had been shown to be impracticable, and when he had made an offer to the Government tantamount to the conditional abandonment of non-co-operation.

17. **Arthur Christopher Benson**, poet, biographer, and essayist, was the second son of Edward White Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mary Sidgwick, sister of William, Henry and Arthur Sidgwick. He was born in 1862 at Wellington College, where his father was then First Master; was educated at Eton and Cambridge, returned to Eton as a Master in 1885, working there for eighteen years. In 1903 he resigned and turned to literary work, first editing (with Lord Esher) a selection of Queen Victoria's letters. In 1904 he was back in Cambridge, having been elected a Fellow of Magdalene College, and on the death of Dr. Donaldson, in 1915, he became Master. He was popular as a lecturer (especially on English literature), and conspicuous for his hospitality to undergraduates. All the time he worked at his books, of which he wrote about fifty. When in 1915 he received his honorary LL.D. at Cambridge, his literary style was described as "though deep yet clear, though gentle yet not dull." His writings had an enormous vogue in the United States, more especially the volume of essays entitled "From a College Window." Benson was the author of the anthem "Land of Hope and Glory." In his will he left 2,000*l.* to Magdalene College as a "hospitality fund."

22. Felix Klein, Professor of Mathematics at Göttingen and editor of the "Mathematische Annalen," was born in 1849, and at an early age gave evidence of the bent of his genius. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War he was in Paris, working with his Swedish friend Sophus Lie, and at 23 he became a full professor. Klein held in succession Chairs at Erlangen, Munich, and Leipzig; in 1886 he was called to Göttingen. The leading idea with which he enriched mathematics is that of the co-ordination of the parts of geometrical science by means of the Theory of Groups. This was the theme of his inaugural lecture of 1872 at Erlangen. It has been said that for Klein, as for Plato and Pythagoras, there was poetry in mathematics. The practical outcome of his cosmic views was the formulating of theories, such as the theory of Functions of a Complex Variable, and discoveries, such as that (made with Henri Poincaré) of the Auto-morphic Functions. A lasting monument to Klein's fame is the "Mathematical Encyclopædia," of which he was the originator and part editor. Klein was the President of the International Commission on Mathematical Thought. He married, in 1872, the grand-daughter of the philosopher Hegel.

25. Sir Forrest Fulton, K.C., Recorder of London from 1900 to 1922, was born in 1846, the youngest son of Lieutenant-Colonel Fulton, and educated at Norwich Grammar School and London University. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1872, and during the twenty years of his life as a barrister he filled a variety of official positions. He became Conservative M.P. for West Ham in 1886, and sat in Parliament till 1892, when he lost his seat. But at this juncture he was appointed Common Serjeant in succession to Sir William Charley. Fulton showed himself a capable criminal judge, though he committed a serious error in 1896 in the case of Adolph Beck. Fulton held, in sentencing Beck to penal servitude, that it was irrelevant whether Beck was identical or not with an earlier criminal called Smith. The earlier criminal was discovered later, and the erroneous ruling of Fulton in this case in holding that the severity of the sentence on Beck should be the same whether Beck and Smith were one person or not, led to the creation of a much-needed Court of Criminal Appeal. In 1900 Fulton was appointed to the Recordership of the City of London in succession to Sir Charles Hall. He left a widow and three sons.

26. Professor Valdemar Schmidt, aged 89, the distinguished Danish Orientalist and Egyptologist, was the son of a clergyman, and had a brilliant university career. He travelled from 1860 to 1869 in the Near East, incidentally becoming an astonishing linguist. In 1869 he was made a Professor at Copenhagen University. In 1872 appeared his "History of Ancient Assyria and Egypt." After this came a long range of publications, the last being a richly illustrated work on Egyptian sarcophagi.

27. Alfred Denis Godley, aged 69, Public Orator at Oxford University and honorary Fellow of Magdalen College, a notable paradoxist and wit, was the son of the Rev. James Godley, Rector of Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim, and was educated first in Dublin, then at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford, whither he went with a classical scholarship. After a distinguished career at the university, he became a Master at Bradfield College, where he remained from 1879 to 1882, taking part in the earliest Greek plays for which Bradfield has since become famous. He then became Classical Tutor at Magdalen College, Oxford, and continued as such till 1912, speedily coming to be known as one of the most versatile, felicitous, and facile scholars in both Latin and Greek in the university. In 1890 Godley became editor of the Oxford Magazine, and grew famous for his lighter verse, which was published in various small volumes, such as "Verses to Order," "Lyra Frivola," etc. He may be said to have taken up Calverley's tradition of scholarly parody and novel and humorous application of old phrases, combined with an easy mastery of classical modes of expression alike in verse and prose. Godley was also a soldier. In the South African War he commanded a battalion of the 4th Oxfordshire Light Infantry from 1900 to 1905; and in the Great War

he commanded the Oxford Volunteers. In 1910 he became editor of the *Classical Review*, and was also appointed Public Orator in the university. He married, in 1894, Miss Amy Cay, daughter of the late Charles Cay, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

28. Christian Michelsen, aged 69, was the Norwegian Prime Minister who proclaimed the rupture with Sweden in 1905. First a barrister and afterwards a business man, he was elected to the Storting for Bergen in 1891, remaining in politics for three years, and then returning to business. In 1903 he was again elected for Bergen, and joined Hagerup's Ministry. He succeeded Hagerup as Prime Minister, and during the friction between Sweden and Norway he was the most trusted leader of Norwegian patriots. He was the first Prime Minister of the separate kingdom of Norway.

JULY.

3. Edward Frederick Knight, war correspondent of *The Times*, treasure seeker, sailor, and traveller, had a most romantic career. He was born in Papecastle, Cumberland, in 1852, and educated at Westminster School and Caius College, Cambridge. Even in boyhood he travelled and adventured much, and during the Franco-German War he was for a time a French soldier. He then returned to England and was called to the Bar. After this he explored Albania, and took a series of cruises in small sailing yachts to South America and its rivers. He narrated these adventures in "The Cruise of the *Falcon*," and in 1891 he went to India as war correspondent of *The Times* during the Hunza Nagar campaign. He was also an officer in this campaign, on the completion of which he wrote "Where Three Empires Meet." Knight was the only war correspondent in Madagascar in 1895, and in Cuba during the Spanish American War in 1898. He succeeded in joining the Spanish Army there, though it involved the running of the American blockade. In the South African War (in which he lost his right arm) and in the Russo-Japanese War, Knight represented the *Morning Post*. He accompanied the King and Queen, then Duke and Duchess of York, on their Dominions tour in the *Ophir*. In 1909 he wrote a history of the Turkish Revolution called "The Awakening of Turkey." In the Great War he was with the Harwich naval forces, and wrote an account of the part they played. He married a daughter of Mr. Bowen Rowlands, K.C.

5. Otto Lummer, a pupil of the great physicist and physiologist Helmholtz, was born at Gera in 1860. He was educated at Gera, Tubingen, and Berlin, specialising always in physics. His great work was the independent rediscovery of Haidinger's "interference rings," through the systematic examination of which he (with others) laid the foundation of the modern precise measurement of rays of light, and of the modern knowledge of the finer structure of the spectrum. He became assistant and colleague to Helmholtz, and a member of the Royal Physical and Technical Institution. In 1901 he worked at Berlin, and in 1904 he was called to Breslau University as head of the Physical Department, which post he held until his death. His experiment as to the temperature which causes liquification of carbon is widely known, and the world of science is grateful for the "Lummer-Platte," the Lummer-Brodhunschen revolving sectors, and the Lummer-Brodhunschen photometer disc.

7. Giacomo Boni, one of Italy's greatest archaeologists, was born in Venice in 1859, took training as a draughtsman, studied for his degree at the Higher School of Architecture, and taught himself Latin, Greek, and English, the last in order to read Ruskin, whom he met in 1882. While employed in the office of the director of the restoration of the Palazzo Ducale, he wrote anonymous articles criticising this restoration, and in consequence of these he left Venice and went to Rome, where Crispi gave him employment, and Pope Leo XIII. asked his advice

on the state of the Sistine Chapel. In 1898 Boni was put in charge of the Forum and began the exploration of the Temple of Vesta, which made him famous. In 1912 the scene of his operations was changed to the Palatine. He paid much attention to the old gardens, and it was his ambition to make both the Forum and the Palatine places of beauty as well as of historical interest.

15. **Mary Cholmondeley**, well known as a novelist, was the eldest daughter of the Rev. R. H. Cholmondeley, the rector of Hodnet, who was a scion of the Cholmondeleys of Vale Royal. Her grandmother was Mary Heber, sister of Bishop Heber, the hymn writer. Her first three books, "The Danvers Jewels," "Sir Charles Danvers," and "Diana Tempest," appeared in *Temple Bar*, but she made her name with "Red Pottage" in 1900. Her subsequent works, "Moth and Rust," "Prisoners," "The Lowest Rung," "Notwithstanding," and "The Romance of His Life" were equally excellent in quality, but did not enjoy popularity to the same extent as the earlier books.

18. **Lovis Corinth**, the artist, was the leader of the Berlin secession at the Dutch resort of Zandvoort. He studied at Königsberg, Munich, and Paris (1884-87), and finally settled in Berlin. There he became a champion of the school of new art, of which he was president. He was a portrayer of the colour charm of nature, and of the female form, sketching the latter from members of his own family, who apparently led a Blake-like open-air existence. He was reckoned great in portraiture, but his still-life and water-colour sketches also reached a high standard of excellence. Corinth was likewise a graphic artist, revealing himself more and more in drawing, etching, and lithography.

— **Bertram Waldrom Matz**, aged 60, was well known as an authority on Dickens. He edited the national edition of Dickens' works, and the memorial edition of "Forster's Life of Dickens," and was the author of numerous books on Dickensian subjects. He presented an extensive Dickensian library to the Dickens' Museum in Doughty Street.

19. **Cardinal Bégin**, Archbishop of Quebec, was the son of a farmer and born in Quebec in 1840. He was educated at Laval University, and at the French and Gregorian seminaries in Rome, where he received the degree of D.D., and was ordained in 1865. He then proceeded on to Innsbruck University, and specialised in ecclesiastical history and Oriental languages. In 1868 he returned to Laval as professor; in 1888 he was made Bishop of Chicoutimi; three years later he received the title of Bishop of Cyrene; and in 1898 became Archbishop of Quebec, receiving the Red Hat in 1914.

26. **William Jennings Bryan**, born in 1860 at Salem, Illinois, was for the last thirty years one of the most notable figures in American political life. A lawyer by profession, his influence, due greatly to his oratory, was centred in the Middle West. In 1896 he was chosen Democratic candidate for the Presidency against McKinley, but was defeated. This happened again in 1900 and 1908. In 1912 he secured the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, and became Secretary of State in Wilson's Cabinet, resigning his office in 1915. Bryan was a champion of Bi-metallism, Prohibition, and "Fundamentalism," i.e., the maintenance of the authority of the Bible against modernist tendencies. It was in connexion with a famous trial, in which the opposing forces of modern science and traditional belief in the Bible were arrayed against each other (see under the United States in this volume) that he came prominently before the public, shortly before his death. He married, in 1884, Miss Mary Elizabeth Baird.

29. **Major-General Lord Cheylesmore** (Herbert Francis Eaton, third Baron Cheylesmore) was the third son of the first baron, formerly M.P. for Coventry. Born in 1848, he went to Eton, and in 1867 he entered the Grenadier Guards, taking a battalion to Bermuda in 1890. He retired from the army in

1899, and took up municipal work, becoming Mayor of Westminster in 1904-5 and chairman of the London County Council in 1912-13. Lord Cheylesmore was a devotee of the art of marksmanship, and together with several colleagues he founded the Bisley Annual Meeting, which may be said to have become a national institution. In 1892 he married Miss Trench, of New York, who, with two sons and a daughter, survived him.

AUGUST.

3. **The Rev. J. M. E. Ross**, editor for two years of *The British Weekly*, in succession to Sir William Robertson Nicoll, was a distinguished minister of the Presbyterian Church of England. Born at Rothesay in 1870, the son of the Rev. William Ross of Cowcaddens, he was educated at Glasgow University and the Free Church College, and became assistant to the Rev. Alexander Whyte in Edinburgh. He then had a charge in Aberdeenshire, but in four years came south to Redhill, and in 1911 he was invited to build up the new Presbyterian Church at Golders Green, and there he remained ten years. After this he returned to Scotland in connexion with the Scottish Churches Press Bureau, being away until 1923, when he was in London again to continue Robertson Nicoll's work. Mr. Ross possessed sound scholarship, literary and journalistic gifts, and deep natural piety.

6. **Sir Surandranath Banerjea**, the leader of the Liberal Party in Bengal, a former minister, and the father and pioneer of Indian Nationalism, was a most extraordinary orator. Born in 1848, the son of a Brahmin medical practitioner in Calcutta, he was sent to England to complete his education, and competed for the I.C.S. in 1869. After much controversy as to whether he should be admitted to the service, he was sent out in 1871 to Assam. He was soon suspended for some irregularities in the conduct of a case, and thereupon became Professor of English Literature in Calcutta. He established the Ripon College, and edited *The Bengali*. He was one of the founders of the Indian Association, and as his educational and journalistic work gave him great influence amongst the Bengali students, he was sometimes called "the uncrowned King of Bengal." He fiercely denounced Lord Curzon's "dismemberment," but when the reversal of the partition was announced at the Durbar he became a supporter of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and even consented to accept a knighthood (1921).

11. **Charles Sedelmeyer**, aged 88, was an eminent Parisian art dealer and collector. He was born in Vienna in 1837, the son of a house-painter. At 17 he became tutor to the children of an art dealer, and gradually came to be employed in the business. In 1864 he set up himself as an art dealer in Vienna, settling in Paris three years later. In 1890 he began to specialise in old masters; it was reported of him that in Rembrandts alone he made a fortune. In 1907 he retired, and sold his collection, but he soon returned to the buying and selling of pictures with his old fervour. He married the daughter of a picture dealer in Vienna, by whom he had five daughters, two of them married to picture dealers.

15. **Sir Adam Beck**, at one time a member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, and chairman of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, was of German descent, having been born at Baden in Ontario in 1857. He was educated at Dr. Tassie's famous school at Galt, Ontario, and afterwards went into business with his father at London, Ontario. Adam Beck more than any other man created the hydro-electric system which has contributed so vitally to the industrial development of Ontario. He was one of those who brought about public control over the Falls of Niagara, and though it was thought that he was inconsiderate in his treatment of private interests, he still attained an enormous popularity in his province. He entered the Ontario Legislature in 1905, and set himself to organise the hydro-electric system, and to that object the rest of his life was devoted. Besides the Niagara development, power systems under the

control of the Hydro-Electric Commission were established at Thunder Bay, on the Nipigon River, in Central Ontario, and at North Bay. Beck's plans for radial railways were less successful. Sir Adam Beck was continuously attacked by that section of the financial Press which opposes public ownership, but all inquiries into his operations have confirmed the high estimate in which he was held. In 1914 he was knighted. He married a daughter of the late C. J. Ottaway, the Eton and Oxford cricketer. Lady Beck died in 1921, but Beck was survived by a daughter.

19. **Miss Helen Gladstone**, aged 76, was the youngest daughter of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and formerly Vice-Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge. She was a resident member of Newnham College from 1877 to 1897, first as a student, then as secretary to Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, and later as Vice-Principal in succession to Mrs. Sidgwick. She held this post for fifteen years till she returned to be with her parents in their advanced age. In 1900 she accepted the wardenship of the Women's University Settlement in Southwark, which she held till 1906, afterwards living for a time in the district and still interesting herself in the work. In 1910 she built herself a house at Hawarden, where she spent the rest of her life, devoting herself to educational and religious affairs, and, notably, aiding the Church of Wales at the time of its disestablishment.

— **Victor Fremont Lawson**, aged 74, who was editor and publisher of the *Chicago Daily News* for nearly fifty years, was the son of a Chicago working printer who came to own a business of his own. His son Victor took this over at his death, but previously, in 1876, while still under 30 years of age, the young man had founded the *Chicago Daily News*, which grew in importance along with the city. Together with Mr. Stone, his first newspaper associate who went to New York, he also founded the Associated Press.

20. **Sir George Goldie**, the founder of Nigeria, to whose foresight, energy, perseverance, statesmanship, and administrative ability Britain owes the largest of her tropical African Protectorates, was a Manxman, the son of Lieutenant-Colonel J. T. Taubman Goldie, Scots Guards, Speaker of the House of Keys, and was born in 1846. For a short time he was in the Royal Engineers, but soon he was caught by the lure of African travel. In 1877 he visited the Niger country, and finding the river chieftains in a state of perpetual warfare, he conceived the idea of founding a government which would give peace and security to natives and white men alike. Scrupulous respect for native rights was the foundation of his policy, and he stopped the importation of spirits north of the Delta. He amalgamated the trading concerns into one company, and in 1879 applied for a charter, which, however, was not granted till 1886. Meanwhile the French were striving to open trading stations, and it was with difficulty that Goldie induced them to withdraw. Presently German agents arrived and stirred up trouble. But at length, by agreement with France and Germany, Nigeria was secured for Britain. Goldie governed Nigeria from the London office of the Niger Company; and when, in 1887, the Emirs of Nupe and Ilberin threatened the territory, he personally directed an expeditionary force which gained a speedy victory. In 1900 the administration was taken over by the Imperial Government. From 1905 to 1908 Goldie was president of the Royal Geographical Society; in 1887 he was made K.C.M.G. He left a son and a daughter.

— **Herbert Edward Ryle, D.D., K.C.V.O.**, Dean of Westminster since 1911, who was an outstanding figure in the Church life of his generation, was born in 1856, the son of the rector of Helmingham, Suffolk, who was afterwards Bishop of Liverpool. While a collegier at Eton he won the Newcastle and a classical scholarship at King's in 1875. He greatly distinguished himself at Cambridge, both in Hebrew and theology, becoming in due course Theological Lecturer at Emmanuel College. After some years of ecclesiastical work away from Cambridge as chaplain to various bishops, he was elected Hulsean Lecturer

in 1887. Three years later he was made Bishop of Exeter, and in 1903 he was induced to become Bishop of Winchester. The work of this enormous diocese was too much for him, and he fell into bad health. But in 1910 he recovered a measure of strength, and was transferred to the Deanery of Westminster, being made soon after Prolocutor of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury. As Dean of Westminster, Dr. Ryle organised and conducted great State ceremonies in the Abbey with fine imagination and dignity. He married a daughter of Major-General Adams, who, with one son, survived him.

21. **Arthur Shirley**, a prolific and successful dramatist, was educated in London and Paris, and made his début as an actor in 1871. He wrote nearly a hundred melodramas, which hit the popular taste, and were taken on tour all over the country, such as "Tommy Atkins," "The Work Girl," "Midnight," "The Lightning's Flash," "The Grip of Iron," "Two Little Vagabonds," "Woman and Wine," "A Fallen Star." The Shirley type of melodrama was at its best in "Ned Kean of Old Drury," produced in 1923.

22. **Siegfried Meierowicz**, the Latvian Foreign Minister, was born in 1887, the son of a doctor in Kurland. He was an insurance and bank official until the war, when he was sent by the town of Riga to the Russian federation which organised the provisioning of the Russian north front. At the Armistice in 1918 he was made Foreign Minister of the newly-founded Latvian Republic. He died as the result of a motor-car accident.

24. **Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, K.C.I.E.**, aged 88, one of the foremost Indian Orientalists, and at one time a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and of the Bombay Legislative Council, was the son of a Brahman official, and was born in the Ratnagiri District. In 1862 he graduated with highest honours at Elphinstone College, Bombay, and afterwards devoted himself to Sanskrit, occupying for a time the Chair of Oriental Languages in his own college, and a similar Chair at Poona. He founded the *Indian Antiquary* in 1872, and in 1884 he wrote "The Early History of the Deccan." Two years later he represented the Bombay Presidency at the Vienna Congress of Orientalists. Lord Curzon nominated him to membership of the Viceregal Legislature as an expert in Eastern education.

— **Frederick John Hall**, Controller of the Oxford University Press, was born in 1864, the son of a Crimean veteran who held official positions in the university. In 1878 he went to the Press as junior clerk in the controller's counting-house, and soon worked his way to a position of trust. In 1900 he was transferred to the London office, where he worked under the late Mr. Henry Frowde, returning to Oxford in 1915 as Controller of the Press. During the war he did wonders with a shortage of *personnel* in carrying out the work of the Press, and since the war he has successfully reconstructed and developed the Oxford University Press. In appreciation of his efforts the university bestowed upon him the honorary degree of M.A.

26. **Field-Marshal Conrad von Hötzendorff**, Chief of the General Staff of the Austro-Hungarian Army during the greater part of the war, was born in Vienna and brought up in military and monarchical traditions. After the Bosnian insurrections of 1878 and 1881 he was known as a specialist on the southern frontiers of Austro-Hungary, and being a close friend of the heir to the throne, was appointed, in 1906, Chief of the General Staff. Always desiring war with the Serbs, the Serajevo murder gave him his chance, and for more than two years he was the real leader of the Austro-Hungarian armies. In 1917 he gave up his post to von Straussberg, and took command of the Tirol front.

31. **Dr. Peter Spahn**, aged 79, an influential member of the Reichstag from 1884 onwards, was born in Winkel in 1846. During the greater part of the

ex-Kaiser's reign he practically dictated the policy of the Centre Party⁷; and when the war came he belonged to the more militant wing of the Centre Party, which stood for annexations and indemnities. In 1917 he was made Prussian Minister of Justice, resigning on the outbreak of the revolution.

SEPTEMBER.

7. **Holman Clark**, aged 61, actor and producer of plays, was born at East Hoathley, Sussex, and educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. His histrionic gifts emerged when he was acting in the O.U.D.S., and on leaving the university he joined Ben Greet's company in 1891, and Beerbohm Tree's in 1893. Afterwards he was associated for a while with Cyril Maude. Clark's range was not wide, but it was masterly. His portraits of old and middle-aged men could not be bettered, so irresistibly rich and ripe were they. Amongst his famous parts were Captain Hook in "Peter Pan," the messenger in "A Message from Mars," Bartholomew in "A Pair of Spectacles," Thomas Dumphy in "Dear Old Charlie," and Dick Phenyl in "Sweet Lavender."

— **René Viviani**, a leading figure in French politics who was Prime Minister in the opening stages of the war, was born in 1863 in French North Africa. He was educated for the Bar, and rose to great eminence in his profession. Before long he combined journalism and politics with his legal work, and made his first appearance on the French political stage as an advanced Socialist. Viviani held various offices in the Chamber of Deputies from 1893 till 1913, with an interval between 1902 and 1906. On June 3, 1914, he became Prime Minister of France. When war was declared by Germany, on August 3, and the German armies were threatening Paris, Viviani moved the seat of government to Bordeaux, where it remained three months. In 1915 the Government was criticised for a deficiency in munitions, and after the resignation of several of his Ministers, on October 29, Viviani himself resigned. In 1920 he represented France at the first meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva, and became one of its leading personalities. In 1921 he was sent to America, but only partially succeeded in reconciling American public opinion to French claims. Viviani was one of the greatest French orators of his time. His wife died in 1923, and their son was killed in 1914.

14. **Sir John Jordan**, formerly British Minister at Peking, and probably the greatest authority on China in this country, was born in 1852, the son of John Jordan of Balloo, Bangor, Co. Down. He was at school and college in Belfast, and in 1876 he entered the Chinese branch of the consular service. Ten years later Jordan joined the Legation Staff at Peking, becoming in 1891 principal Chinese Secretary. During the war with Japan, in 1894-95, Jordan's tact brought him promotion to the post of Consul-General at Korea, with the rank of *Chargé d'Affaires* and Minister at Seoul. He won the regard of the Chinese by protecting their local interests in Korea. In 1904 he was made K.C.M.G., and in 1909 K.G.B. His period of office as British Minister in Peking was marked by stirring events. In 1908 the Dowager Empress died, in 1910 the Chinese Revolution took place, and in 1914 came the Great War, bringing special problems in the Far East. These he handled with discretion, and always the Chinese felt him to be their friend, and when he retired they lamented his departure. Jordan accompanied Lord Balfour to Washington in 1921, and attended numerous conferences between Chinese and Japanese delegates, giving both sides invaluable assistance. He married, in 1885, the daughter of Dr. Robert Cromie, of Co. Down, and had three sons and one daughter (the wife of Lieut.-General Travers Clarke).

15. **Leonard Borwick**, the distinguished pianist, who exercised a steady influence on English music for the last thirty-five years, was born in 1868, the son of a musical father who was the intimate friend of Piatti. His early teachers

were Henry Bird and Alfred Gibson, and when he was 15 he went to Frankfurt to study under Madame Schumann. His first appearance in London was in 1890, when he achieved great success. Thereafter his musical career was varied. He joined Mr. Plunkett Greene in piano and song recitals; he was associated with Joachim in chamber music; he performed concertos with Sir Henry Wood and other conductors at Queen's Hall; and his own pianoforte recitals were always musical events of some significance.

19. Sir Francis Darwin, aged 77, the distinguished botanist and biographer of his father, Charles Darwin, was educated at Clapham Grammar School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in medicine, though he never practised. For eight years he was his father's secretary at their home in Down, and on the death of Charles Darwin, Francis went to live at Cambridge, and was elected a Fellow of Christ's College. In 1882 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and from 1903 to 1907 he held the post of Foreign Secretary to the Royal Society, and afterwards of Vice-President (1907-08). In Cambridge he gave most of his time to teaching and research in plant life and physiology, and through his efforts the training of students in this subject received a great impetus. His "Elements of Botany" and "Practical Physiology of Plants," both excellent text-books, contributed to the same end. His researches in plant physiology were on two main lines—one on movements and the other on the opening and closing of stomata. In 1908 Darwin was President of the British Association at Dublin. His most conspicuous work was the "Life and Letters of Charles Darwin," one of the best biographies ever written. Sir Francis (he was knighted in 1913) received many honours and many honorary degrees from British and foreign universities. He was three times married, and survived his third wife by five years. He left a son, Major Bernard Darwin, and a daughter, Mrs. F. M. Cornford.

— **Dr. Georg Schweinfürth**, aged 88, was a German explorer, botanist, and archæologist. His first great journey of discovery (1864-66) led him to Egypt for the study of the Nile flora, and he was the first European to explore the Nubian mountains on the Red Sea. In 1868 he undertook a second journey to the lands west of the Upper Nile, and to the watershed which separates it from the Congo. From Khartoum Schweinfurth went with an expedition to the river Ghazal, and pressing on through completely unexplored districts, encountered the pigmies of the Akka, rumours of whose existence had up till that time been regarded as fairy tales. He returned to Khartoum after many dangerous adventures, including the escape from a fire in his camp which destroyed all his note-books containing observations and measurements. The loss of his records was perhaps the great trial of his life. His first famous book, "In the Heart of Africa," appeared in 1872. Twelve greater journeys between 1876-86 advanced his knowledge of the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea.

23. H. H. Maharajah Sir Pratap Singh, aged 75, Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir, had a chequered career. In 1885, at the age of 35, he succeeded to his Himalayan State, abdicated a few years later under stress of the Viceroy's (Lord Lansdowne's) disfavour, and then step by step won back full governing powers (in 1905). Towards the end of his life his war services gave him a prestige he had never before enjoyed, and there is no doubt that during his reign substantial progress has been seen in Kashmir. He was succeeded by his nephew, Rajah Sir Hari Singh.

— **Dr. Frederic Henry Chase**, Bishop of Ely from 1905 to 1924, and a New Testament scholar of distinction, was the son of the Rev. C. F. Chase, the evangelical rector of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe with St. Ann, Blackfriars, and was born in London in 1853. Educated at King's College School and Christ's College, Cambridge, he was ordained in 1877, took a curacy in Cambridge, and in 1881 became theological lecturer at Pembroke College. From 1884 to 1901

he was first Vice-Principal, and then Principal, of the Clergy Training School at Cambridge. Meantime, Chase was coming to the fore as a theological student of the New Testament and early Christian literature; the various St. Peter articles in Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible," and his Hulsean lectures on the trustworthiness of St. Luke as the historian of the early Church, are examples of his work. In 1901 Chase became President of Queen's College, Cambridge, and Norrisian Professor of Divinity in succession to Dr. Moule; and the very next year he was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University, a position he filled with dignity and great ability. In 1905 he was nominated Bishop of Ely. In the division of the East Anglian dioceses, about 1906, Dr. Chase not only sacrificed a portion of his official income, but also gave a large personal gift to the fund. He married, in 1887, Miss Armitage, daughter of the vicar of St. Luke's, Gloucester, and left three sons and a daughter.

28. **Sir William Schlich, K.C.I.E.**, was conspicuous for raising silviculture to its present position throughout the British Empire. Born in 1840 at Hesse-Darmstadt, he studied at the University of Gessen, graduated in 1866, and was induced by the India Office to accept appointment to the Indian Forest Department. He was posted first to Burma, and in 1870 to Sind, in both regions working with extraordinary industry and efficiency. In 1872 he was chosen for the Conservatorship of the Province of Bengal, and the lines of Forest management he laid down there will be observed long after his death. In 1880 he was transferred to the Punjab, in 1881 he was appointed Inspector General of Forests, and in 1885 he was invited to become Professor of Forestry at the Civil Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, where he remained for twenty years, till the college was closed. In 1905 the School of Forestry was moved to Oxford, and he had a difficult task in building it up anew and laying out a forest garden. Incidentally, he had to transfer 100,000 young trees from Cooper's Hill. The school flourished exceedingly, and in 1909 Schlich, who had long been a naturalised Englishman, was created K.C.I.E. In 1911, under the Civil Service rules, he retired, but the University of Oxford appointed him Reader, and by special decree granted him the status of Professor of Forestry. He made it his business to get the professorship adequately endowed, and many gifts for this purpose came from his old students all over the world. Schlich was twice married, and left one son and four daughters.

29. **Léon Bourgeois**, the French statesman, had a long and distinguished career, but he will be best remembered for his labours in the cause of international peace. Born in Paris in 1851, the son of a clockmaker, he was educated for the law, but soon turned to politics. He was appointed Prefect of Police in 1887, and next year was elected Deputy for the Department of the Marne, and became Under-Secretary of State for the Interior. In 1890 he was made Minister of Public Instruction, and in 1892 Minister of Justice, when he pressed energetically the Panama prosecutions. In 1895 he himself formed a Ministry of a Radical type, which lasted but a short time. In 1896 he became Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in 1902 and 1903 he was President of the Chamber of Deputies. After twenty-seven years of public life, in which he gained a reputation for ability and modesty, he withdrew from politics and travelled extensively. He had been the first French plenipotentiary at The Hague in 1899, and was uninterruptedly foremost in the endeavour to safeguard peace. In 1903 he was appointed a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The Great War did not stop his work. He was placed at the head of a French Committee to examine the scheme of the League of Nations, and he represented France at all peace conferences.

OCTOBER.

3. **The Right Hon. Stephen Ronan, K.C.**, aged 77, was formerly Lord Justice of Appeal in Ireland, and for many years an outstanding figure in the Irish legal

world. The son of a Cork solicitor, Ronan was sent to a Roman Catholic school in France, graduated at the old Queen's University of Ireland, and was called to the Irish Bar in 1870. At the time of the Parnell Commission his powers had become known, and he was briefed on behalf of *The Times*. Ronan was called to the English Bar in 1888, and took silk in Ireland in 1889. For the next twenty-six years, until he ascended the Bench as Lord Justice of Appeal, his course was one increasing and triumphant success. He possessed an intensely logical mind, quickness of thought, and an unusual subtlety. In 1915 Ronan was appointed to a seat in the Court of Appeal direct from the Bar, without having been actively engaged in politics at any period of his life, an honour as signal as it was great. He retired from the Bench in 1923, on the re-organisation of the Free State Judiciary. Lord Justice Ronan was unmarried.

6. **Dr. Israel Abrahams**, a noted Jewish scholar, who was 66 years of age, died at Cambridge, where he had occupied the position of Reader in Rabbimics to the University since 1902. He was also Curator in Oriental Literature at the University Library since 1906, a position for which he was well qualified by wide scholarship in Rabbinic and kindred subjects. Abrahams was the son of the Rev. Barnett Abrahams, Assistant Rabbi of the London Ecclesiastical Court, and also Principal of Jews' College, an institution at which Israel Abrahams received his first training. He also attended University College, London, and in 1881 he took his M.A. at the University of London in Philosophy. For a time he was a teacher at Jews' College, a position he held until he took up his work in Cambridge. Abrahams was a versatile writer; his best-known books are "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages" and "Studies in Pharisaism," in two volumes. For twenty years, from 1889 to 1908, in conjunction with Mr. Claude Montefiore, he edited the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. He took a prominent part in organising the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887, and in the foundation of the Jewish Historical Society of England, which resulted from the Exhibition. The man and his writings were marked by the broadest humanism, and it was said of him that he explained Judaism to the Christian and Christianity to the Jew. He married a daughter of the Rev. S. Singer, who, with two daughters, survived him.

7. **Felix Liebermann**, the historian of Anglo-Saxon England, died as the result of a motor-car accident in Berlin, at the age of 75. The son of a wealthy Jewish textile manufacturer, Liebermann had the means of devoting the whole of his life to scholarship. He very soon became a specialist on Early English law and Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman laws. His researches were published in the "Monumenta Germaniae Historica," and in separate volumes such as "The Laws of Edward the Confessor," "The Laws of Henry I.," "English Law at the Opening of the 13th Century," and "Sources of Early English History." Liebermann was recognised as the head of the German historians of mediæval England; the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh conferred honorary degrees upon him. Max Liebermann, the well-known painter, was his brother.

9. **Fred Bramley**, General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress since 1923, was born in 1874 at Pool, near Otley, the son of a journeyman tailor, and was practically self-educated. He served an apprenticeship as a cabinetmaker, but eventually became a lecturer on social and economic questions. In 1912 he was appointed Organising Secretary of the Furnishing Trades Association, and was elected to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress on three occasions. He died at Amsterdam, where he was attending the Congress of the International Federation of Trades Unions.

— **Dr. Hugo Preuss**, aged 64, the creator of the German Republican Constitution of 1919, was born in Berlin of Jewish parents. He studied law and political science at Heidelberg and Berlin, and in 1889 became a lecturer at Berlin University. His outspoken sympathy with the Democratic movement was a hindrance

to his academic career in Prussia, and it was not until 1906 that he was appointed Professor of Public Law in the Commercial High School, and subsequently became its Rector. On November 14, 1918, Preuss published in the *Berliner Tageblatt* an article entitled, "The State for the Whole People," challenging Socialist domination on behalf of the voiceless "bourgeoisie." That very day President Ebert offered him the post of Secretary of State for the Interior, which meant that he should draft the new constitution. He resigned his ministerial post along with the Scheidemann Cabinet, in June, 1919, but he remained at the disposal of the new Government in the capacity of expert until the work of the Constitution was completed.

14. **Eugen Sandow**, aged 58, the expert in physical culture, was born at Königsberg of Russian parents. Early in life he turned his attention to physical development, acquiring a considerable knowledge of anatomy when acting as a model to a famous medical professor on the Continent. Eventually he came to this country (where in due course he was naturalised), appearing at the old Aquarium in Westminster as a "strong man." With the money he earned on the variety stage he built the Health Institute in St. James' Street, where he carried on consultative and curative work for many years. In 1911 Sandow was made Professor of Scientific Physical Culture to the King.

— **Professor Harold Maxwell Lefroy**, Professor of Entomology at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, South Kensington, was born in 1877 at Itchel Manor, Crondall, Hants, and educated at Marlborough and King's College, Cambridge, where he graduated with first-class honours in the Natural Science Tripos in 1898. He became Entomologist to the Imperial Department of Agriculture for the West Indies, and then Imperial Entomologist for India. In 1912 he was called from India to fill the chair at South Kensington, which he held till his death. When the war came he entered on a campaign against the house-fly, both at home and with the army in Mesopotamia. He waged war also on the small beetles which were destroying great shipments of Australian wheat, on the "Death-watch" beetle in the timbers of old buildings, and on insect pests of every sort. In his laboratory at South Kensington, Lefroy ran every personal risk, and he lost his life by gas fumes while making experiments. His widow and one son survived him.

18. **Augustus Lawrence Francis**, for forty-three years Head Master of Blundell's School, Tiverton, was born at Hurley-on-Thames in 1848. His father was a judge of the Supreme Court, New South Wales, and a descendant of Sir Philip Francis. He was educated at Christ's Hospital and at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he obtained a first class in the Classical Tripos in 1870, becoming a Fellow of Jesus in 1873. His teaching career began at Dulwich College in 1872; two years later he went to the school to which his whole life was devoted. In 1882 he moved the school from Old Blundell's to Horsden, and the new buildings and equipment of the school were perfection itself. He revived the ancient tradition of Blundell's for learning, and he kept the school abreast of modern science and mathematics. He married a daughter of Major-General Unwin, who survived him with two sons and two daughters.

21. **Thomas Lister, fourth and last Lord Ribblesdale**, aged 70, was sportsman, soldier, man of letters, connoisseur, courtier, landowner, and nobleman in several senses. King Edward nicknamed him "The Ancestor," and he looked like an old master. He was the last of his line, as his elder son, Captain Thomas Lister, D.S.O., was killed in Somaland in 1904, and his second son Charles died of wounds in 1915. Lord Ribblesdale was educated at Harrow, and entered the army. He became a lieutenant in the Rifle Brigade in 1874, and retired with the rank of major in 1886. He had a passion for hunting, and in 1892 was appointed Master of Her Majesty's Buckhounds, a post which, as a Liberal Peer, he held for three years while Mr. Gladstone's Government remained in office. He afterwards wrote, "The Queen's Hounds and Stag-hunting

Recollections." He was a trustee of the National Gallery, to which he presented Sargent's wonderful portrait of himself. He was for five years Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria. Lord Ribblesdale married first a daughter of Sir Charles Tennant, and had five children; and, secondly, the widow of Colonel J. J. Astor, who survived him.

21. **Lord Marchamley**, who, before his elevation to the peerage in 1908, was Mr. George Whiteley, Chief Liberal Whip from 1905 to 1908, was born in Halifax in 1855, the son of Mr. George Whiteley, J.P. He became a cotton spinner, in partnership with his brother, and when he entered politics, in 1893, it was as Conservative member for Stockport, a seat he held until 1900, when he went over to the Liberal Party, and was elected member for the Pudsey Division of Yorkshire. He married Miss Tattersall, of Blackburn, in 1881, who, with two children, survived him.

23. **William Hamilton Leycester**, a Metropolitan Police Court magistrate since 1912, was the son of Mr. William Leycester, who was for many years chief of *The Times* parliamentary staff. Born in 1864, he was educated at King's College School and Peterhouse College, Cambridge, from which he graduated as eighteenth Wrangler, in 1888. In the same year he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple. His reputation soon won preferment for him, first as Crown Prosecutor, and then as Police Court magistrate. On the Bench the qualities he had displayed at the Bar, coupled with unfailing kindness and patience, made him an exceptionally capable magistrate. He married Frances Eliza, daughter of Captain J. C. Warne.

25. **Sir John Struthers, K.C.B.**, formerly Secretary of the Scottish Board of Education, played a considerable part in the development and organisation of education north of the Tweed. Born in 1857 as the son of Robert Struthers, a farmer of Oban, he was educated at the parish school of Mearns, at the Church of Scotland Training College, and at Glasgow University, where he took his degree with a first class in Mental Philosophy. After a short period of teaching he went up to Worcester College, Oxford, and further distinguished himself. In 1886 he was appointed an inspector of schools for Scotland. He held this post till 1898, when he was made a Senior Examiner at the Board of Education in Whitehall; and in 1904, on the retirement of Sir Henry Craik from the Scottish Board, Struthers was made Head of that Office, a post he held until his retirement in 1922. Struthers' services to education in Scotland were diverse and innumerable. He was made a C.B. in 1902 and a K.C.B. in 1910; in 1912 he was described from the Treasury Bench as one of the ablest officials in the service. He married, in 1912, Gertrude, daughter of Julian Hill, of Dean's Yard, Westminster.

26. **Dr. Ernest George Hardy**, was Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and a distinguished Roman historian. He was born in 1852, the son of George Hardy, who was at one time chief clerk in the General Post Office, and was educated at Highgate School and Exeter College, Oxford, whither he went with a scholarship, and where he obtained firsts both in Classical Moderations and in *Lat. Hum.* In 1875 he was elected to a prize Fellowship at Jesus. This he held for three years, till his marriage with Miss Mary Mann. He was for two years a master at Felsted School, and in 1879 became Headmaster of Grantham School. In 1887 he settled in Oxford, taking private pupils, and starting research work in Ancient History. He then became Assistant Tutor at Jesus, and was elected Fellow in 1896. In 1897 he became Vice-Principal of the College. Finally, in 1921, he was elected to the Principalship of Jesus College, which had been vacant for five years since the death of Sir John Rhys. He had a genius for speaking, and a wonderful dry humour. His later years were darkened by his increasing blindness, for his eyesight began to fail in 1900; but his courage in the face of this affliction was wonderful. His work was made possible by the devoted care of his second wife. Beyond his services to his College, Hardy will be remembered for his contributions to the study of Roman History. He brought out editions

of Juvenal, of Pliny's correspondence with Trajan, of Plutarch's Lives of Galba and Otho. He published also "Studies in Roman History," "Roman Laws and Charters," "Some Problems in Roman History."

27. **Darrell Figgis**, the Irish politician and writer, was born at Rathmines in 1882 and was taken to India at an early age. He was a tea buyer and broker in London and Calcutta from 1898 to 1910, and after bringing out various poems and essays he became literary adviser to Messrs. Dent, the publishers, in 1911. For two years he engaged in literary journalism and dramatic criticism, later proceeding to Dublin, where he threw himself into the Irish literary movement. But soon he entered Irish politics, and in July, 1914, he assisted in the gun-running exploit at Howth. He became, in 1917, honorary secretary of Sinn Féin. He spent most of 1918 in gaol, and afterwards shared the life of the revolutionaries. In 1922, when the Treaty was accepted by Dail Eireann, he was chosen Acting Chairman of the Constitution Committee, and he did his best work in this capacity. His later years were darkened by the loss of his wife, who committed suicide in 1924, and he, too, met his death in the same way. Figgis wrote "A Vision of Life," "The Crucibles of Time and Other Poems," and various novels, amongst which were "Jacob Elthorne" and "The House of Success." His chief adventure in literary criticism was a study of Shakespeare, which appeared in 1911.

28. **Charles King Francis**, the Westminster Police Court magistrate, was born at Upminster, Essex, in 1851, the second son of Frederick Francis, of East Molesey Court, Surrey. He was educated at Rugby and Brasenose College, Oxford. Called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1876, he practised law for twenty years, until in 1896 he was appointed a Metropolitan Police Magistrate at the Westminster Court, where he sat throughout his career. As a magistrate he was industrious, fair-minded, benevolent, and humorous, and he gave many a poor offender a fresh start in life. He married, in 1881, Edith Rose Alma Lovell, a grand-daughter of the seventh Duke of Beaufort, who, with one son, survived him.

31. **Thomas Case**, formerly President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was born in 1844, the son of Mr. Robert Case, of Liverpool. He was educated at Rugby, where he distinguished himself in cricket and football, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he obtained a double First in Classics. In 1869 he was elected Fellow of Brasenose; then followed a short interlude on the Stock Exchange; but he returned to Oxford in 1870, and became Lecturer and Tutor of Balliol. In 1883 he was made Lecturer on Greek History at Christ Church, and in 1889 he was elected to the Waynflete Chair of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, and a Fellow of Magdalen College. In 1904 he became President of Corpus. Case's success as a professor equalled his success as a tutor. He was a profound but a "laughing" philosopher. His lucidity and brevity as a lecturer were phenomenal. His interests were wide, and chief amongst them were music, architecture, and politics. In 1870 he married a daughter of Sir William Sterndale Bennett, and had two sons and one daughter. His contributions to philosophy are: "Physical Realism" (1886); "Metaphysics"; "Aristotle"; and "Logic," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica"; and his translation of the "Posterior Analytics of Aristotle."

NOVEMBER.

4. **Mrs. W. W. Vaughan** was the daughter of John Addington Symonds, whose many literary friendships she shared, and the wife of the Head Master of Rugby. Born in 1869, she married in 1898 Mr. W. W. Vaughan, then an Assistant Master at Clifton, and since Head Master in succession of Giggleswick, Wellington, and Rugby. Her book, "Out of the Past," was a pendant to Mr. Horatio Brown's biography of her father, whom she adored. She wrote also a little

book about Perugia; "A Child of the Alps;" and "Days Spent on a Doge's Farm," the last a vivid picture of country life in Italy. She was survived by her husband, two sons, and a daughter.

5. **Professor John Newport Langley, F.R.S.**, one of the leading physiologists of the world, was born in 1852, the son of John Langley. He was educated at Exeter Grammar School and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took a first class in the Natural Science Tripos in 1874, and became a Fellow of Trinity in 1877. In 1903 he succeeded Sir Michael Foster in the Chair of Physiology, after having been first his assistant and afterwards his deputy; in 1907 he became sole editor of *The Journal of Physiology*. In 1914 a new laboratory was built at Cambridge under his direction. It was as an investigator that Langley won fame. He was a highly skilled experimentalist, an able dissector, and an accurate observer of minute differences in action and in structure. He gained a European reputation for his work on secretions; his researches on the visceral nervous system, which took thirty years, are an important contribution to science. The results of many of his experiments were summarised in his Croonian lecture to the Royal Society in 1906; and the results of his later work in "The Autonomic Nervous System," Part I. of which appeared in 1921. He was the recipient of numerous academic honours, and his fame as a teacher spread far and wide. He married, in 1902, Vera Kathleen Forsyth-Grant, of Ecclesgreig, Kincardineshire, and left one daughter.

8. **Herbert Greulich** was born in Breslau in 1842, and went to Zurich as a bookbinding apprentice in 1865. There he joined a circle of revolutionaries. Burkh taught him the Socialist ideas of Fourier, and with others he founded the Zurich section of the First International. Greulich became a zealous agitator for the founding of trades organisations, and edited from 1869 to 1880 the Zurich *Tagwacht*, a social-democratic paper. For many years he was the eloquent defender of the workers in Parliament. He was the Nestor of Swiss social democracy, and saw and influenced the beginnings of the Swiss labour movement, the motto of which was "through education to freedom."

11. **Dr. John Massie**, theologian, educationist, and Liberal politician, was the son of a Congregational minister, and was educated at Atherstone Grammar School and St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1869 he became Classical Tutor at Spring Hill Theological College, Birmingham, and in 1871 Professor of New Testament Exegesis. In 1886 Spring Hill College was transferred to Oxford, where Mansfield College was founded, and Massie moved with the College to Oxford, and shared with Dr. Fairbairn the work of building the new foundation. As Yates Professor he was responsible for the New Testament teaching at Mansfield. In 1901 he received the honorary degree of D.D. from Yale University in recognition of his work on the New Testament. In 1902 he gave up his post at Mansfield to devote himself to public work. He was a Liberationist of the old order, and worked for disestablishment. In 1906 he was elected Liberal M.P. for the Cricklade division of Wilts. Dr. Massie was an old-fashioned Puritan, but with an active interest in all things human.

12. **Henry Strauss Quixano Henriques, K.C.**, aged 59 a leading member of the Jewish community, was the eldest son of Mr. E. M. Henriques, J.P., of Manchester. He was educated at the Manchester Grammar School and Worcester College, Oxford, where he was Vinerian Law Scholar. In 1892 he was called to the Bar, taking silk in 1921. Mr. Henriques was interested in legal scholarship, and his published works included "The Law of Aliens and Naturalisation," "The Jews and the English Law," and "The Return of the Jews to England." As a student, he was President of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1918-20), and as a man of affairs he was President for several years of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. A son and a daughter survived him.

18. The Right Hon. Sir Francis Hyde Villiers, the first British Ambassador in Brussels, was the son of the fourth Earl of Clarendon. Born in 1852, he was educated at Harrow, and entered the Foreign Office on December 30, 1870. From then onward he was almost continuously private secretary to successive Under-Secretaries and Secretaries of State. In 1896 he became himself Assistant Under-Secretary of State, and ten years later was appointed Minister in Lisbon, transferring to Brussels in 1911. He retired in 1920 full of English and Belgian honours, having been sworn of the Privy Council in 1919. He married, in 1876, a daughter of Mr. Carrington Smith, and had three sons and two daughters.

19. William Edward Norris, the novelist of manners, who wrote steadily for nearly fifty years, was the son of Sir William Norris, formerly Chief Justice of Ceylon. Born in 1847, he was educated at Eton and was called to the Bar in 1874, but he never practised. His first novel, "Heaps of Money," appeared in 1887, and attracted much attention, and amongst its many successors may be mentioned "Mademoiselle de Mersac," "The Dancer in Yellow," "Clariissa Furiosa," "My Friend Jim." In his later stories he often brought out the contrasts between French and English characteristics, and to the end there was no falling off in his quiet excellence of craftsmanship and his light ironic wit. He loved privacy, living for many years at Torquay. In 1871 he married Miss Frances Isobel Ballenden, who died in 1881.

20. Queen Alexandra was the eldest daughter of Prince Christian of Glucksburg and the Princess Louise of Hesse. Her father was adopted as heir to the throne of Denmark, and her eldest brother succeeded him as King of Denmark, and became father of the King of Norway. Her second brother became King of Greece. Her two sisters became Empress of Russia and Duchess of Cumberland. Princess Alexandra was married to the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII., on May 7, 1863, amidst extraordinary demonstrations of joy from the English people. In 1864 Prince Albert Victor was born, and in 1865 Prince George, who became King George V. Then came the princesses Louise, Victoria, and Maud, and lastly, in 1871, Prince John, who lived one day. In 1889 Alexandra's eldest daughter married the Duke of Fife; in January, 1892, occurred the death of her eldest son, the Duke of Clarence, a blow from which she may be said to have never quite recovered. In July, 1893, the Duke of York married Princess May of Teck, and in 1894 Princess Maud was married to Prince Charles of Denmark, afterwards King of Norway. During the South African War the Princess of Wales took the keenest interest in the nursing and hospital work, work for which she had the greatest natural taste. In January, 1901, Queen Victoria died, and Alexandra, Princess of Wales, became Queen Consort. On February 12, King Edward made her a Lady of the Garter. The Coronation of Edward VII. and Alexandra, originally fixed for June 26, 1902, but postponed on account of the King's serious illness, took place on August 9th. On May 10, 1910, King Edward died, and King George V. succeeded. During her widowhood the Queen Mother took little part in Court ceremonies, preferring to work in the cause of charity. "Alexandra Day," begun to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of her arrival in England, and in her name to call attention to the needs of the hospitals, has brought in for her charities hundreds of thousands of pounds.

23. Canon Charles Henry Robinson, D.D., aged 64, missionary, explorer, linguist, and editorial secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel since 1902, was the son of an Irish clergyman and the brother of the Dean of Wells and of Canon Robinson of Canterbury. His long connexion with West Africa began in 1893, when, under the auspices of the Hausa Association, which was founded as a memorial to his brother, the Rev. J. A. Robinson, a C.M.S. missionary, he attempted to reach Kano in Northern Nigeria. He eventually succeeded in doing this by way of the Niger River. He was the first European to cross Hausaland, and he recorded his adventures in his book, "Hausaland, or 1500 Miles through the Central Sudan." He became an authority on Hausa,

and Reader in that language at Cambridge. His chief books are "The History of Christian Missions" (1915), "How the Gospel Spread through Europe" (1917), "The Conversion of Europe" (1917), and "Studies of the Character of Christ." He was twice married, first to Miss Arnold, of Tunbridge Wells, and secondly to Cecily, daughter of Sir Ernest George, R.A.

24. Percy Fitzgerald, aged 95, the friend and biographer of Dickens, and at once writer, sculptor, and painter, was the son of Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald, of Fane Valley, Co. Louth. He was educated at Stonyhurst and Trinity College, Dublin, and in 1855 was called to the Irish Bar. Some years later he migrated to London to make his living as a writer, and there he found his way into Dickens' "Household Words." Fitzgerald wrote over 200 volumes—biographies, novels, short stories, histories, plays, criticism, travels, treatises on art and architecture, and on religious subjects. His pantheon included Charles Lamb, Sterne, Jane Austen, Samuel Johnson, and Chief of all, Charles Dickens. He modelled in clay busts of many of those writers and actors that he idealised; he set songs to music; he sketched with both pen and brush. Amongst his friends he numbered Carlyle and Charles Reade. In 1869 he married Dorcas Louisa, daughter of the tenth Lord Massereene.

26. Sir Jervoise Athelstane Baines, C.S.I., aged 78, a distinguished authority on Indian ethnography, was the son of the Rev. Edward Baines, of Bluntisham, and was educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge. He passed into the Indian Civil Service in 1868, and two years later went out to the Bombay Presidency. Baines was associated with the five synchronous decennial enumerations of the Indian people in 1881, which are amongst the achievements of British organisation, and showed so much ability in this direction that he was appointed Census Commissioner for the whole country. He speedily gained international repute as a statistician. He was placed on deputation at the India Office to prepare the Decennial Report on Moral and Material Progress to 1891. He was appointed Secretary to Lord Brassey's Opium Commission (1894-95). On his retirement in 1885 he was awarded the C.S.I. In this country he continued his ethnological researches, and wrote much on the subject. He also did much public work, especially on the London County Council, and he received his knighthood in 1904. He married in 1874 Constance, daughter of Henry Pyne, barrister at law, and had a son and a daughter.

— **Rama VI., King of Siam**, was born on January 1, 1881, and during his youth saw the long controversy between France and England concerning the frontiers in Further India, and in 1896 the guarantee of the Independence of Siam. He came to England in 1893, and was placed with a private tutor. In 1897 he represented his father at Queen Victoria's Jubilee. In 1898 he went to Sandhurst, and in 1899 was attached to the First Battalion of the Durham Light Infantry, and with whom he remained in touch throughout his life. At Christchurch, Oxford (1900-01), he published the first of several historical monographs entitled, "The War of the Polish Succession." He delighted in the classical drama of all ages and lands, subscribed to the old Vic, and translated much of Shakespeare into Siamese. The Prince was in England for twelve years, but had been associated with the administration of Siam for eight years when he succeeded his father in 1910. During his reign the work of consolidation and development has steadily gone forward in Siam. The King left no male heir, and the succession passed to his younger brother, Prince Pracha Tipok, born in 1893.

29. Colonel Sir Gerald Henry Summers, K.C.M.G., aged 40, was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Somaliland Protectorate. The son of the late Rev. Walter Summers, of Danehill, he was educated at Bradfield School and Sandhurst. He entered the army in 1904, and was sent to Somaliland in 1912, and was attached to the Indian contingent with the King's African Rifles. He greatly distinguished himself in the campaign against the Dervishes, and in

1920, after the defeat of the Mad Mullah, Summers received the C.M.G., and was made temporary Colonel. He acted as Governor for nine months in 1921, and in 1922 was appointed to succeed Sir Geoffrey Archer. Thus his active career was spent entirely in the Protectorate. In 1925 he was made a Knight of the Order of St. George and St. Michael. He married, in 1916, Margaret, daughter of Lieut.-Colonel Swinburne, and had a son and a daughter.

DECEMBER.

1. **Sir John MacAlister**, aged 69, librarian and secretary of the Royal Society of Medicine, was the son of Donald MacAlister (and younger brother of Sir Donald MacAlister, Principal of Glasgow University). He was born at Perth, but educated at the High School, Liverpool, and he studied medicine for three years at Edinburgh University. Owing to ill-health he abandoned his medical course, and in 1878 was chosen sub-librarian of the Liverpool Library. From there he was appointed in succession to the Leeds Library, the Yorkshire College Library, and in 1887 to the newly-founded Gladstone Library at the National Liberal Club. A few months later he was elected resident librarian of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, which position he filled for the rest of his life. His ability and his work for this society were such that in 1920 he was knighted. In 1886 he founded *The Library*, a magazine devoted to the work and literature of libraries. In 1890 he took up the question of library legislation, and largely owing to his efforts the Act of 1892, under which all public libraries are now conducted, was passed. In 1898 he was influential in obtaining a Royal Charter of Incorporation for the Library Association. He married Elizabeth Batley, of Blackhall, Edinburgh, and had two sons.

3. **Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon**, formerly Proprietor and Manager of *The Melbourne Argus*, was the outstanding figure of the Australian newspaper world of his day. He was born in Skye in 1848, the son of Mr. A. K. Mackinnon, and gained his newspaper experience in the offices of *The Scotsman* and *The Times*, after which he proceeded to Melbourne, joining the service of *The Argus* in 1870. In ten years he became general manager of this paper and he held that post for nearly forty years. He was knighted in 1916. His influence was powerful in bringing about the federation of Australia. He married the adopted daughter of his cousin, Mr. Lauchlan Mackinnon, one of the founders of *The Argus*; she died in 1923. He left two daughters and a son.

4. **Bishop John Stephen Vaughan**, auxiliary to the Bishop of Salford and titular Bishop of Sebastopolis, was the youngest of the eight sons of Colonel Vaughan of Courtfield, near Ross, six of whom entered the priesthood, while of their five sisters four became nuns. He was born in 1853, educated at Monte Cassino, the English College, Rome, and the Grand Seminary, Bruges. He was ordained at Salford in 1876, spent some years as professor of mathematics at St. Bede's, Manchester, and worked afterwards under Kenelm Vaughan at Chelsea, under Cardinal Manning, and under Cardinal Vaughan. In 1896 he was named domestic prelate to Pope Leo XIII., and in 1898 he was made Canon of Westminster Cathedral. In London he was very active as a lecturer and preacher. From 1904 to 1907 he resided in Rome, and afterwards he went on a preaching tour in the United States and Canada. In 1909 he was nominated Auxiliary Bishop of Salford with the title of Bishop of Sebastopolis, and was consecrated in Westminster Cathedral. From 1912 to 1915 he was Rector of St. Bede's Collège, Manchester. He was the author of several devotional books.

5. **William Gillett**, aged 86, though he came of a Quaker family, was for long a well-known figure in London Society. In 1881 he was associated with Mr. Augustus Lumley, a Victorian Beau Brummel, in establishing the Bachelors' Club, of which he eventually became President. Mr. Gillett, who came of a

family of bankers, originated and carried out the system of clearing country bankers' cheques, in 1859-60. He was a great traveller, and the author of several books, including "House of Lords Reform," and "The Revival of British Industries."

9. **Pablo Iglesias**, aged 75, was the founder of the Spanish Social Democratic Party. A native of El Ferrol in Galicia, he was brought up in an institution in Madrid from which he ran away, and after many vicissitudes settled down at 20 as a compositor. In 1870 he became a member of the Workers' Congress at Barcelona, and soon belonged to its leading branch. He was imprisoned for his views in 1882 for a year; in 1888 he founded the Socialist Party in Spain. In 1899 he became leader of the General Workers' Union, an office he held till his death. He succeeded in entering the Spanish Chamber in 1910.

13. **Don Antonio Maura**, seven times Prime Minister of Spain, was born in 1853 in Majorca, the son of a leather manufacturer. At 15 he entered the law school of Madrid University, and in due course became an advocate. In 1878 he married Constanca Gamazo, daughter of a leading Liberal advocate, and he entered the Cortes in 1881 as Liberal Member for Palma. But his instincts were Conservative, and after the death of Gamazo in 1901, he seceded from the Liberal Party and became the recognised leader of the Conservatives. In 1903 he formed his first Ministry, which lasted a year. In January, 1907, he formed his second Ministry with the policy of "reform from above," which brought him into conflict with the Anarchists. Then came the war in Morocco, and the resignation of the Ministry in 1909. After this Maura became more and more Conservative and Monarchical in his policy; to the end he had the prestige that belongs, in Spain, to a great orator.

15. **Sir Richard Douglas Powell, Bt.**, the authority on diseases of the lungs and heart, and Physician-in-Ordinary successively to Queen Victoria, King Edward VII., and King George V., was born in 1842, the son of Captain Scott Powell of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers. He graduated M.B. in 1865 at London University, and in 1866 took the London M.D. with honours. He was appointed in succession assistant physician to Charing Cross Hospital, physician to Middlesex Hospital, and also physician to the Brompton Hospital for Consumption, which directed his attention to pulmonary affections. A friendship with Sir William Jenner led to his appointment as Physician-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria. He was created a baronet in 1891, and in 1901 a K.C.V.O. and a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. He was the author of standard works on the diseases of the lungs, the pleura, and the heart. He was twice married, firstly to a daughter of the late Sir John Bennett, and secondly to Miss Wood, a grand-daughter of Archdeacon Burney. He left one son, Lt.-Col. Douglas Powell, C.B.E., who succeeded him.

16. **Major-General Sir Henry T. Lukin**, born in 1860, was the son of Robert Henry Lukin, a barrister of the Inner Temple. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and as a youth went out to South Africa to settle. He took part at once in Colonial military affairs and went through the Zulu campaign. In 1896 he was again called into the field as Field-Adjutant of the Bechuanaland Force and for his part in the Langeberg operations he was mentioned in despatches. In the South African War he was a Captain in the Cape Mounted Rifles, and was given command of the mounted column in Cape Colony. He distinguished himself at Tweefontein and in other engagements, and was decorated for gallantry. When the Cape Government formed a Colonial Division the command was given to Lukin, and in this position he repeatedly discomfited the Boers, was many times mentioned in despatches, and was given the D.S.O. and the C.M.G. In 1904 Lukin was appointed Commander-General of the Cape Colonial Forces, and at King George's Coronation he commanded the South African contingent which came to London. In 1912 he was made Inspector-General of the Permanent Force, Union of South Africa. In August, 1914,

Lukin was appointed to command a force sent against German South-West Africa, and after the surrender of this district he took South African forces to Egypt, and in January, 1916, he fought a successful engagement at Agagia and was made C.B. and received the Order of the Nile. In April, 1916, Lukin and his brigade were ordered to France, and there they played a memorable part in the Battle of the Somme. For weeks they disputed the possession of the vantage point, Delville Wood, with the Germans, and for this Lukin was, in December, 1916, promoted Major-General and given command of the Scottish Division of the British Expeditionary Force, a post he held until March, 1918. He fought in the battles of Arras and Ypres and was promoted K.C.B. In 1919 he became Hon. Major-General in the Army. After the war he returned to South Africa and the life of sport which he so much enjoyed. He married, in 1891, Miss Lily Quinn, of Fort Hare, South Africa.

17. **Albert Neilson Hornby**, the great cricketer who was also a rugby "international" and a hard rider to hounds, captained Lancashire for many seasons and played for England against Australia, and for "Gentlemen" against "Players." He was a younger son of W. H. Hornby, the first Mayor and also M.P. for Blackburn, and was born in 1847. He was educated at Harrow, where he first distinguished himself at cricket. His crowning performance was at the Oval in 1880.

— **Sir George Gibb**, the railway expert, was formerly General Manager of the North-Eastern Railway, and the first and only chairman of the Road Board. Born at Aberdeen in 1850, the son of Alexander Gibb, C.E., he was educated at Aberdeen Grammar School and University, and afterwards graduated LL.B. at London University. He was articled to a solicitor in 1872. In 1882, having come to practise in London, he was appointed solicitor to the North-Eastern Railway, and in 1891 he became General Manager of that line. The line improved and prospered under his management; in 1904 he was knighted, and in 1906 was made a director. That year he also became Deputy Chairman and Managing Director of the Underground Electric Railway, and Chairman and Managing Director of the Metropolitan District Railway. In 1910 he became Manager of the Road Board. In December, 1914, he was appointed an additional civilian member of the Army Council to supervise Army Contracts, and he was a member of the Pacific Cable Board from 1914 to 1918. He was Chairman of the China and Japan, and of the Oriental Telephone and Electric Companies. He married, in 1881, Miss Dorothea Garrett Smith, and had four sons and one daughter.

18. **Sir William Hamo Thornycroft**, the sculptor, was born in 1850, the son of Thomas and Mary Thornycroft, both sculptors. He spent his childhood in Cheshire, till he went to University College School in London for four years. Not till he was 18 did he turn to drawing and sculpture; under his father's tuition, and with help from Foley and Weekes, he made steady progress, and in 1871 he paid a visit to Italy. In 1875 he won the Royal Academy Gold Medal for "A Warrior bearing a Wounded Youth;" in 1878 he exhibited "Lot's Wife;" in 1880 his "Artemis" made him famous; and in 1881 his bronze "Teucer" was bought by the Chantry Trustees. Under French influence he turned his vision to modern life and achieved "The Sower," and "The Mower." Next he turned to historical and modern portraiture. His "Cromwell" received the *médaille d'Honneur* at the Paris Exhibition of 1900; and his "Queen Victoria" for the Royal Exchange, "Bishop Harvey Goodwin" at Carlisle, and "General Gordon" in Trafalgar Square, and many other such statues, continually added to his reputation. He was happiest of all, however, when he worked in the classical convention which inspired his youth. Thornycroft was elected A.R.A. in 1881, and R.A. in 1888. He was knighted in 1917. Two years before his death he received the gold medal of the Royal Society of British Sculptors. He married, in 1884, Agatha, daughter of Homersham Cox, of Tonbridge.

19. **Sir Paul Gavrilovich Vinogradoff**, Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, was born in 1854 at Kostroma, on the Volga. At Moscow University he studied mediæval political and social institutions; his first publication was on the origins of feudalism in Lombard Italy. He travelled extensively in Europe and acquired seven languages; in the eighties he came much to England to study the history of the English manorial system, which he thought might throw light on agrarian problems in Russia. Incidentally, he became an expert in English mediæval law, and in 1892 he brought out a standard book, "Villeinage in England." He was made Professor of History in Moscow, but in 1902 he resigned his Chair and came to settle in England; in 1903 he was elected to the Corpus Chair of Jurisprudence at Oxford, though he was first a historian and only secondly a lawyer. But his brilliance was equal to this position, though he loved incipient law more than established, developed law. He published "English Society in the Eleventh Century" (1908), "Survey of the Honour of Denbigh" (1914), and edited "Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History" (1909-1921). The revolution of 1917 in Russia was for him a crushing calamity; his article on "Russia, 1920-1921," in the 12th edition of *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, was written in a spirit of gloom and indignation. Before writing this he had resigned his Russian nationality. He was knighted in 1917 for his war services as a *liaison* officer between Russia and England. In 1897 he married a Norwegian lady, by whom he had a son and a daughter.

21. **Dame Louisa Aldrich-Blake**, aged 60, was a distinguished woman surgeon. Descended from an old Suffolk family, she was educated at Cheltenham Ladies' College and at London University, where she was the first woman to obtain the degree of Master of Surgery. In 1892 she took the London M.B. with first-class honours in obstetric medicine, in 1893 the B.S. with first-class honours in surgery and the gold medal, and she proceeded to the M.D. in 1894, and to the M.S. in 1895. After this she joined the staffs of various hospitals and was one of the first medical women to practise general surgery. In 1914 Miss Aldrich-Blake worked with the unit at Chateau Tour la Ville, and in 1915 she worked under the Anglo-French Red Cross at Royaumont. In 1916 she collected and sent 80 medical women to hospitals in Malta, and later in that year 50 medical women to military hospitals in England. She herself did yeoman service during the war, especially at the W.A.A.C. Hospital at Isleworth. In the New Year Honours of 1925 she was created a Dame of the Order of the British Empire.

22. **Frank Munsey**, the American newspaper proprietor, was born at Mercer, Maine, in 1854, and after some elementary schooling he entered a country store. Next he became Manager of the Western Union Telegraph Office at Augusta, Maine, and in 1882, at the age of 28, he went to New York with forty dollars in his pocket, resolved to start a magazine. *The Golden Argosy*, a juvenile weekly, soon appeared; and after this he launched several other magazines, his success being extraordinary. He founded and developed his publishing house, and before 1907 made over 8 million dollars. In 1891 he entered daily journalism, and bought and sold many American daily papers after having stifled their individual characteristics and impressed on them the Munsey outlook. Politically Munsey was a republican. He was unmarried, and left between 6,000,000*l.* and 8,000,000*l.*, mostly to charities.

25. **Leonard Stokes**, the architect, aged 67, was the son of S. N. Stokes, Inspector of Schools, and brother of Sir Wilfred Stokes, K.B.E., the engineer and of Adrian Stokes, R.A., the painter. A member of a Roman Catholic family, he did much of his work for Roman Catholic communities. He designed All Saints' Convent, the Convent of the Poor Clares at Lynton, the Church of St. Clare at Liverpool, the Chancel of the Sacred Heart at Exeter, and many Roman Catholic Churches. He also did much work for the National Telephone Company. At Cambridge he built the new quadrangle at Emmanuel College, and at Oxford the central Girls' School. For Lord Digby he built Minterne House, Dorset.

In 1889 he was President of the Architectural Association, and in 1910-12 President of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He married, in 1898, Miss Edith Gaine, and left two sons and two daughters.

29. **Madame Ernest Cognacq**, aged 87, was the wife of the proprietor of the Paris store known as "La Samaritaine," and for over 50 years she accompanied her husband daily to business, never taking a day's holiday. She was the instigator of a philanthropic scheme by which the employés of "La Samaritaine" benefited, a large share of the capital and profits being allotted to them. Many other charitable organisations were started by M. and M^{me}. Cognacq. They made a fine collection of eighteenth-century pictures, pastels, statuary, and furniture, destined for the nation after the death of M. Cognacq.

30. **Robert Sewell**, the historian of India, who died at the age of 80, came of the remarkable family of Sewells, so many of whom have distinguished themselves. Educated at St. Peter's College, Radley, founded by his uncle, he passed the Indian Civil Service Examination of 1866, and was sent out to Madras. In 1870 he published his "Analytical History of India from the Earliest Times to the Abolition of the East India Company." In 1881 he was put on special duty in connexion with the archæological survey of South India. He wrote the first and second volumes of the Survey Series, and "A Forgotten Empire," published in 1900, being the story of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar, 1336-1565. Other Indian historical works came from his pen, and after his retirement he was on the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was survived by his wife, a daughter of General Prendergast, R.E., Indian Army.

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